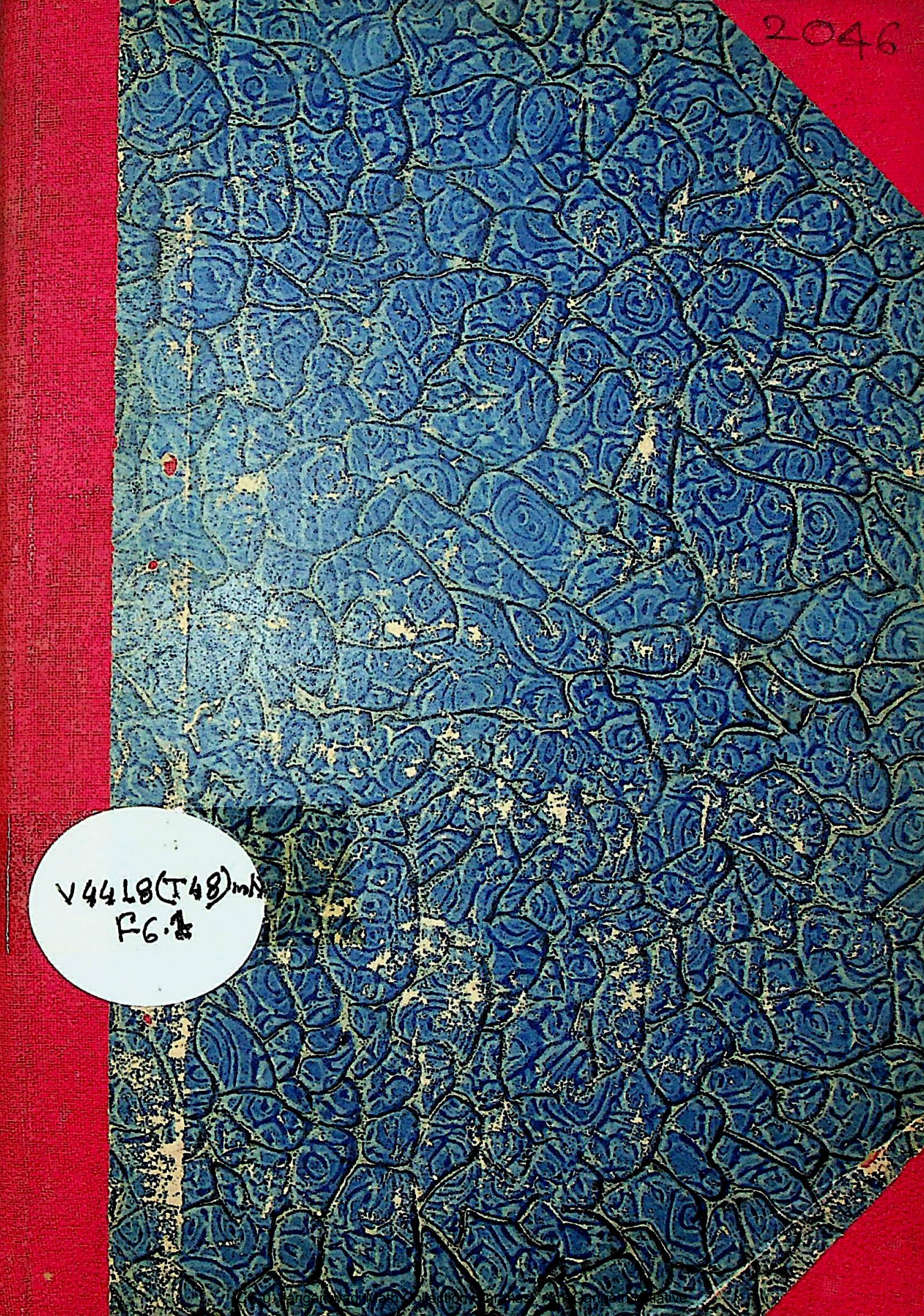
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VOL. I PART I

THE

QUARTERLY JOURNAL

OF THE

ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

JULY, 1926



Sept. '26.

RAJAHMUNDRY

PUBLISHED BY THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

Printed by A. Lakshmana Swami Naidu at the Saraswathi Power Press

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OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY.

THE OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY SHALL BE:—

(a) To promote historical research in Andhradesa, and record the results of such research.

(b) To organise meetings for imparting historical knowledge to the people.

(c) To celebrate historical occasions and hold exhibitions.

(d) To publish a journal of historical research, and special books if any.

(e) To organise a Research Library at Rajahmundry.

(f) To co-operate with other learned Societies engaged in similar works as well as with individual scholars.

For the purpose of achieving the objects, the work the Society shall be divided into five sections respectively dealing with:—

1. History.
2. Archæology, Epigraphy and Numismaties.
3. Anthropology, Ethnology and Folklore.
4. Philology and Literature.
5. Ancient and Mediaeval Geography.

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THE
QUARTERLY JOURNAL
OF THE
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Vol. 1 JULY 1926. No. 1

EDITORIAL.

The necessity for the foundation of a Research Society for Andhradesa was keenly felt for several years by a few devoted students of history in Rajahmundry and elsewhere. The vast and rich field that was available for investigation and research, and perhaps the little attention paid by the Government Archæological Department to the materials found in the province, were the causes that primarily led to the conviction that a Research Society might at once be started in order to promote historical research and to bring about co-ordination amongst the various scholars, working separately and independently all over the province, and to provide for better facilities for them. The conviction grew stronger and stronger as years rolled by, till at last about the middle of 1921, it took a tangible shape in the formation of the present Society. People here and outside there were, who maintained that a Research Society might be too premature for this province, but the earnestness and devotion of the founders, soon dispelled the hesitation and fears in their minds. The existence of the Mythic Society of Bangalore for Mysore and Karnataka, and Behar and Orissa Research Society for the newly created province of Behar and Orissa, also prompted us to bring our Society into existence.

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Our province is exceedingly rich in pre-historic antiquities. Stone and copper implements, have been found in abundance in Cudapah, Kurnool and elsewhere. Amaravathi, Jaggayyapeta, Bhattiprolu, Guntupalli, Gudivada, Bezwada, and Srisailam or Sri-parvata of Yuwan Tsang, which are rich treasure houses of Buddhist relics on the one hand, Mukhalingam,Sarvasiddhi, Pithapuram (Pista-pura), Rajahmundry, Vengipura, Addanki, Kondavidu, Warangal, Nellore (Vikramasimhapura) and Hampi—Vijayanagara, which are ancient cities and seats of powerful kingdoms, culture and art on the other, are still attracting students of history of this country. It is admitted on all hands that next to Magadha stands Andhradesa, in the matter of its contribution to the growth and development of the twin religions of ancient India, Buddhism and Jainism. These two religions captured the heart of Andhradesa, more than any other province, and for several centuries in the past were popular all over the country; and the several monuments and relics that lie scattered everywhere in every ancient site be-speak to the fact. Andhradesa contributed no less also to the development and growth of maritime activity and the greater Bhartavarsha. Kothapattana in Nellore District, Motupalli (Maisolia of the Greeks)in Guntur,Kuduru and Ghantasala (Koddura and Kontokyssila of Ptolemy) in Kistna Dantapura and Kalingapattana to the north of the Godavari, ancient ports and emporiums of trade and commerce now lying deserted and in ruins, invite the enthusiastic archæologist to excavate and to lay bare their rich hidden treasures. The wonderful temples at Sri-Kurmam, Simhachelam, Daksharama, Bhimavaram, Srisailam, Ahobalam and elsewhere, too numerous to mention, with innumerable inscriptions transcribed on their walls, mantapas and carved pillars, still, remain untouched and pathetically invite the loving labours of generations of enthusiastic scholars. This country was also once rich in manuscripts. There lived enlightened noblemen who maintained libraries at their cost and to whose courts flocked learned pundits and poets, and scholars learned in various sastras, who for their own use, also gathered and preserved large collections of rare and valuable books. This country has suffered much on account of exploitation by persons from outside who carried away a large number of these hidden treasures. Even now the field is very large and it is necessary to organise a systematic survey and carry out a thorough search for manuscripts, to save them from the ravages of time, destruction and decay, due to negligence.

It is this abundance of historical materiel, and the peculiar advantages the scholars of this part of the country command that have

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inspired us to take up this labour of love. Our Society and the Journal may be called a venture but yet we are confident that the sympathy and guidance of other learned societies will be with us. For the success of our attempts we require a constant supply of trained and devoted scholars and workers and the necessary financial help from both the public and private sources. We are hopeful that we will not be neglected by the keepers of the public purse, and enlightened noblemen in our country. Though in the past facilities were comparitively fewer, we have today better opportunities. We are fortunate to have a University of our own: God willing we hope to work in conjunction with it. We also hope the University will develop post-graduate study and research, and make it the training ground for the younger generation who will ere long join us and lead the torch-light of knowledge. May we earnestly hope, that the Society, started with such an ambitious programme will receive the blessings from the All-Merciful, patronage, sympathy and support from our enlightened Government and our generous minded countrymen.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY.

The abundance of historical material and a large field for research work prompted us nearly five years ago, to found this Society and begin organised work. The Society owes its inception and existence to the inspiring work and guidance of Mr. C. Veerabhadra Rao, the premier Historian of the Andhras, whose book was published in 1908, and from which many a learned scholar has drawn material help for the construction of an otherwise difficult and still unexplored history of the Andhras, Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma, Mr. Bhavaraju V. Krishnarao and Mr. C. Narayana Rao.

During the first year, the members of the Society met occasionally and discussed many important subjects. The President Mr. C. Narayana Rao during that year, and for sometime prior to it collected a large number of copper plate inscriptions belonging to the Eastern Ganga Dynasty of Kalinganagara. Mr. Somasekhara Sarma, toured in the Godavary, and Krishna Districts and prepared inked estampages of several stone inscriptions in many important places, which are still unnoticed by the Government Epigraphical Department. Some original papers were read before the Society during that year, and notable amongst them were "An

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Account of the Present day Kalingas" by Mr. C. Narayana Rao, and "Some aspects of the system of Goverment of Kakatiyas of Warangal (Orugallu) by Mr. Somasekhara Sarma. Mr. Bhavaraju V. Krishna Rao prepared a monograph on the "Maritime Activity of the Andhras from the Earliest Times," which was afterwards issued in the form of a book.

About the middle of the year 1922, the Society conceived the idea of celebrating the Ninth Centenary Day of King Rajarajanarendra Vishnuvardhana of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty of Rajamahendravaram. The idea was inspired by Mr. I. Kanakachalam Pantulu, M. A., Headmaster, Rajah's College, Parlakimedi, when it struck him that the King ascended the throne in the month of Bhadrapada, nine hundred years ago in this ancient city. King Rajaraja was a great patron of Telugu literature. In his Court lived many great poets famous among them being Nannaya Bhatta, the author of the Mahabharatha-the only known extant Telugu Kavya of the early period-Narayana Bhatta and Pavuluri Mallanna. The popularity of the Mahabharatha and King Rajaraja's fame as the patron of the first extant literary composition, readily caught the imagination of the Andhras. The celebration of the Ninth Centenary Day was sought to be synchronised with the publication of a Commemoration Volume in Telugu, incorporating all the available historical material bearing on the social, religious and political conditions, and the literature of the Eastern Chalukya period, A. D. 609–1258.

The idea of celebration was soon translated into action, and the Society owes a deep of debt gratitude to the venerable old man of Andhradesa, Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu, for his encouragement and support. The secretary, Mr. Bhavaraju V. Krishnarao B. A., B. L., spared no pains in making the celebration of the centenary day a great success. The Commemoration Volume, '*Sri Rajarajanarendra Pattabhisheka Sanchika*," edited by Mr. Bhavaraju V. Krishnarao, is the first publication of its kind. It contains many valuable contributions from several renowned scholars, like Rao Saheb Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar of the Madras University and Hon. Mr. Justice V. Ramesam, and Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurthy Pantulu.

Another noteworthy event of the celebration was the organisation of a historical exhibition, which was highly appreciated. The evolution of the Andhra Script or *Andhra lipi Parinamam*, was the main feature of the exhibition. A large number of inked estampages of stone and copper plate inscriptions dating from centuries before the Christian era, down to the eighteenth century, prepared and collected specially for the occasion, and a number of copperplate inscriptions, were arranged chronologically on the walls of the building :

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Besides several ancient lead and copper coins, weapons of warfare were also in exhibition. The Society feels highly grateful for the deep sympathy evinced by the Government in recognising this institution at that time, and also, to extend to it its generous support. The Society particularly feels grateful to the Hon. Sir A. P. Patro,Kt., our Minister of Education,who sympathised whole heartedly with our movement and sanctioned a public holiday to all the Schools and Colleges in the City on the day fixed for the celebration of the centenary day. The celebration was presided over by the renowned Andhra Scholar and Educationist, Mr. C. R. Reddi, the present Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University.

During the third year, the Society's attention was deeply absorbed in organising itself so as to keep it on a permanent and constitutional basis, and enable it to undertake the more arduous task of publising a Quarterly Journal of Research.

When the fourth year dawned, once more the Society resumed its activities; and several scholars, and research students from all parts of the province began to join the Society in large numbers. The celebration of the Ninth Centenary Day of Rajarajanarendra's coronation, and the publication of a Commemoration Volume, inspired the imagination of our countrymen, and the result was encouraging support and expression of sympathy from all quarters. While the Society had barely five or six members when it was formed, the number on its rolls rose gradually year after year and at the end of the fourth year, the membership stood at fifty.

The Society held during that year two special meetings. Prof. Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurthi, late of Rajah's College, Parlakimidi, delivered a lecture on "Old Telugu" and Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu, B. A., B. L., our President on "Methods of Historical Research" before the members of the Society. The lectures were also largely attended by the public and students, and highly appreciated.

During the third and fourth years,the personnel of the Council of the Society came to be changed once or twice. In the fourth year, Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu, and Mr. R. Subba Rao, M. A. were elected as President and Secretary respectively. Mr. Subbarao, is deeply interested in Anthropology and Ethnology. He collected during the year valuable and interesting information regarding the Koyas and the Chenchus, aborginal tribes of the Agency tracts of the Godavary District. The results of his investigations were afterwards embodied in a paper, and read before the Second Oriental Conference held at Allahabad, in December 1924. The Society deputed some of its members

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to attend to read papers before the Third Oriental Conference held at Madras in 1925. Mr. C, Naryana Rao, then read a paper, on "Sanskrit and Prakrit influences on Telugu", Mr. R. Subba Rao, on "The necessity for Anthropological Investigations in the Agency parts of Andhradesa, and Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi on "Two more plays of Bhasa," and "Nanyadeva on Music."

This brief survey of the history of the Society will remain incomplete and imperfect, without mention being made, in grateful terms to the great patronage and sympathetic support received by it from time to time, from generous hearted persons like the Maharaja of Pithapuram, Rani Ramayamma Rao of Lakshminarasapuram, Raja Viswasundararao of Vegayammapeta, Raja Venkatramayya Apparao of Mirzapuram, Raja Venkatadri Appa Rao of Vuyyuru and a number of others, as well as from the Government of Madras, Director of Public Instruction, several District and Local Boards, Municipalities and District Educational Officers.

EXTRACTS FROM PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Delivered by J. RAMAYYA PANTULU, B.A.,B.L. on 30-8-25.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

Historical research is the search for the facts of history. It is the purpose of this address to indicate briefly how that search should be conducted. I do not presume to be able to say anything fresh on this ancient theme, which has been dealt with by great scholars from time to time, but what I am going to state may be taken as the result of my own experience and reflection in regard to historical research in India, and Southern India in particular.

We have no ready made histories such as, for instance, the English have. We have fairly well written political histories of the British period of the administration of this country and also histories perhaps less well written of the Mohammedan period though even here the Hindu point of view has yet to be adequately stated. But we have no regular histories of the pre-Mohammedan period and

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the efforts of most of the scholars at present engaged in historical research in this country are directed and very properly directed towards the elucidation and reconstruction of this part of the history of India.

My idea of history is, however, a book written somewhat on the lines of Boswell's Life of Johnson. It must be primarily a narrative of events stated correctly, and in proper sequence. That forms the basis for comments which are after all the individual opinions of the author. Different persons may draw different inferences from the same set of facts. While there can be no objection to their doing so, one must insist on the facts being stated with absolute accuracy and in their proper order. This is by no means an easy thing to do. In daily life, we see people mixing up facts and their inferences in regard to them, sometimes without knowing it.

I propose to indicate briefly what classes of materials there are for the reconstruction of the ancient history of this ancient land and how each of those classes should be handled. In the forefront of these classes must be placed the literatures of the country—especially the Sanskrit literature. Sanskrit is not altogether devoid of historical books, *vide* for instance, Kalhana's *Rajatarngini* but what I value most is the general Sanskrit literature from the Vedas down to the Kavyas. Macaulay dismissed the whole of this literature as puerile and childish, but oriental scholars have since come to a different conclusion. Whatever view may be taken of its value in other respects, there can be no doubt of its value for historical purposes and Macaulay himself would not have denied it. We have first the Vedas—the *Samhita* and the *Brahmanas*—then the early Vedangas, then the Sutras, the Smritis, the Puranas and the Kavyas. They form a rich mine of historical information if only we could find the ore and separate the metal from the stone. In order to correctly understand the meanings of these ancient writings, it is most necessary that you should approach them in a state of mind which is attuned to them. You must first try to enter into the spirit of the times in which the author lived and then to find out his individual mental bearings. Fortified with this qualification, you must try to understand him by the dry light of intellect, taking special care to keep out the influence of your personal bias. It is only then that you can understand an author as he is:—which should be your object to do. The present day English educated research student is at a peculiar disadvantage in regard to this matter. He is apt to approach the subject with a particular set of ideas and outlook on life which he has caught in western literature and this acts as a great handicap on his capacity to understand an ancient text. He will have to first

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unlearn these things if he wants to understand correctly. It must not be supposed that the non-English knowing Pundit of the orthodox type is the ideal person to understand the ancient writings. He may be free from the defects of the English education but has got his own. He is apt to interpret the ancient texts too much by the help of the later day commentaries thereon. Great spaces of time must have intervened between the authors and their commentators and although the latter must be taken to have tried their best to understand the former as they were, it is not unnatural to suppose that sometimes they import the ideas of their own times and place—if not also their own predilections into their interpretations. One of the canons of interpretation of the commentators—especially of Dharmasastras—seems to be, to treat all writers as if they lived at tht same time and are of equal authority. They seem to recognize no chronological or local differences. The Pundit generally relies on these commentators without referring to original authors. He is also generally ignorant of the comparative method of study, which alone can yield a key to correct understanding. The English educated scholar is at an advantage in this respect. The proper equipment for a correct understanding of ancient writings is a combination of the good points of both classes of research workers and it should be the endeavour of all researchers, if I may use that term, to acquire that combination. Where one cannot combine both in oneself, the two classes of workers should consult each other and collaborate. The comparative method of the one and the learning and insight of the other, are both necessary to extract the particles of gold lying hidden in the ore.

Next to Sanskrit literature, come the Vernacular literatures. The Telugu literature which alone we need consider now, abounds in historical material. Telugu literarure, like all literatures in the past, has flourished under the patronge of kings and their courtiers to whom the books have been almost invariably dedicated and, thanks to the vanity of those gentlemen, the books contain long eulogies of those to whom they are dedicated. These eulogies cannot always be taken at their face value. One has to make a large allowance for hyperbole and even mistatement. Making this allowance, there is usually much information in them, which will be of immense use to the student of history. Our literature is, for obvious reasons, especially rich in information about the Vijianagara dynasties and no student of the history of the Vijianagar Empire can afford to overlook it. The late Mr. T. A. Gopinadha Row was engaged in making a collection of all passages in literatare bearing on the subject but it does not appear to have been published. The Madras University has recently published a book compiled on similar lines by the University Professor, Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar and entitled "The Sources of the History of

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Vijianagar." It is not, however, complete. May I suggest that this Society should undertake not only the completion of that book but also similar compilations for other Telugu dynasties, the KAKATIYA dynasty, for instance. If the association cannot find the funds necessary for the publication of the book, the Andhra University which is almost at our threshold now, may be induced to undertake the publication.

In this connection, special reference must be made to the remarkable book named (రామరాజీయము or నరపతివిజయము) *Ramarâjiyam or Narapativijayam).* It is mainly an historical book dealing with the history of the last dynasty of the Vijianagar Empire. It is evidently based on older documents and so far as the statements of fact are concerned, it is, in a great measure, corroborated by inscriptions. A student of this period of South Indian history cannot afford to overlook it. Of a similar nature is the (తొండమాన్ వంశావళి) *Tondmân vamsâvali* which has been published in the Journal of the *Andhra Sâhitya Parishat.* It is a remarkable little poem in two parts, compiled by the father and son and dealing with the history of the Pudukôta chiefs during the period of the Carnatic wars between the French and the English. It throws a considerable light on the history of this period and you will find it corroborated in several respects by Orme's history. We have got several other anonymous historical accounts dealing with the history of particular places or dynasties. Most of these will be found in the collections called "LOCAL RECORDS" in the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. We have there, for instance, an account of the KAKATIYA kings, an account of the REDDIS OF KONDAVIDU, the history of the NAIKS OF TANJORE and many more similar accounts. The most remarkable book of this class which, however, is not in this collection but has been secured in the Tamil country is the (రాయవాచకము) *Râyavâchakamu.* It purports to be an account of Krishnadeva Raya's administration. I do not think it was compiled during the reign of that great king; but it must have been compiled not very long afterwards. It contains very interesting details of the administration of this Vijianagar Empire during its most prosperous period. It is, I think, the source which supplied the material for Kumâra Dhûrjati's (కృష్ణరాయ విజయము) *Krishnarâyavijayam.* This book also has been published in the Journal of the *Andhra Sahitya Parishat* and I believe the *Parishat* contemplates republishing critical editions of this and of (తొండమాన్ వంశావళి) *Tondaman vamsavali* with notes. If the members of this Society undertake to edit these books, I have no doubt the *Parishat* will thankfully accept their services. Another book of this nature which I must mention is (వెలుగోటివారి వంశావళి) *Velugôtivâri vamsâvali* which consists

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of Telugu verses which were apparently composed by different persons and at different times in eulogy of several Velugôti chiefs, The book has, to my knowledge, not been published. I saw a manuscript copy of it in the Venkatagiri Palace Library some years ago. Some of the verses are incomplete and there are many errors. Every endeavour should, I think, be made to publish this book also.

Akin to these sources, is a large mass of folk-lore in the form of songs and ballads. All these have suffered greatly by passing through hundreds if not thousands of illiterate mouths, if I may say so some have been reduced to writing but in corrupt form. The most important of this class are, the story of the seige of BOBBILI (బొబ్బిలికథ) and the story of the PALNAD HEROES (పల్నాటి వీరచరిత్ర). The latter describes the war of succession between two rival claimants to the throne of the Palnad in the Guntur District and is in conception almost an epic, It shows signs of having been modelled after the Mahabharata. Of all the characters delineated in it, two are of outstanding merit, viz, Bâludu or Bâlachandrudu, a prototype of Abhimanyu and the woman Nâyakurâlu who is a statesman and a soldier rolled into one and whose name is perpetuated in Nâyakurâlikanuma, which is the name of a pass connecting the Vinukonda and Palnâd Taluks. Corrupt as this source of information generally is, it can neverthless be made to yield results if patiently and carefully examined.

The next source of historical information which I wish to refer to is, Epigraphy. This is by far the most important source for more reasons than one. In the first place, inscriptions are contemporaneous records of the events they deal with, while literary accounts are not always so. Again, books are liable to be manipulated in transcription and probably there is no old book which has not been so tampered with. Inscriptions are, on the other hand, found in the very state in which they came into existence and their evidential value is, therefore very much greater. Last but not least, most of the inscriptions contain dates and thereby import the great advantage of chronological exactness to the conclusions based on them. There are thousands of inscriptions lying about the country, awaiting examination. In our own district we have that veritable store house of inscriptions, the great temple of Bhimêswara at DAKSHARAMA. The thanks of students of history are due to the Government Epigraphical Department for having recently published all these inscriptions in a book form *. I commend this book strongly to the members of this Society. They will find there several hundreds of inscriptions ranging over a period of four couturies or more and referring to several

* Not all the inscriptions found in the place have been published, only three hundred have been published so far. Ed.

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dynasties of kings that ruled over the Telugu country. They will find in the book many interesting things besides the names of kings and their dates. They will find, for instance, that Dakshârâma had in olden times a vernacular folk name DAKA-REMI † which was perhaps the crude form which subsequently developed into the sanskritized form Dâksharâma, that the place then abounded in dancing girls whose number was large enough to constitute two societies called the "Big Three Hundred" and and the "Little Three Hundred" పెద్ద మున్నూరు and చిన్న మున్నూరు and that measures were in those days, stamped with the king's seals and were called after the names of the kings whose seals they bore. We have a set of inscriptions in which certain people swear allegiance to the king and insist on the king not forsaking them in favour of another king. It would be interesting to enquire and find out what necessitated this declaration.

Outside our own district, there are many places containing large number of inscriptions. Simhâchalam in the Vizagapatam District, Bezwada in the Krishna, Amarâvati, Konidena and Chêbrôle in the Guntur, Srisailam and Ahôbalam in the Kurnool, Raméswaram and Pushpagiri in the Cuddapah, Nellore in the Nellore, Kalahasti and Tirupati in the Chittore, Tadpatri and Penugonda in the Anantapur and Humpi in the Bellary are only a few of them. The Government Epigraphical Department have collected most of these inscriptions but very few of them have been published. Publication by a single agency necessarily takes time and it would greatly assist and facilitate the work of historical students, if societies like ours undertake to publish thoroughly reliable editions of some of the inscriptions. The societies may divide the work among themselves, each confining itself to particular dynasties or districts. These publications should be on the model of the latest volume of the SOUTH INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS VOL. IV, *i. e.* they need only contain the bare text of the inscriptions without translations. An introductory note may be prefixed to each volume dealing with the main points arising out of inscriptions contained therein. But even this is not absolutely necessary. What is most important is that the text of the inscriptions should be thoroughly accurate.

To do this, it is better that the societies have their own collection of inscriptions and I would strongly advise our Society to set about making a collection of its own. A few brushes and dabbers which can be obtained from the contractor who supplies them to the Epigraphical Department and a good supply of printing paper are the materials required for the purpose. You can make the ink yourself from lamp black from time to time. Supplied with these materials

† The place is also known as Peda-Dakaremi and Dakaremi. Ed.

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members may go out and visit the important places one after another and make estampages of the inscriptions. The estampages can be stored and decyphered at the convenience of the members.

I have, so far, been referring to stone inscriptions. There are also copper-plate inscriptions. These are engraved on copperplates bearing the seal of the king. As a rule, they record grant of villages, or lands to individuals and are of the nature of private documents, while the lithic inscriptions record grants made to temples and are of the nature of public notifications. Copper-plates generally lie buried underground and are found in the course of excavations. Sometimes they are melted and converted into drinking vessels. Persons interested in historical research, must be on the look out for these inscriptions and secure them.

To one who is not already in the field, I may say that the scrutiny of inscriptions will be amply rewarded by the results. I may tell him, for instance, that the examination of a long inscription at Malkâpuram in the Guntur District will, besides telling him that Queen Rudrama Dêvi was the daughter and not the queen as is often supposed of the Kâkatîya king Ganapati Deva, give a very detailed and intersting account of the system of village economy during the Kâkatîya rule. An inscription at Môtupalli also in the Guntur District and of the time of Ganapati Dêva, will tell him that there was then a good deal of sea-borne trade between that port and several other ports of Asia and that Ganapati Dêva introduced a system of import duties (of which a schedule is given) in supersession of the previous practice of the king taking a portion of the merchandize. An inscription at Kondavidu will give the schedule of *octroi* duties levied on goods entering the city limits during the Vijianagar rule. More than one inscription will tell him that people of the oil-monger caste (తెలుకుల) enjoyed special privileges during the time of the Chalukyan supramacy owing to the claim they put forth of having helped the Chalukyas in establishing their power. This seems to have given rise to the idea held by some people of this caste that they were originally Kshatrias but had lost caste some how subsequently. I have heard that there is a book dealing with the supposed history of these people. This book seems to have been the source of inspiration to an old man of this caste whom I knew in the Cuddapah District. That man sincerely believed that he was a lineal descendant of Sadasiva Raya, the last king of the third Vijianagar dynasty and was therefore entitled to rule over the whole of Southern India. He would send petitions to Government as Akula Subbanna, of the family of Emperor Sadasiva Raya(రాజాధిరాజ రాజపరమేశ్వర శ్రీవీరప్రతాప సదాశివదేవ మహారాయలు గారి ఆకుల సుబ్బన్న) and ask them to put him in possession of the country

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and pending that, he would ask, as an interim prayer, that he should be immedialely put in possession of certain specified villages in the Jammalamadugu Taluk for his maintenance. He was also constantly worried by ryots cutting trees in the fields, since those fields were really his and he would sometimes file criminal complaints against the ryots. He spent a large portion of his small income on postage and court-fee stamps and was living in hope when I left the district twenty years ago.

We have, so far, considerod the case of the historical material found in the British portion of the Telugu country. Many a scene in the drama of Andhra history was played in the country now comprised in that Hyderbad territory and there are ample evidences of those scenes in that country. No book dealing with the history of the Telugu country can be considered complete, which does not consult these evidences. There is now an archaeological and epigraphical department in Hyderabad and our Society will do well to put itself in communication with the head of that department and subscribe to the Journal published by him. A student of Andhra history must also provide himself with a set of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* which contains almost all the inscriptions in the Mysore Province.

The next source of historical information consists of coins and archaeological remains such as statues, buildings and mounds. Large numbers of leaden coins of the time of the Andhra dynasty have been found in different ports of the country, but I am not aware that we have many coins ef later dynasties. Our own district contains several Jain and Budhist statues i.e, those at Nêdunûr, Aryavatam and Pithapuram. We have ancient mounds at Peda-Vegi, Amarâvati Bhattiprôlu, Ghantasála and Jaggayyapêta. These are yet to be excavated and examined. When that is done, I have no doubt they will yield good results.

We have, I think, considered nearly all the sources of history available to us. The work before us is two fold, collecting materials and putting them together and writting history therefrom. There may be people who think that it is now time to proceed to write the history of the Telugu country. I am not one of them. My own view is that we are yet not much beyond the threshold of the collecting stage and have yet to travel much in that direction. It is a very small percentage of the available inscriptions that have been examined. Very many more remain untouched, and until these and the general literature are critically examined, we shall not have completed the collection work tō which I think the labours of the present day workers should be mainly devoted. The work may not be attractive. It may be drudgery. But it is a piece of work that has to be done.

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Let it be the privilege of the present generation to do it. Let us lay the foundation firmly and surely and leave it to the coming master builders to raise the edifice of history thereon, structures based on ill-laid foundations collapse sooner or later. Let our aim be to make a real and lasting contribution to the reconstruction of the history of the country and not to get kudos for ourselves.

By collection I do not, of course, mean mere collection of books and inscriptions. I mean very much more i.e. critically examining the materials and drawing correct conclusions therefrom. This is often a laborious and tedious work. If you want your work to be correct, you must take certain precautions, you must first avoid haste. Hastily drawn conclusions are seldom right. Then, you must see that your enthusiasm does not run away with your discretion. Enthusiasm is a very good thing. In fact it is essential. Without it, no work can be done. But it should not be allowed to usurp the place of calm thinking. Above all, avoid the temptation to be the first to proclaim a brilliant discovery to the world. That temptation is very strong and sometimes almost irrestitable. Neverthless, you must try to over come it. If you succumb to it, your vision gets dim and you cannot see the right path before you. In examining the evidence before you, do not assume the role of an advocate who has to prove his case any how. Rather assume the position of an impartial judge whose business is to find the truth. Approach the subject in a spirit of detachment and impartiality. It would be of the greatest help to you if you could put your self in the position of a possible objector and try to meet his possible objections. That would be the best test of the value of your conclusions. I lay stress on the necessity for these precautions because they are often neglected. You see the effect of that neglect in many unnecessary and futile controversies going on in the newspapers, especially Telugu newspapers. To the man who wants to write history, I would say first make sure of your facts. Do not build on unproved foundations. Then, I would say let the conclusions you draw from facts, have real relation to those facts. Do not travel beyond the scope of the facts or indulge in wild conjuctures. We sometimes see cases in which the so called facts are slender threads whereby the author tries to hang a theory too heavy for it to bear. I would then, say do not mix up facts and fancies. The ordinary lay reader is unwary and unable to separate them. Last but not least, do not attempt to be rhetorical or brilliant in style. Rhetoric and accuracy are not always compatable and history is expected to be accurate and not rhetorical.

It is a matter for satisfaction that the spirit of historical research is spreading in the Telugu country. At the time when I

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began to lisp in it, which is more than thirty years ago, there were very few in the field. In fact, I cannot now recollect any names. Of course, there were Messrs. Viresalingam Pantulu and Gurajada Sri-Ramamurti Pantulu but they were primarily concerned with writing the lives of poets. At the present time, there are several youug men treading in that path. May their race increase! Among these works, I must make special mention of two. One of them is the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao. He seems to have entered the field comparatively late in life, and in connection with the compilation of his TELUGU ENCYCLOPAEDIA (ఆంధ్రవిజ్ఞానసర్వస్వము), he wanted to devote a whole volume to the world *Andhra* and write in it all about the Andhras and their country. He wanted to do all this himself and began to acquire the necessary knowledge. It was a very ambitions programme that he set before himself and he was taken away before he could fulfill it. I had opportunities of appreciating his work. He worked on right lines and had the sense of historical veracity. The other gentleman whom I wish to mention is happily with us still. I mean Mr. Chilukuri Virabhadra Rao. Mr. Virabhadra Rao's achievements in this field are well known. He has an undying enthusiasm for his work, great industry and a facile pen. I do not say that I agree with all his conclusions or that his method is invariably such as I would myself adopt. But that is another matter. His services in the field of historical research are undoubted and he deserves the thanks of the Andhradesa for it.

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TRI-KALINGA

By G. RAMADASS, B. A., M. R. A. S.

(JEYPORE, Vizagapatam)

Tri-Kalinga, in the title of 'Tri-Kalingadhipati, appears to be the name of a country, of such importance that kings of Kalinga as as well as the kings of Chêdi took pride to call themselves 'the lords of Tri-Kalinga'. Either led away by the apparent meaning of the name or deceived by the traditional ideas regarding the extent of the region called Kalinga, modern scholars of Indian History understand it to signify 'three kalingas'.

Sir Alexander Cunningham was the first to say that it signified Dhanaka or Amarâvati, Andhra or Wârangal and Kalinga or Rajahmundry, three kingdoms that once existed along the east coast supposed to have been called in ancient times by the name of Kalinga. He even asserts that the three Kalingas existed even in very ancient days because Pliny mentioned Macco-Calingæ, Gangardies-Calingæ, and Calingæ; and because in Mahabharata, Kalingas were named three separate times and each time in conjunction with different peoples. But Dr. Fleet, being unable to justify the title of 'Tri-Kalingadhipati' to each of Somavamsi kings of Kattack, stated that it was a meaningless attribute [Ep. Ind. Vol iii. No. 47. 327]. He arrived at this decision as he understood the expression to mean the 'Lord of the three Kalingas', and saw the impossibility of the kings of Kattack (Orissa) being the lords of a country streching from the mouth of the Ganges to the mouth of the Krishna, particularly at a time when the Eastern Gângas were supreme in the region of the Mahêndra mountain. Leaving apart the statements of 'Kalinga' of Pliny and those of the Mahâbhârata, nothing can be discovered to assert the existence of three separate Kalingas, in any period prior to that of Asôka, nor is there evidence to show that Kalinga extended as far as the Krishna in the south.

It has been pointed out that Asôka had conquered a consolidated kingdom of Kalinga extending from the southern confines of Magadha in the north, to about Sômpêta in the Ganjâm District in the south. (Samâpa or the Asôkan Kalinga : Ind. Ant. April and May 1923). Huôn Tsâng, in his travels states to have seen one Kalinga only, with one capital and inhabited by men of uniform manners and customs. I have shown in the historical Geography of Kalinga (Jour. of Mythic Soceity, Vol. XIV No. 4) that the kingdom of the Eastern Gângas extended from the lake Chilka in the north, to about Salur

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in the south. The kings of Sûrya-vamsa that succeeded the Eastern Gângas, extended their sway southwards to the Kavêry, if not beyond, but never called the whole of the east coast by the name of Kalinga. Simhâchalam, a place of pilgrimage in Vizagapatam District was the southern gate of Kalinga. When at no time between B. C 300 and A. D. 1500, the name of Kalinga was applied to the country south of Simhâchalam and when the whole region during this whole period was treated as a consolidated unit, politically, socially and religiously, how can it be possible to include Andhra and Dhanaka in it and to interpret Tri-Kalinga to mean 'three-Kalingas'?

The real import of the name can be understood only by the study of the history of the kings of the several families that bore the title. Some of the Eastern Gânga kings of Kalinga, the Kâlachûri kings of Chêdi and the Sômavamsi kings of Kattack, were the only rulers that prided themselves with the addition of 'Tri Kalingâdhipati,' to the several titles they inherited from their respective ancestral thrones.

Amongst the Gânga kings of Kalinga, the first to embellish himself with 'Tri-Kalingadhipati' was Vajra-hasta, miscalled 'the third'. Both in his own charters, of which only four [1] have yet been found, and in the charters of his successors he is called the lord of 'Tri-Kalinga in addition to the appellations he had inherited as the ruler of Kalinga'. None of his predecessors on the throne were 'Tri-Kalingâdhipatis' though they were the kings of Kalinga. This Vajra-hasta was distinguished from his ancestors of the same name by this designation in the charters of his successors. *(Sa-Vajrahast-str-kailinga-nâdhah.)* [2] The Narsipatam plates dated Saka Samvat 967 the oldest known document and the Madras Museum plates dated Saka Samvat 984, also mention it. Though he ascended the throne in Saka 960 or A. D. 1038 he seems to have assumed the lordship of Tri-Kalinga from about Saka 967 or A. D. 1045. This he had maintained till his death in Saka 990 or A. D. 1068.

The Chêdi-king Karnadeva, say his Benaras plates dated Kalachurisamvat 793 (A. D. 1042), had this title of 'Lord of Tri-Kalinga' (Ep. Ind. vol ii p. 305) Gangeyadeva, his father is said to have held in check the Pandyas, Muralas, Vangas, Kalingas, Kiras and

1. Narasipatam plates dated S. S. 967. (Ep. Ind. Vol. XI No. 14).
Nadagam plates dated S S. 979 (Ep. Ind. Vol. IV No. 24).
Madras Museum plates dated S. S. 984. (Ep. Ind. Vol IX No. 11).
Chikkali plates dated S. S. 982. (Bharati Vol. II No. 2).

2. Anantavarman Choda Ganga's Vizagapatam plates (Ind. Ant. June 1889).
Narasimhadeva II's plates.
Narasimhadeva IV's plates.

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Hunas all of which countries must have been abutting on the Chêdi kingdom. The kings of Chêdi, and those ofKalinga being neighbours must have had causes of dispute. In a Chêdi charter dated A. D. 1042, Karnadeva was the lord of Tri-Kalinga. Kirtivarma Chandel, from one side and Somesvara Chalukya from the opposite had foiled this Karnadeva. Taking this opportunity of the weakened state of of Chêdi, Vajra-hasta of Kalinga might have defeated him and become the 'Tri-Kalingadhipati', necessarily taking the region of Tri-Kalinga under his sway. This must have been the reason for the appearance of the title in his grants from A. D. 1045 and its absence in those of his predecessors.

'Tri-Kalingadhipati' Vajra-hasta is said to have extended the kingdom of Kalinga in all directions which may be an exaggerated way of saying that he had acquired territory only on one side. Considering the situation and condition of his kingdom it was possible for him to extend it only towards the north-west; for the Kalinga kings, long before the time of this Vajra-hasta, had subdued the country of Svêtaka, identified with Chikati.(Jour. Mythic Society, Vol. XIV No.4) and were strongly established there. To the north of this Svêtaka lay Utkala, with which the Kalinga kings had nothing to do till the time of Anantavarama Choda Ganga who is said to have replaced the fallen lord of Utkala. To the north-west of Svêtaka which is now marked by the Zamindaries of Surangi, Chikati and the south-eastern portion of China-Kimidy Zamindary and to the west of the hills of which Mahendra-giri is the highest peak, lies a hill country which abutts on the west on Dakshina-Kosala, which long before the time of which we are writing, went under the sway of Kâlachuri kings of Chêdi who seemed to have ruled over the country extending to the Godavary, in the south.

In ancient times, Kalinga is said to have extended to Amarkantak in the west. Both Matsya (Adhy. 185 Ver. 9) and Kûrma (Adhy. 109 Ver. 9) puranas say that the Narmada drains the western half of Kalinga (occupied by) Amarakantak. Within the region between the east coast and the Amarkantak hills were shown the Mekalas, the Utkalas and the Kalingas, who were respectively the Macco-Calingæ, Gangarades-Calingæ and Calingæ of Magesthenes. The Maikal range of the Vindhya mountains still bears evidence of the habitation of the Mekalas in that region. In my paper on 'Tri-linga and Kulinga' (Ind. Ant. Dec. 1925) it is shown that the name of Kalinga was derived from *Kui* language still spoken by the Konds, Gonds and other allied tribes. The old name of Gondwana given to the same region clearly proves that the whole region formed the home

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of the Gonds, a name generally applied to all the *Kui* speaking tribes in the Central Provinces. In *Kui*, 'Mel' means high; *Tamul*, mêle; *Tel.* mida *Cans.* mêle. *Kal or Kala* is a contraction of Kalinga. So the Kalingas that inhabited the hills became known as Mecco-Calingæ which being contracted became Mekals. The Gangarades Kalingæ, were so called because they lived in the region of the Ganges (Ganga) of damp and watery soil. Ganga also means water in general. Uta in *Kui* is applied to water that oozes. Gangarades-Calingæ when changed into the language of the natives becomes Uta-Kalinga which being contracted becomes 'Ut-kal'. Many derive this from 'Uttara Kalinga', but this is not feasible as the name of the southern part is not spoken with any affix meaning, south. As the southern part has no distinguishing feature, the name that was applied to the whole class in general, has been left in its unmodified form.

Though the Amarkantak hills formed the western boundary of Kalinga in the Puranic times, the political and tribal changes that had occured in latter times gradually placed the Amarakantak region under the sway of the kings of Chêdi, and the Eastern Gangas could subdue only the plain country from the river Nagavali in the south to the Chilka lake in the north. A tract of hill country now occupied by the Kalahandi state, Sambalpur District of Orissa and the Gumsoor maliahs of Ganjam intervened between the dominions of Chêdi and the Eastern Ganga kingdom. It was for this territory that Karnadeva of Chedi and Vajra-hasta of Kalinga came into clash. Both were warriors and both were ambitious of a soldier's name. But Chedi's king surrounded by powerful enemies on all sides was forced to surrender this territory along with the title to the Kalinga soverign. It was this hill tract that was called Tri-Kalinga.

The affix 'Tri' signifies height, * a feature that distinguished it from Kalinga proper which was the coastal plain. Places in India, where height or elevation is prominent have names begining with 'Tri' or 'Tiru'. Tripati or Tirupati, a place of pilgrimage in the Chittoor District is situated on a high range of the Eastern Ghats. Telugu votaries address the God by the name of *Kondalu*-(of mountain) *rayudu* (ruler or king). *Tiru-mala-rayalu* is another name of the God, '*malai*' means 'hills' and 'Tiru' means 'high'. Tiru-mala is the name of the range, *i. e.* high hills.

Trichinopoly is an important place in the South. It is said that the name is a corruption of Tri-sira-pally. It is explained that it was the abode of a three-headed demon. Every one that has visited

* 'Tiru' is generally meant, to be a corrupt from of Sanskrit word 'Sri' and means 'Lakshmi' or 'auspicious', It does not appear to mean 'high' as the learned writer thinks—Ed,

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the place cannot but admit of the striking appearance of the rock round which the town grew, seen from the front, the rock looks like the human-head. Therefore the name means Tiru = high; Sira = head; pally = town; *i. e.* a town (round) a high head (like rock).

Pakshi-teertham is the Sanskrit translation of Tirralicondram (Tiru-kazhu-kunram) a place of pilgrimage in Chengalput District It means the 'high hill of kite'. As it stands upon a hill which is soft above the plain, it is named so. Trichengode in Salem District got the affix on account of the hill 1200 ft. high on which its temple stands. Thus a careful study of the topography of the places with names beginning with this prefix clearly shows that it signifies that the height of the place was considered when the name was given to each whatever is high or elevated is eminent and holy. So came the secondary meaning in which it is used in such names as Tiru-Vacagam. In later days this sense of piety struck on to it and the original meaning was dropped. This is so in Southern India where Dravidan influence is felt, but in Northen India, where the Dravidian influence was entirely forgotten, the word is mistaken for 'tri' (Sanskrit word for three). Consequently 'Tri-pura' is understood to mean 'three cities'; and 'Tri-kuta to mean 'three peaks'. Yet the original meaning of height suggests itself, if their descriptions are studied. The word in the original sense still exists as 'Tir' in the language of the Gadabas, a mundri tribe closely attached to the Savaras.

In the light of this, 'Tri-Kalinga' means 'High Kalinga' and conveys the same idea as mel-Kalinga or mel-kal or mekal; it was the name of this hilly region lying to the west of Kalinga. The agency tracts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam Districts are identified to have been the ancient Mahakantâra mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription. (Kingdoms of the Deccan. Ind. His. Quarterly Dec. 1925). In an inscription found at Amaravati, (Slab No. 8 Amaravati Stupa by Burgess) a village 'Sagharu' is said to have been situated in Mahavana. I have shown in my paper on 'A brief survey of Nandapur History (Vizianagaram Maharajah's College Magazine Vol. iv Nos. 33 and 4) that Nandapur, the ancient capital of the present Jeypore family was as old as the Amaravati Stupa. In the vicinity of this Nandapur is a village called Soguru. The Mahakantara of the Allahabad prasasti, being a translation of Mahavana of the inscription, the Agency Division of the Vizagapatam District can, with no doubt, be said to have been the dominion of Vyaghra-raja. This region extends as far as the Mahendra-giri in the north. So the hills to the north-west of this mountain was the Tri-Kalinga for which the kings of Chedi and Kalinga competed. Naturally this hill-region forms a part of the Kosala kingdom which occupied the upper valley of the Mahanadi. So the dispute for Tri-Kalinga was chiefly between Kosala and Kalinga

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alone. But in the 10th century the kings of Chedi conquered Kosala and set up a *mandalesvara* over it. The Governers of Kosala were brought face with the Gangas of Kalinga. At the time of Samudragupta's conquest, both hill-Kalinga and plain-Kalinga seem to have been under one king. By using the expression 'Mahendra-giri-Kouthura' he author of the Prasasti, perhaps intended to hint at the difference in the topography of two varieties of physical nature of the kingdom of Kalinga. But this difference in structure soon led to political separation also.

It is shown above that in A. D. 1045 Vajra-hasta defeated Karnadeva of Chedi and took Tri-Kalinga and called himself 'Tri-Kalingadipati. This he retained till his death. Inscriptions of his son Rajaraja, are not yet brought out. Yet as none of the successors of Karnadeva on the throne of Chedi bore the title till A. D. 1158; as Anantavarma Choda Ganga had this title even from the time of his coronation, it may be safely assumed that Rajaraja held sway over Tri-Kalinga; nor was it disputed by the Chedi kings.

During the reign of Anantavarma Choda Ganga, the Chedi rulers might have again made efforts through their vassals at Ratnapur to conquer Tri-Kalinga. Kharod stone inscription dated Chedi year 933 (A. D. 1181-82) says that Ratnadeva II of Ratnapur had defeated Choda Ganga, the Lord of the country of Kalinga (Ind. Ant. Vol XXII p. 82). From the other inscriptions of the Chedi kings, it is ascertained that Ratnadeva flourished between A. D. 1114 and 1145. Anantavarma Choda Ganga reigned over Kalinga from A. D. 1068—1147. This defeat of the Kalinga sovereign by a Chedi vassal-lord is not mentioned in any of the available documents of the Kalinga kings; yet the disappearance of the title of Tri-Kalingadhipati from the titles of the kings, sufficiently establishes the loss of the territory as a result of this defeat. Choda Ganga is said to be the Lord of Tri-Kalinga in his Vizagapatam plates dated Saka 1003(I. A. Vol. XVIII); and Saka 1057; and in Korni plates dated Saka 1003 (Bharati Vol II No. 8) but he is not spoken of with that appellation in his other grants, nor does that title appear amongst the titles in the inscriptions of his successors on the throne. His inscriptions at Mukhalingam ranging from A. D. 1118 to 1147 do not give this title of 'Tri-Kalingadhipati.' There are four or five inscriptions of his wives dated in A. D. 1128 at Draksharama in the Godavary District. In none of them he is called a 'Tri-Kalingadhipati'. It may be assumed that from A. D. 1118 he had lost the title as well as the territory and must have been the year of his defeat by the Chedi prince Ratnadeva II. The Kalinga kings never afterwards seemed to have assumed it as is it not found mentioned in any of their inscriptions, The cause for the appearance

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of ths title in his Vizagapatam plates of Saka of 1057 may be due to the mistakes of the scribe, who might have in copying the composition from an earlier grant, inadvertently copied this title also. Anayânkabhima, a son of Chôda Ganga is called 'Tri-Kalingâdhipati' in the inscription at Bhuvaneswar (J.A.S. B., Vol. LXVI; Part 1 No. I p. 18) observing that he is not called so in any other inscription and considering the high rhetoric employed in the composition, the title might have been used by the poet. Thus the title and the territory that gave the title, remained in the Eastern Ganga dynasty from A. D. 1045 to 1118 and went back to the Kalachuri kings of Chedi and ever afterwards the two parts of the hilly west and the coastal strip remained under seperate kings. This seperation became so widened that their ethnographical relation was forgotten and the plain country below the ghats alone retained the original name; the ghat road that goes from Russel-konda to Durga-prasad peak into the hill country is called Kalinga ghat *i. e.* the ghat that leads into Kalinga.

Tri-Kalinga together with the title remained in the Chedi family from A. D. 1118 to 1175 as can be seen from their inscriptions of this period, but disappears afterwards from the inscriptions of those that ruled over Chedi. Lal-pahad inscription of Chedi samvat 909 (A. D. 1158) is the first known document of Narasimha-deva of Tripuri and it mentions the appellation of 'Tri-Kalingadhipati' amongst the king's other titles. His younger brother Jayasimha-deva appears with the title in Rewah plates of Maharanaka Kirti-varma of Kakkareddi dated Chedi Samvat 927 (A. D. 1175), (I. A. Vol. XVII p. 223), but his own Tewar inscription dated Chedi Samvat 928 (A. D. 1127) (Ep. Ind. Vol II p. 18) does not mention this title. It is not also found in the Chedi inscriptions after that date. After A. D. 1177 it must have been lost to the Kalchuri kings of Tripuri also.

The Soma-vamsi kings of Katak (Ep. Ind. Vol. III No. 47; Ep. Ind. Vol. XI No. 93 and J. A. S. B. Vol. VII p. 558) were the third family of kings to embelish themselves with the title of 'Tri-kalingadhipati'. Dr. Fleet, on considerations of paleography, assigned them to the XI century. But we have seen above that between A. D. 1042 and 1175, the title was owned either by the kings of Chedi or by the rulers of Kalinga, so as 'Lords of Tri-Kalinga' they could not have existed in this period. They were lords of Kosala first, and then must have become the lords of Tri-Kalinga also. Long before Karnadeva sat on the throne of Chedi, Kalinga-raja, a descendant of the Chedi family of Tripura acquired Dakshina-Kosala and settled at Tummanna. (Ratnapur stone inscription of Jajalla-deva (Ep. Ind. Vol.I p. 32). He was the founder of the Ratnapur family of Kalachuries. This family may be said to have been established in the end of A. D.

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1000. Consequently these Soma-vamsi kings cannot be taken to such earlier period, for the charactors of their inscriptions have more of the 12th century appearance the title that accompanied the posession of the territory called Tri-Kalinga strengthens the paleographical evidence.

Mahasiva Tivara-deva must have been the ruler of Kosala that was ousted from the throne by Karna-deva of Chedi. During the interval of 133 years from A. D. 1042 to 1177, the four generations before Maharajadhiraja Mahasivagupta established himself on the throne of Kosala, having wrested it or at least the southern part from the Ratnapur line. From the time of Mahabhavagupta Raja-deva I alias Janamejaya Rajadeva, the power of the kings might have increased as can be seen from the addition of Raja in their names which is not found in the names of his predecessors. The first of these to assume the title of 'Tri-kalingadhipati' was Mahabhavagupta Raja deva I alias Janamejayadeva. He might have conquered Tri-Kalinga in about A. D. 1175 from Chedi sovereigns and continued to be so till the kingdom of Kosala had disappeared. How Dakshina-Kosala had disappeared, or into what kingdom was Tri-Kalinga merged is not yet known.

Thus it became clear that Tri-Kalinga does not mean 'three Kalingas' and that 'Tri-kalingadhipati' was not an empty title, but was a substantial and dignified title assumed by that sovereign who held sway over the highlands intervening between the cost strip called Kalinga and the Dakshina-Kosala or the modern Chhatisgarh.

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SOUTH INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY

(*By* P. V. JAGADISA AYYAR.)

Tracing out the history of a country satisfactorily from monuments, inscriptions and antiquities by systematic investigations is perhaps the most important duty of the Archæologists and Epigraphists of a country and its respective departments. The locality of a country and its physical features contribute in no small measure to the study of the characteristics of the people inhabiting it in the light thrown by the informations obtained from Archæological and Epigraphical records. South India, though a country most homogenous and well defined, has a variety of races in it, and the manifold differences that exist among these races in the various parts of it baffle the attempts of even the ablest and the best of the Archæologists and Epigraphists to trace out its history as well as that of its people with any amount of satisfaction. This is all the more deplorable since nothing worthy to be termed 'REGULAR HISTORY' has been left behind by the people of ancient times but a few literary productions and inscriptions on stones belonging to the comparatively later peried and it is only with the help of these that we have to do something for the understanding of the past history of this part of India. Though from our epics and puranas much historical matter could be gathered attempts in this direction have not been made. *'A half loaf is better than nothing* and the people of Southern India are bound to be grateful to the Government of India and the Archæological and Ephigraphical departments formed by it, for having secured this fraction of information at least for them before it was too late, since ancient monuments and edifices were fast dwindling into decay.

The history of the formation of the Archæological Department in India is highly interesting to study. A society going by the name of the 'Asiatic Society of Bengal' was formed by a few European gentlemen in the year 1784 for giving an impetus to the study of Indian Antiqutities. This germ, after the lapse of three quarters of a century perhaps, resulted in the appointment of an Archæological Surveyor by the Government of India for making systematic investigations and study of the archæological autiquities, monuments and inscriptions found scattered through out the length and breadth of the land.

In the beginning, the energies of the surveyor appointed and his entire attention were directed to Northern India alone. But on representation made to the government that even the portion of the

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information that could be had just then would not be available after some time since vegetation on buildings worked out a good deal of harm in a tropical country like India, and monuments, buildings etc. that could furnish valuable information, social and historical were fast falling into decay and ruin complete, that the Secretary of State, for India initiated for the first time the conservation of old Architectural structures and the exploration of the numerous valuable and interesting memorials of the ancient civilization of India. Some three years after this, a regular archæological survey establishment was entertained for making a complete search for all Architectural and other remains remarkable for antiquity, beauty or historical interest. Operations in this direction were initiated in Southern India only after about ten years subsequent to the above time.

The officer posted for the Madras Presidency was one Mr. Alexander Rea a trained architect from Scotland. He had to inspect the various ancient monuments calculated to exemplify the different styles of architecture prevalent in the land. Old buildings, remains of bygone artistic periods such as forts etc., having historical value and interest, inscriptions recorded on stone walls of temples as well as in copper plate grants given by the Hindu kings of former days, all valuable art works of the past such as prehistoric implements, pottery and other articles that could furnish information about the then society and buildings of high architectural value such as temples etc., were to be regarded as monuments and dealt with accordingly.

CONSERVATION OF BUILDINGS

Steps that had to be taken most urgently were about the conservation of buildings, monuments and other Indian antiquities. The destructive influence of vegetation on buildings was well known to the ancient Hindus and they had made provisions for the periodical or annual removal of plants etc., growing on temples and other public buildings held in esteem. The department took advantage of this fact to minimise the evil resulting to buildings of interest and importance on account of this over-growth of vegetation. Negligence in the removal then and there of the growth of plants on public buildings spoiled their original beauty and so in order to preserve them and keep them unimpaired, not only were suitable arrangements necessary but steps had also to be taken to prevent decay and destruction from the non-working of the drainage in and around most of those huge structures etc.

Negligence in taking timely steps to avert damage from rain had resulted in the rain water collecting near the foundation of buildings and causing their walls to sink in various places. When once the

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walls go down in parts, it is impossible to reconstruct them. So the result is that the whole building has to be pulled down. Further any slight sinking in places when patched up by buttresses etc., mar the original beauty of the buildings themselves.

Silpa-Sâstra or the science of Indian Architecture has laid down certain principles that have to be followed very closely and strictly when repairs to temple buildings etc., are to be undertaken. But now a days such injunctions are followed more in the breach than in the observance and the Nattukottai Chetties, ever zealous in undertaking repairs to famous temples, do not in the least care to follow any of such principles but try to introduce all sorts of innovations snch as putting up of ventilators, stumpy pillars and so on.

EXCAVTION OF OLD SITES

The next important work that had to engage the attention of this department and its responsible officers was the excavation of old sites, since it was the excavation of such sites that brought to notice such buildings and palaces of ancient days as those of the Chola, Pandya and other kings that remained covered over by earth owing to neglect in consequance of the constant change of their capitals.

In support of what has been stated above we may say that while the palace buildings of the later Vijianagara dynasty of kings are now in existance at Hampi, Chandragiri and Penukonda, those of the rulers before them are to be looked far below the surface of the earth covering them. The latest incident in proof of this is the exposure of a tank at Darasuram near Kumbakonam, near which at the present village of Solamaligai, stood once the palace of the Cholas.

Certain excavations conducted by the Berlin Doctor Jahor at Adichanallur near Sri-Vaikuntam, now a deserted village some twelve miles east of Tinnevelly (where probably once stood a Pandya capital) resulted in the discovery of pottery of various shapes (rather more elegant and of a better manufacture than any met with at the present day), iron implements used in battles, bronze domestic utensils of high and delicate workmanship and some gold diadems. Subsequent to this discovery the Madras Government also unearthed from this vast area several of the above articles now occupying almost one full compartment in the Madras Museum.

At a place called Amarâvati in the Kristna District a Buddhist site was examined in a similar way resulting in the discovery of some marble railings with fine carvings of *Jataka* stories. These also have been transported to the Madras Museum, where one could easily witnes them now-

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LISTING OF MONUMENTS

Listing of monuments in the land was then considered necessary and Mr, Sewell of the Civil Service was placed on special duty for the purpose in 1881. He drew up a list of monumental antiquities with the information furnished by the District Officials and issued the same in 2 volumes, 4 years after his appointment. One important defect in this publication was that it did not at all touch upon the style of Architecture of the buildings referred to therein though all other possible information avilable about them had found a place therein. The reason for the above omission appears to be due to the fact that the officer was not techinically qualified for the work entrusted to him.

When Mr. Rea took charge of his office as Surveyor of the Madras Circle he published for the first time in 1891 a list containing typical specimens of the various architectural periods classified as given under:—

1. Buddhistic remains 250 B. C. to 500 A. D,
2. Pallava caves and structures 500 A. D. to 700 A. D.
3. Chôla and Pandya temples of the 11th century.
4. Chalukyan temples of the 12th to the 14th centuries.
5. Jaina temples of the 14th century.
6. Later Dravidan temples of the 15th century.

In addition to the above, the list also contained examples of military architecture, civil architecture, christian remains, prehistoric mounds etc., Monographs on the various important styles of architecture were also issued by Mr. Rea with profuse illustrations. These volumes throw a fund of information on the various temples lying in the country.

BUDDHIST BUILDINGS

The principal element in the buildings of the Buddhist style of architecture is the *Stupa* or *Dagoba* intended as the receptacle for the relics of Buddha himself or his deciples. Hence Buddhist shrines may well be called 'Monumental Shrines'., and they consist of cylindrical bases supporting hemi-spherical domes going by the names *garbhas*, with square stone boxes called '*Tees*'.

Lord Buddha is generally represented in his images as being seated on a throne with corners supported by two lions, with folded hands and feet thrown on a lotus blossom.

The main hall itself in the building going by the name of *Chaitya* is constructed with brick and chunam and is intended for preaching purposes. To enable the audience seated throughout the hall to hear the speaker distinctly, the hall was designed and constructed adopting the acoustic principles, *i. e.* principles of sound transmission.

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As symbolism is the main feature in Buddhism, Buddhist buildings are full of decorations of the kind, *Trisula*, *Chakra*, *Swasthika*, shield and so on.

Discoveries have also been made of Jaina caves containing sculptures with inscriptions throwing some lights on history and religion in several places such as Vallimalai in the North Arcot District, Mudbidri near Manglore, Kazhugumalai near Madura, Hampi etc:

DRAVIDIAN TEMPLES

The style of architecture in all Dravidian temples is something like the description furnished below:—

The main shrine is at the centre of a rectangular enclosure divided into various courts of high cross walls. Generally the entrance is through the east by a lofty *gôpura* which is the most prominent part in the whole building. The lower portion of the *gôpura* up to the lintel and cornice over the gateway is of stone highly ornamented. The superstructure in brick and chunam with plaster figure ornamentation is in several storys, each growing smaller in area as we go up. The other *gôpuras* inside are of smaller dimensions as we recede from the outermost. The central *shrine* has in front of it two connective passages and they go by the names of *Artha* and *Mahâ-Mandapas*. There are door keepers called *dwârapâlakas* placed on the sides of these passages as well as in the shrine proper. In front of these halls there is the bull of Siva in Siva temples and Garuda in Vishnu temples with *bali-peetam* and *dwajastambam* at their backs. Besides the *Mûla-Vigrahams* which are non-movable fixtures there are the metal figures *Utsava-mûrtis* for being taken out in procession on festival occasions. In large temples there are seven *prâkâras* wherein allocations are made for the location of the minor deities. The temples at Srirangam, Madura and Rameswaram are examples of such large temples and these are described in full in my book "SOUTH INDIAN SHRINES".

THE PALLAVA STYLE

The Pallavas, who are supposed to have come from the North-West of India, had the bull for their crest and the club as the emblem of their banner. They settled in the Tondamandalam country and had Conjeevaram for their capital. The sculptures of these people are not so graceful as those belonging to those of a latter period. The piers are very massive and the human figures on them have the tuft of hair on the crown and not at the back as we find it to be in the other styles of architecture.

Rock-cut temples were the favourite structures of these kings and it is the great Mahendravarman I that introduced these for the

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first time in the South of India. His motives for the innovation are said to be (as seen from an inscription in the first cave excavated by him at Mandagapattu near Villupurani) the desire to preserve the divine edifices permanently. This cave has been intended for the worship of the Trimurtis:-Brahama, Vishnu and Siva of the Hindu Mythology. In the introduction to my "*Mattavilasam*" this has been dealt with.

THE CHALUKYAN STYLES

This lunar dynasty of kings originally came from the North of India and settled in the Ceded Districts. They had the boar as the emblem for their standard, and the Jainas had a very great influence over them which affected their architecture also. The circular columns in their architecture bore profuse carvings. It is probable that after dressing the piers to the required outline, they were fixed *in situ* and the delicate carvings were then worked out. The introduction of perforated stone windows is also due to them. The ceilings also had at the corners carvings of the regents of the cardinal points.

THE CHOLA STYLE

The Cholas of the solar race had tiger as the emblem for their banner. Their architecture had heavily curved cornices, and *Yâli* figures also were there in plenty at the belt. Most of the buildings relating to this line of kings are illustrated in my book "SOUTH INDIAN SHRINES".

FORTS AND PALACES

Forts and Palaces contained finely ornamented arches with unusually thick walls surrounded by a ditch or moat in most cases. Accommodations and arrangements for military purposes such as powder-magazines and loop-holes for mounting guns were also made in places intended for the purpose. Hampi, Chandragiri, Gingee, Tanjore, Madura and other places have edifices of the kind referred to above. In hill stations the forts are invariably on the peaks that could afford facilities for defence and their stone walls go round to the requisite declention of the rock over which provision for placing the gun has been made. Amongst the important hill forts may be mentioned those at Adoni, Gooty, Sankaridroog, Namakal etc.

INSCRIPTIONS

From the Inscriptions on the stone walls of the temples and on copper plates, we gather that gifts to temples were in kind or coin and that they were usually made for the daily worship and special festivals of the deity as well as for repairs etc., to the temples themselves. In addition to this, some of the inscriptions throw light on the past history of the land and the state of society then.

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Impartial justice was the care of the kings in olden days and we have heard instances of criminal decisions where the king's own sons have been awarded sentences of capital punishment, both from epigraphs and sculptures available at Tiruvarur (Tanjore District) and Tirukalukunram near Madras.

Village administration during those times was in the hands of a committee, the members of which had to look after the annual and periodical supervision of tanks, gardens, justice, gold reserve and so on. These members were chosen every year from among those qualified for being thus chosen as per requirements laid down.

Regarding revenue survey we find that measurement of lands etc., was made with a standard length of pole. We moreover have references to canals, sluices etc., dug for irrigation purposes by the then rulers of the land to improve the agricultural operations.

Reference has also been made to the prevalence of plague in those days called '*Mâri-Jwara*' and people having in consequence evacuated the locality visited by the fell epidemic and residing in huts in open fields.

Mercantile guilds were also held in those days and their influence is said to have spread over allied committees in distant parts of India even.

Public meetings also are said to have been in vogue in those ancient days to discuss matters relating to the good of the country. The people generally assembled in the temple-hall during day time in response to the call by the beat of the village drum. On urgent occasions meetings have also been held at nights.

Schools for the study of the *Vêdas*, and the *Sâstras* and hostels and hospitals for the scholars in those schools had also existed then. The students were provided with food, oil for annointing the head and body on Saturdays and also with lamps. The hospitals were provided with beds also for the sick people. Water scented with Cardamom and Kus-kus roots *(Veltiver)* was supplied to the inmates to drink.

The various titles of the Pallava king Narasimha-varman *viz.* Adhyantakama, Sri-nidhi, Sri-bhara, Parâtpara, Bhuvana-bhanjana, Srimêgha, and Sarvatô-bhadra have also been given on the Dharmaraja ratha at Mahabalipuram. The inscriptions found in the Ganesa temple and the Dharmaraja-Mandapa in Mahabalipuram and those found in the cave at Saluvan-Kuppam close by it record that they were built by king Adhyantakama who bore the titles Ranajaya Sri-nidhi, Sri-bhara, Anugrahila, Kalakala, Samarad-hananjaya and Sangramadhira. The shore temple inscriptions it Mahabalipuram, make mention of three temples two of them built by the Pallava king

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Jalâsayana *alias* Ksbatriyasimha Pallava Iswara-deva and Rajasimha Pallava Iswara-deva,and the third built by one Pallikondaruliya-deva.

The pedigree of the Pallava kings is given in an epigraph on the Kailâsanâtha temple at Conjeevaram built by one Rajasimha. The shrine of Naradhêswara within contains an inscription that Rajasimha's son Mahendravarman I built it and called the deity 'Mahêndrêswara', after his own name. During the reign of Kulotunga Choladeva this temple was closed, its landed properties were sold and the compound and the environments were transferred to another temple. It was ordered to be re-opened and its properties restored subsequently. The Pandava-dûthar temple here contains an inscription relating to the fifth year of Kulotunga. It states that he got himself crowned as king on the banks of the river Vegavati and that he had also decapitated a Pandyan king. There is also a copper plate grant which gives the ancient geography of Conjeevaram city.

The Buddhist tope inscriptions at Amarâvati records the geneology of the Pallava kings. The fact that Simhavarman II came to this place, erected the *stupa* there, and ornamented it with jewels, gold and silver is also recorded in it.

The Trichinopaly cave inscription record that Mahendravarman called by names Gunabhara, Purushôttama, Satrymalla and Satyasamdha constructed a temple of Siva on the top of this mountain and placed in it a lingam and a statue of himself.

An inscription in the inside of the front *Gopura* of the temple at Virinjeepuram near Vellore refers to the question of the sacred law *(Dharma)* of the Brahmanas and it was settled by the brahmans of the kingdom of Padaveedu. There were among them Karnata, Tamil, Telugu and Lâta Brahmins also. Their representatives are said to have signed an agreement that from that time forward, *i.e.* Saka 1347 marriages among them should be by *Kanyâ-Dânam* only. The father has to give his daughter to the bridegroom as a free gift and not for money. Both the father who accepted the money and the bride-groom who paid the money for the bride would be liable to excommunication from their caste. This perhaps was brought about on the strength of the authority of the canonical works on sacred law that condemn in strong terms the payment of money for the bride. The name *asuravivâha* is given for a marriage thus brought about.

The trustees and the other officers are said to have met at the theatrical hall of the temple at Tiruvida-Marudur near Kumbakonam. This shows that dramatic performances were conducted in temple halls in those days. Some original inscriptions were found in underground cellars and when the temple was renovated true copies were made of them and re-incised on the stone walls of the renovated temple.

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From the inscription in the famous temple at Tanjore built by Rajaraja I several interesting facts are gatherd. It is recorded therein that gifts made by him, his elder sister and his wives should be engraved on the walls of the central shrines in preference to other parts of the temple. The list of numerous gifts of ornaments contained names, the like of which are not in vogue at the present day. Provision was made for feeding fifty men who have to recite the "Tirupatiyam" (Saiva Hymns) in this temple. The names of the dancing-women imported to this temple from elsewhere go after the several sacred places dedicated to Siva and Vishnu. The villages assigned to this temple lay in different places, to wit, Thondainadu or Jayankondashôlamandalam, Pandyanâdu or Râjarâjamandalam, Gangapadi; Nulambapadi or Nigarilishoyapadi; Malainadu and Izham (Ceylon) or Mummudisholamandalam. The last one, said to have been thus gifted over, proves that the present island of Ceylon had been a province of the Chola king Rajaraja in the 11th century A. D. All the available information relating to the history of this famous Chola king Rajaraja I have been collected and issued by me in book form in Tamil entitled "*Rajarajacholan I*" for the use of the public and the school going population.

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SCOPE OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE AGENCY DIVISION

By R. SUBBA RAO, M. A. L. T., Govt. Arts College.

Ethnology and Anthropology are rightly considered to be the true handmaids of history but scholars of Indian History, it is regrettable to note, are not paying proper attention to the study of these interesting subjects. Scientific investigations and detailed studies are not yet undertaken by Indian students in these parts. The causes may be two-fold : (a) Lack of interest due probably to want of time, money or energy required for research work in the hilly and secluded parts of the country and (b) Want of proper training due to lack of laboratories, museums and other facilities for work.

No doubt, within the last half a century, thanks to the British officials, District Gazetteers, Village Mannuals, Census Reports, Linguistic and Ethnographic Survey Reports, journals and books on castes, tribes, customs, manners and folklore have appeared with some anthropological work shown in them. Travellers(foreign and Indian), Missionaries establishing houses in the Agency parts, Police and Educational officers touring in those parts and writers on military transactions in the Agency parts, all have left their works on Anthropology but a perusal does not give to a serious student much that is valuable. Even writers like Mr. E. Thurston have written in a superficial way basing largely their writings on census or other reports or on the cursory contributions of correspondents. The subject has not been approached under the various heads racial, linguistic, social, religious and economic to meet the needs of an ardent student and probably the causes explained above are responsible. Nor is the subject studied in a correlated manner so as to inform us if some or all the tribes now found in different parts of India, nay world originally belonged to one place or to one stock and if so, what led to their migrations and how the climate and geographical surroundings of the new abodes brought about the present changes. Unless such details are mastered by scholars in various parts of the country, it is difficult to draw the general rules of this science. In each case the facial and racial qualities of the tribe should be studied, so as to afford the necessary results.Their different languages and religions should be compared and contrasted. The Agency Division, the field of my present investigation,comprises the Agency parts of Ganjam, Vizagpatam, and Godavari Districts. It has an area of about 20,000 square miles and it is said to be larger by two thousand miles than the plains'area of the three

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districts plus Kristna also. But while the three "plain" districts have a population of 7½ millions, the Agency population is only 1½ millions. In the Agency, the malarial climate, want of communications and the lack of other facilities are responsible for this poor population. Though some parts are thickly peopled several portions look deserted. From 12 to 15 people only, inhabit a square mile. And the peoples, being primitive and nomadic do not stick up to the same place for more than 4 or 5 years. Even the tillers of the soil very often leave it for a more virigin one and after cultivating for two years, leave it again.

Forests are extensive, the total area being about four thousand square miles. Almost all the tribes living in the forests roam about hunting and fishing and one can see the moving villages of these primitive tribes settling in a new spot where the mountain streams and forest resources afford greater facilities. Some of the mountains are very elevated varying from 400 ft. to 3000 ft. and from top to foot they are cultivated by some of these wandering tribes. Paddy, Cotton Cholam, Ragi and all other dry grains are grown. In the Agency parts I now speak of, the Kôyas, the Sugâlis, the Yânâdis and the Yerukulâs and other primitive tribes live. From Polavaram, which lies on the right bank of the Godavari, twenty miles to the north of Rajahmundry, the Kôya coutry extends to the Nizam's Dominions in the north west and occupies a good geographical position, owing to the mountains the Eastern Ghats and their offshoots and rivers, the Godavary and its feeders, traversing it.

The Kôyas live in hamlets. Each hamlet consists of 10 to 50 thatched sheds built in the heart of forest. The hamlets are built in groups and a group of 15 villages called a "*Samatu*" * is under the control of a *Samatu-Dora*, generally an elderly and experienced Kôya who is clever in giving advice and settling disputes. Each village has its own "*Pedda*" and under him a *Pinna-pedda* and they will settle disputes. The punishment is in kind *viz.* toddy, the loser of the case giving so much. The villagers depend upon wells or on some neighbouring rivulet for water. They hunt or fish and eke out their livelihood with some hardship. They burn the forest round the village in summer and in the rainy season cultivate the land and raise cholam or samalu. They also depend upon the forest produce, *viz.*, fruits, roots, mowha leaves, honey, tamarind, tobacco, toddy, Ippa flowers and other articles which they can collect easily. They are lazy as well as overactive according to circumstances. They also live by cow-breeding, cow-lifting, thieving etc. They are very bad drunkards.

* Could this be a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word "Samiti"?-Ed.

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I found the men and animals very stunted in growth. The people are black and ugly but are said to be simple, honest and frank. As Thurston points out, they excite admiration owing to their simple and honest lives, contempt, owing to their drunken, restless, and extravagent habits, amusement for their stupidity and timidity and disgust for their gross superstition and blood-thirsty habits. One has to call them *Mâma* or *Dora* to tickle their vanity in order to obtain the necessary information. When one is familiar, *Mâma* is used for males and *Akka* for females. One should live amidst them for a long time to know interesting details regarding their origin, life, language, religion, birth, marriage and death ceremonies and their meaning according to their interpretation and also about their dress, and jewels, superstitions and folklore etc., and one should study the spots more carefully where they live for discovering ancient remains such as geological finds or old stone implements. Palaeoliths and animal remains were found in the Godavary valley and if more time and energy are spent on the mountain caves and slopes, more useful discoveries can be made. Probably, prehistoric archaeological remains and fossil human remains may be discovered. These agency parts are undoubtedly old and places like *Parnasâla* are mentioned in Ramayana as the abode of Rama in his wanderings. Probably, the Kôyas and Yânâdîs or Anâdîs formed an alliance with Rama and helped him. The bow and arrow used then are still used by these people. Some of these Koyas wear a tail as part of their costume through their loin cloth which resembles the tail of a monkey. They are called Lanja Koyas, for *lanja* means a tail in *Koi* language. Could these Lanja Kôyas be the monkeys mentioned in Ramayana?

Caste among Kôyas.

The Kôyas are divided into Gumma-Kôyas who live on the river banks by cultivating the fields and the Gutta-Kôyas who live in the interior of the Agency by means of hunting. In both the sects there are those who wear the *lingam*. The Kôyas are sub divided according to the professions into Basa Kôyas (mixed ones) Vaddi Kôyas (Cultivators) Dôlu Kôyas (those who look after funerals) Kâka Kôyas (who do cooly work) and Kammara Kôyas (smiths). All most all the Kôyas except those who wear a *lingam i. e.* the saivite Kôyas eat the flesh of oxen.

Dress.

The Kôya males usually wear a loin cloth, but on ceremonious occasions put on a turban. The females are usually semi-naked but richer folk wear rough saries. The males as well as the females wear round their necks and wrists garlands of nuts, beads and cowries.

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The married women wear a *tali* of gold or brass. At the time of dance on festive occasions and at marriage time the Kôyas be-deck their head dresses with horns and plumage of birds.

Religion among the Kôyas.

The religion is mostly animistic. They worship the elements of nature, *viz.*, the Tree-Gods, the Hill-Gods, the River-Gods and the unknown powers of air, earth, sky and water. Before begining cultivation, they perform *bhu-panduga*, generally in April to please the Goddess of earth. On such an occasion, they sacrifice a fowl, a pig or a buffalloo, celebrate a grand feast and spend the whole time in drinking and dancing. It is the Koya women that take greater interest and if on such occasions an outsider visits the village woe unto him, for the females pester him and force some money out of him on pain of throwing cow-dung and rubbish. They dance, they sing indecent songs and actually surround the stranger till they succeed in obtaining the present. The Koya dance is peculiar and interesting. They form into a circle and dance measuring their steps, and tilt their bodies to the right and left and sing all the while. Another feast called '*Sâmakottalu*' or '*Kottapanduga*' is celebrated in September. An elderly Koya informed me that they do not eat the Samalu or other produce raised on the fields without first celebrating this feast. Nor do they allow others to eat. A defaulter has to pay severely for the mistake. The Koyas believe that if they or the outsiders eat the newly harvested produce without celebrating the feast, they will be visited by some serious calamity. The following story was given to me by the same koyas. "A village school teacher before the celebration of the feast entered a field, took some corn and used it for himself. The owner of the field protested but in vain. The same night the owner of the field had one of the cattle dragged away by a tiger and the owner atributed it to the teacher's folly and forced him to pay for the loss. The Koyas are an essentially superstitious, simple minded, and suspicious set of folk. In January, the Koyas celebrate the *Sankranthi* festival like the other Hill Tribes. As usual the feast is celebrated by pigs or cattle being killed and flesh eaten by the whole village folk. The usual drinking of Ippa arrack follows. The night is spent in drinking more, dancing and feasting.

The Kôyas worship Goddesses like *Muthyâlamma*, *Kondadêvatalu*, *Gangâramma*, etc. The first is the goddess of Small-pox or Cholera and therefore has to be carefully propitiated. Sacrifices of pigs or cattle are offered. The Koya magicians, soothsayers and priests are given presents so as to wake up nights after nights in chanting spells so as to drive away the fearful Goddess. The *Kondadêvatalu* are worshipped so that they may give protection to them

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against tigers, evil spirits etc. Besides this,ancestral worship prevails. The various sects worship *Vélpûs* and these are represented some times by iron pieces and sometimes by stones. In all times of disease, scarcity of water, failure of crop, cattle disease this ancestral worship is resorted to. The Koyas give offerings of fowl, rice and money then. They also worship demons and devils. Death is considered to be due to some enemy sending a devil. The soothsayers and sorcerers are consulted and sacrifices offered to propitiate evil sprits. Like the Chenchûs who consider themselves to be the descendents of 'Krishna' the Koyas consider themselves to be related to Bhîma and Bhîma worship is the general feature among the Koya villages.

Birth Ceremonies.

The Koyas women are very hardy. Till the moment of childbirth, they go up the hills to collect fuel. After childbirth, too, they do not confine themselves but drink certain decoctions of some wild bark and go about for work. They bathe, eat food and go in to jungle as usual. On the 5th or 7th day after childbirth, the child is washed and named. The Koyas near plains name the child without any ceremoney. They give any name that strikes for the moment. But the Gutta-Koyas have a regular cermoney. The relatives all assemble and the child is placed on a raised floor and a leaf of Ippa (Mowha) is placed in its hands and any name is mentioned. Consent is shown by the child grasping or shaking it and refusal by its leaving it to fall to ground. A name is suggested till the child accepted it. Feasting (generally a buffalo is killed) drinking and dancing follow the ceremoney.

Marriage Ceremonies.

Marriages take place after puberty. There is *Ménarikam*, according to which the maternal uncle's son has the first claim.Marriages are of two ways. (1) By consent. Where the bridegroom's people place a pot of arrack in the house of the bride and where it is accepted, there is marriage by consent. This custom prevails among the *Savarâs* and other jungle tribes. (2) By force. Where the toddy placed by the bridegroom is rejected, the bridegroom returns to his house but after a time goes back to the village with a party, waylays the girl when she goes out for water or fuel, catches her and carries away, the party forming the body guard. Bloodsheds are often caused but if the bridegroom succeeds in carrying her off to his village, the marriage can be performed. But if the girl succeeds in running back to her parents three times before marriage, then she is left off.

The marriage ceremoney is brief, though the feast may drag on for three days. A small *pandal* is erected and under it two heaps of earth are raised on which some rice is sprinkled and the bridal pair take their seats oposite to each other, New clothes are presented by

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the bridegroom to the bride and her parents. He has also to pay a bride's price *i. e.*, a buffalo, or a pig, a few silver coins and a few pots of arrack. The pair exchange rice and milk which they take in and a priest may or may not, play his part. The marriage takes place generally in the night. The bridegroom ties the *tâli* which is either of gold or brass. The Koya pipe plays its part. The feast, the drinking and dancing necessarily follow. Nuptials follow marriage immediately. After marriage the bridegroom has to carry the bride to his village on his back and he is subject to pelting of stones and pebbles. The penalty for making her walk is a buffalo or a pig which is given to the bride's parents for is a feast.

There is no early marriage, and once married the pair lead a happy life. The woman always rules in the house. Widows are allowed to re-marry but generally the husband's younger brother has a preferential claim. A childless widow is compelled to re-marry. There is penalty for adultery and a divorced woman's new mate has to pay penalty to the husband. There is thus no widowhood among the Koyas. There is also poly-gamy.

Death Ceremonies.

All young are buried close to the houses. Married people are burnt after being carried to the forest close by on a cot. A cow's tail is placed in the dead man's hand and the beast is used for the feast which follows. On the 3rd day, the ashes are gathered and put into a pit in the forest with some money with all the dead man's belongings. Stone slabs are put over the ground where the ashes lie and tobacco, feast rice are offered on the 10th day and also yearly once. On the 3rd day the deadman's relatives arrive with some presents and a feast is held. This is called the *Pedda Dinam*, which means the big day or figuratively speaking the important day. Drinking and dancing follow the feast. Sometimes this feast is held on the 10th day or even a few months after. The feasts are held for the repose of the dead spirit so that it may not become a devil and do harm to the village. There is no pollution.

Tattooing.

This is very common among the Koyas, for they take delight in tattooing their bodies. The Koya women especialy, decorate their bodies with varions types of tattooing and the arms are particulary chosen for such decoration. Another object of tattooing is to mark off the totem of the particular group. Generally the animal or bird most liked by the group is painted on the body. Thirdly, tattooing is resorted to for medical purposes in cases of rheumatism, the afflicted resorting to it as a sure remedy. The green juice injected by means of rude piercing is believed to be efficacious. Lastly, tattooing is also

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considered as a sure means by which evil spirits are driven away. Scarcely one sees a Koya without the marks of tattooing on his person.

Language.

The Koyas living close to the plains speak both *Koi* and *Telugu* languages. The spoken *Koi* seems to be a dialect of *Gondi*. The spoken Telugu is vulgar. The Gutta-Kôyas of Baster Agency speak the pure Koya language. Their language has no written characters and the articulation is peculiar.

A list of words denoting relationship is given below:—

Telugu		*Koi*		*English*
తండ్రి:	Tandri =	అయ్య:	Ayya—	Father
తల్లి:	Talli –	యవ్వ:	Yavva—	Mother
అన్న:	Anna =	అన్న:	Anna—	Brother (elder)
తమ్ముడు:	Tammudu =	అబ్బ:	Abba—	Brother (younger)
కొడుకు:	Koduku =	పేక:	Pêka—	Son
కూతురు:	Kûturu =	పేకి:	Pêki—	Daughter
చెల్లెలు;	Chellelu =	బుల్లి:	Bullî—	Sister (younger)
అప్ప;	Appa =	అక్క–:	Akka—	Sister (elder)
అత్త:	Atta =	పోయి:	Pôyi—	(Mother-in-law)
మామ:	Mâma =	మామ:	Mâma—	Father-in-law
బావ:	Bâva =	బావ:	Bâva—	Brother-in-law
మఱది:	Maradi =	అబ్బాయి	Abbâyi—	Brother-in-law (younger)
పెండ్లాము అన్న:	Pendlâmu-anna =	అన్న:	Anna—	Wife's brother
పెండ్లాము అప్ప:	Pendlâmu-appa =	అప్ప:	Appa—	Wife's sister
పిల్లఅత్త:	Pilla-atta =	అమ్మ:	Amma—	Daughter's mother-in-law
పిల్ల మామ:	Pilla-mâma =	అయ్య	Ayya—	Daughter's father-in-law

The Koyas of Godavari Agency say that they migrated from north-easteren part. This refers to Nizam's Dominions and Central India. The Koyas regard themselves as divided into five sections and each is divided into several families. Members of different sections inter-marry but not members of the same section like the Chenchus and Yânândis. These Koyas also have exagamous septs and they wear distinctive marks on their foreheads. The *Râcha* or *Dora-Kôyas* are considered to be superior to all sects. The *Bâsava-Gollas* are considered to be Koyas by some English writers but the Chenchus assert that these are *Gollas* that came into the Agency at the call of Krishna, their ancestor and tutelary god. *(To be continued.)*

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THE KORNI COPPER PLATE GRANTS OF Anantavarma Chodaganga

FIRST SET; Saka Samavat 1003.

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In July 1924, a resident of Korni, a village near Kalingapatam, Ganjam District, discovered, on digging up for the foundation of his house, a pot containing two sets of copper-plates carefully preserved in grain husks. He thought that the plates were too sacred to be removed from the place and intended to bury the pot agin with the plates; but, my friend, Mr. Darlapudi Lakshminarayana Sarma of Polaki, a village near Korni went there, secured the plates and kindly sent them to me.

The two sets contain grants made by Anantavarma Chôdaganga; both refer to Korni and both are in Sanskrit. One of the two grants was made in Saka Samvat 1003 and this closely resembles the Vizagapatam copper-plate grant of the same king made in the same year. The other was made in Saka Samvat 1034 and this closely resembes the Vizagapatam copper-plate grant of the same king made in Saka Samvat 1040. †

THE FIRST SET contains 5 copper-plates, each measuring about 8″ by 4″. The first and the fifth are inscribed on one side only. The ring holding the plates is about 1″ thick and 4″ in diameter. The two ends of the ring are soldered into the lower portion of a circular seal on which is fixed an image of the bull, Nandi couchant, about 1″ long and 1″ high. Round the Nandi, there are in the surface of the disc, the figures of conch-shell, chowrie etc., generally seen on the seals of other plates belonging to the Gâṅga kings. I cut the ring and detached the plates in order to take copies of them. The edges of the plates are slightly raised into rims to protect the writing. The inscription consists of 55 lines and is in a fair state of preservation.

THE ALPHABET employed belongs to the old Nâgari type and the characters are exactly like those used in the Nadagâm plates of Vajrahasta edited and published by my father, Mr. G. V. Râmamûrti in Ep. Ind. Vol. iv. The points that call for notice in respect of orthography are as follows:—

1. The short i (1.40) and the long i (11.4 and 50) are not distinguished in writing.

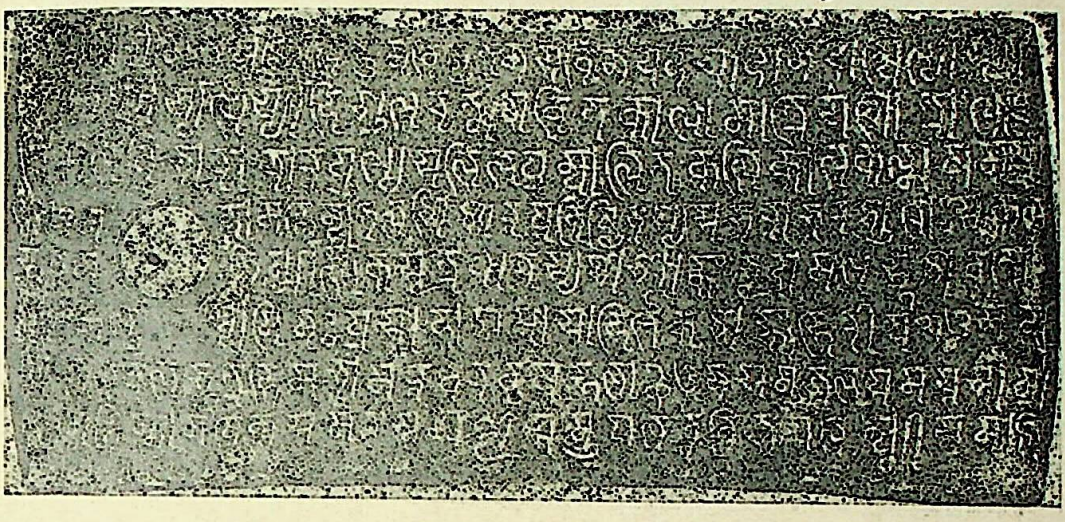
† Vide Ind. Ant., Vol. xviii. p. 165 ff.

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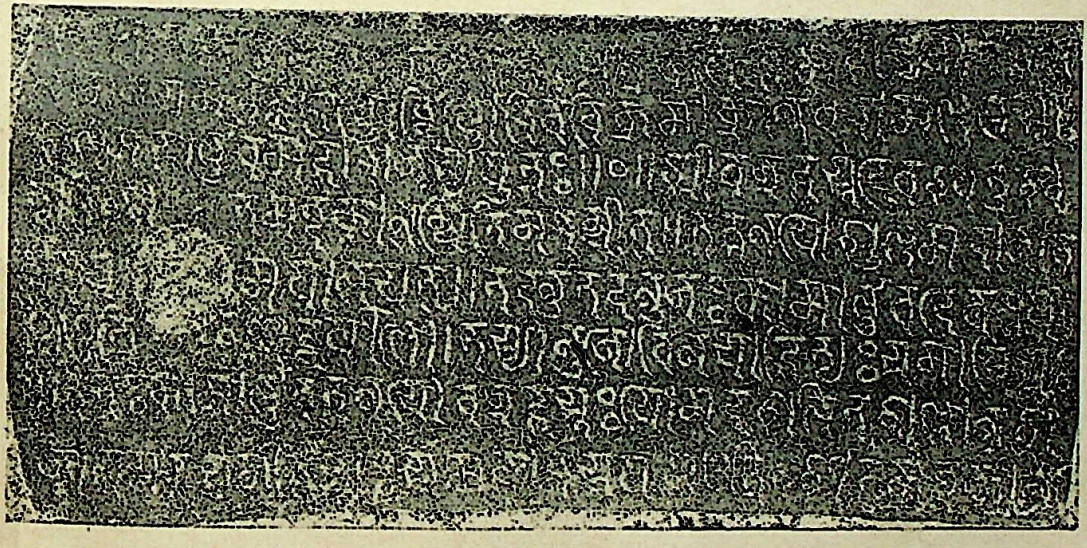
Korni Plates of Anantavarma Chodagangadeva,

First Set.

I b.

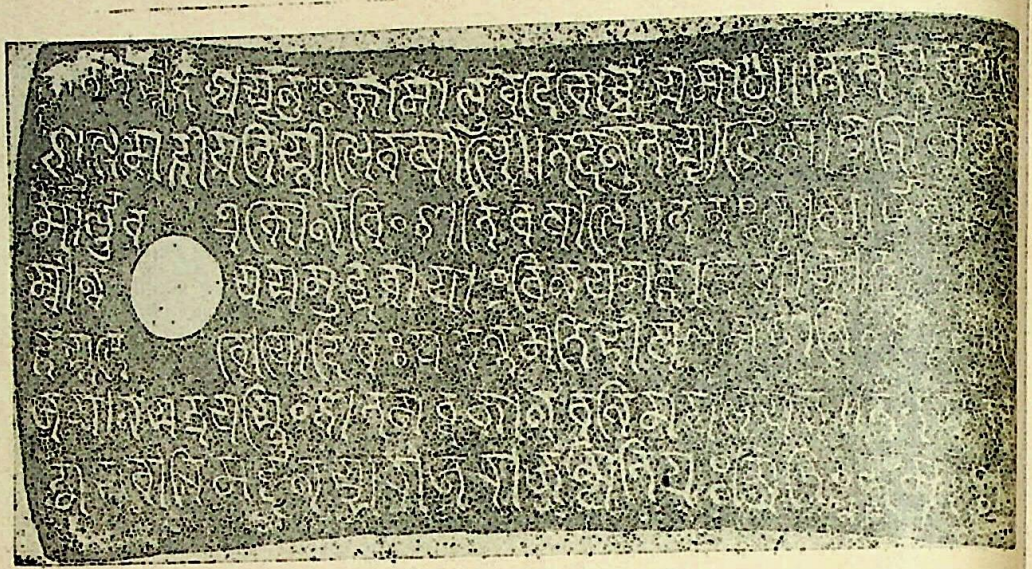


II a.

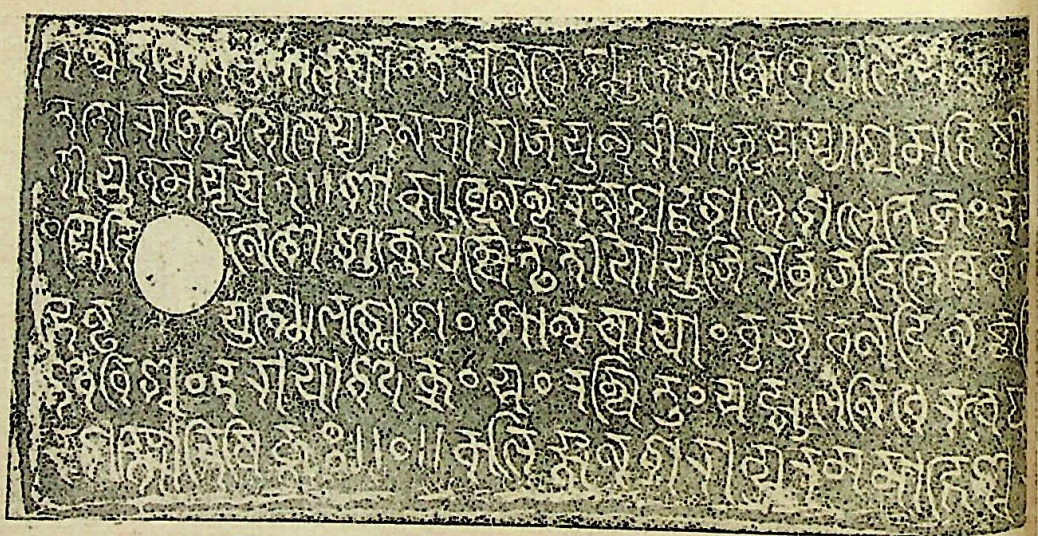


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II b.

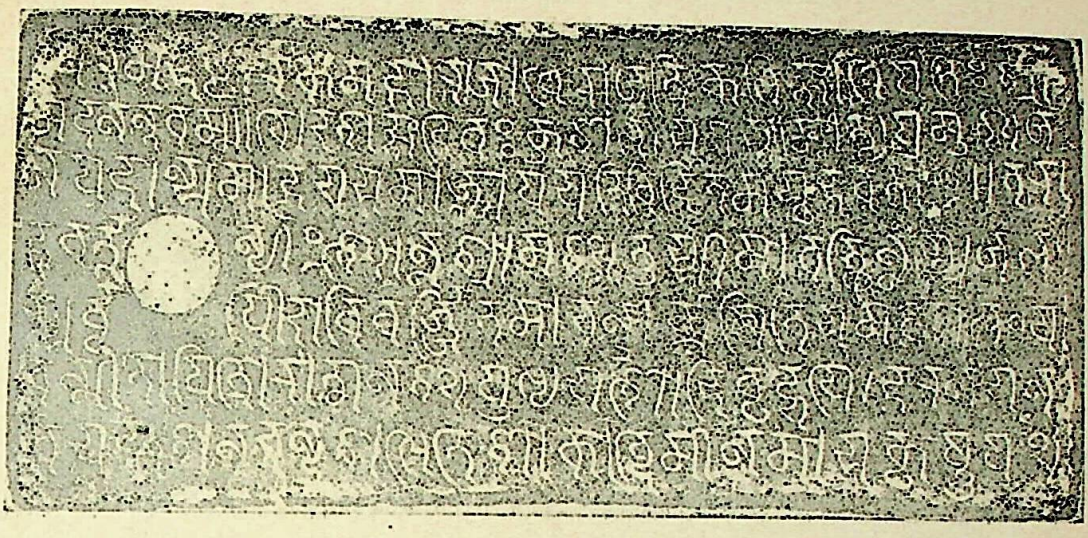


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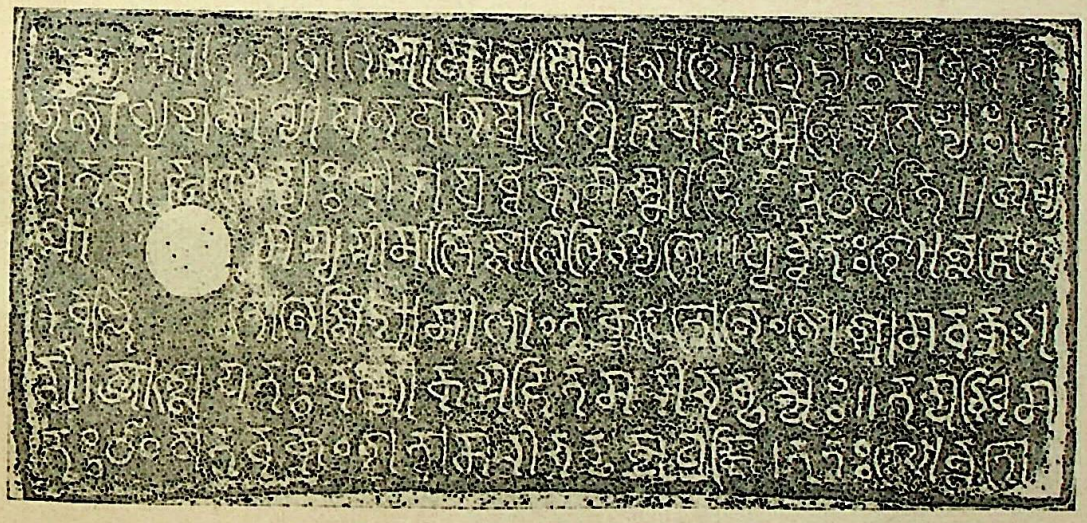


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III b.

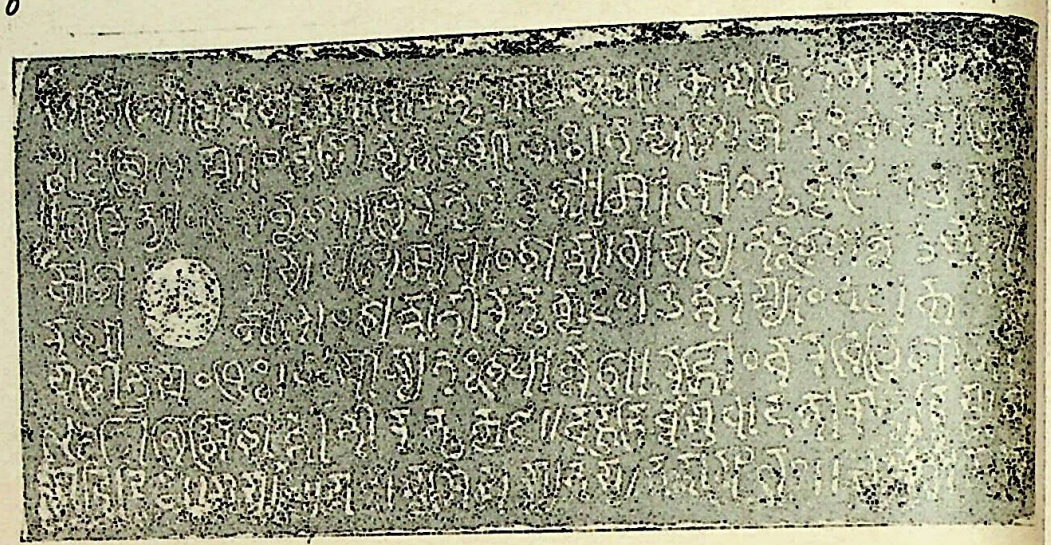


IV a.

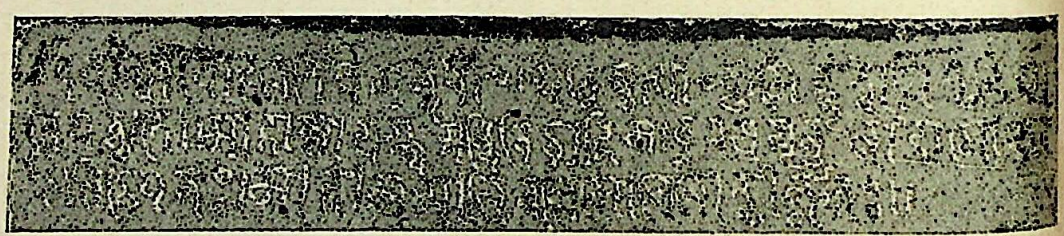


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V b



V a.



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2. *v* is everywhere used to denote *b* (Ll.7,12,20,24,26,28,37,40,41,46,50, and 51).
3. There is little or no difference between da and ḍa. Compare for example, dâ in 1.1 and ḍâ in 1.5.
4. L is distinguished from *n* by a top line on the former; but, there is very slight difference between *rnna* (l. 13) and *lu* (l. 47)
5. *n* is shown in two ways. Compare for example, the *na's* in 1.1 and the na's in 11.13 and 14, which are almost like the *na's* of the modern Nâgari alphabet.
6. It is difficult, in some places, to distinguish, except with reference to the context, the *i* symbol on a consonant from the ê symbol. Observe for example, tṛkutê in 1.42.
7. *n* is generally used with the guttural consonants; but, in some places, the anusvâra symbol is used for n. Compare for example gango in 1.30 and gamga in 1.28; tônêngi and tônêmgi both in 1.42.
8. *n* is generally used with the dental consonants; but, in one place the anusvâra symbol is used for *n*. Compare sandhi in 1.54 and sandhi in 1.50.
9. The anusvâra symbol is never used for *n* before the palatal or for *n* before the cerebral consonants.
10. In the case of ncha and nchha, the nasal symbol is placed after cha and chha. It is interesting to note that in one instance where ncha happens to be the very last letter in the last line of the second side of the 3rd plate, for want of space, cha is engraved there and the nasal *n* is engraved as the first letter of the next plate.
11. The anusvâra is generally used before the labial consonants and before ya, ra, la, va, sa, sha; and na; but m is used in three places, *viz.*, before pa, (l. 52), ba, (l. 20) and va (l. 53)
12. The consonant after r is generally doubled as in sarvva,. vivarjjita, âchandrarkka–all in l.35; but sha coming after r is not doubled. Note varsha in Ll. 13, 18, and 19.
13. It is interesting to note the doubling of bha after r as in ll.5 and 53, where bhbh is used for bbh.
14. s is used for ś in Ll.40 and 50.
15. j is used for jj in saujvala (1.7). This mistake is noticed in all the Gânga and Ganga inscriptions where this word occurs.
16. *m* occurs at the end of a senteuce in l.17, while an anusvâra is used at the end of sentences in Ll. 33, 49, 52, 55. But the anusvara used in these place has a stroke under the bindu, which is not found in the case of an anusvâra that comes in the middle of a word or a sentence.
17. Due to carelessness, *m* is left out in l.51 and the visarga in l. 44.

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The LANGUAGE of the inscription is, throughout, Sanskrit and is almost in prose. There are only five verses : one *vamsastha*, one *sragdhara* and three *anushtubh* slokas. The sandhi rules are not observed in the following cases:— हस्तः यो (L. 15), निरतेभ्यः त्रिः (L. 39,) ब्राह्मणेभ्यः धारा (L. 40), आग्नेयतः वल्मीक (L. 43), पश्चिमतः ईषत् वक्रं (L. 44), पश्चिमतः वन (L. 46).

The absolute construction of the past participle is remarkable in "तृत्पश्चिमतः ईषत् वक्रं गत्वा मरीचवृक्षपङक्ति" (L. 44). The use of तृकुटे (L. 42,) तृकूटे (Ll. 45, 47), तृकूटं (L. 49) तृकूट (L. 51), is interesting. I do not find this word in any of the Sanskrit dictionaries. From the context, I think, it is used to denote a place where three boundaries meet. The word *muyyalikuttu* is used five times in the Chellur plates of Kulôttunga II (vide Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 59, text lines 71, 74, 75, 76, 78). According to Brown's Telugu and English Dictionary, it is derived from *mudu* (three) *lella* (a boundary) and *gutta* (a hill) and means a place where three boundaries meet.¶ तृकूट is probably, the word intended to bo used as the Sanskrit equivalent of the Telugu word, Muyyelagattu.

I cannot say what tree is meant by मरीच occurring thrice (Ll. 43, 44, 45) among the boundaries of the village granted. It cannot be the pepper shrub. Could it be the Indian Fig tree, *Ficus Indica* or the pipal tree? गर्ता is another word the meaning of which is not very clear. From Apte's Sanskrit-English dictionary, we find that it means a hollow, hole, cave; but this word seems to have been used in this grant to mean a by way which is also a watercourse in the rain season. The Telugu equivalent is *punta*.

अक्षसालि (L. 55) which ought to be अक्षशालि means a goldsmith or an engraver. $

The GENEALOGICAL list of the Gânga kings given in this grant agrees with what is given in the Vizagapatam plates of śaka 1003 and 1057 and the several plates of Vajrahasta III. *

The list given in all these plates traces the genealogy from Gunârṇava who was succeeded by his son, Vajrahasta about 900 A. D. as calculated by the number of years each king since that Vajrahasta

¶ I take this information from a note on muyyanikuttu by Dr. Hultzsch (Ep. Ind. vol. iv. p. 96).

$ Vide note on this expression by Dr. Hultzsch (Ep. Ind. vol. vii. p. 107 and vol. xvii p. 232).

* The Nadagam plates S. 979; The Narasapatam plates, S. 967 (above Ep. Ind. vol. IV. p. 96; The Chikkâlavalasa plates, S. 982, edited and published by Mr. Mallampall-Sômasêkhara sarma in Bhârati (vol. ii. No. 2), a Telugu monthly magazine, Madras.

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is said in the plates to have reigned up to the date of the installation ceremony of Anantavarama Chôdaganga indicated in the ślôka, "śâkâbdê nanda randhra graha gana ganitê etc". According to Dr. Fleet's calculation, it is Saturday, 17th February, A.D. 1078†. The Genealogical list of the Ganga kings given in the second set of the Korni copper plates agrees with what is given in the Vizagapatam grant (śaka 1040) mentioned above. It traces the genealogy of the Ganga kings from the Creator and contains more details than are given in the grant of 1040 regarding the exploits of some of the kings. In my article on that grant, I shall express my views on the discrepancies between the two lists of the Ganga kings and on the identification of Kalinganagara.

The GRANT. This inscription records a grant of a village, known as Khônna, made by Anantavarma Chôdaganga on Sunday, the 5th lunar day of the dark fortnight in the solar month of Mîna (Pisces) of ś. 1003. This date corresponds to 2nd April 1082 ‡.

Among the boundaries of the village granted, are mentioned five more villages, viz., Hômbaravalli (-vêlli), Tônêngi, Khôllêra, Tûluvu, and Gâra. The second set of the Korni plates records a similar grant of a land in the vicinity of Khônna, Tûluvu, and Gâra, made by the same king in śaka 1034; and a referrence is also made to to the grant of ś. 1003 as well as to the six villages mentioned above. Khônna may be identified with Korni, the village where the two sets of plates were discovered; and the other villages mentioned in the plates, with the villages now in existence round about Korni as shown in the following table :—

Names mentioned in grant 1003.	Names mentioned in grant 1034.	Modern names.
Khônna	Khônna	Korni
Hômbaravalli (-vêlli)	Ombaravelli (-vêlli)	Omaravilli
Tônêngi	Tônêngi	Tônangi
Khôllêra	Khôllira	Korlâm
Tûluvu	Tûluvu	Tûlugu
Gâra	Gâra	Gâra

The recepients of the two grants were *brâhmanas.* The first grant was made three hundred *brâhmnas,* devoted to the six wellk nown religious rites (yajanâdi shatkarma niratêbhyah) and the second to the *brâhmanas* who were residents of Khônna (Korni). At present, we do not find even a single *brâhmana* in any of the villages mentioned above. There are, however, many Kâlingis who wear a sacred like the *dvijâs* and have the *upanayana samskâra* performed, not according

† Vide Ind. Ant. Vol. xviii. p. 161 ff.

‡ For the corresponding Christian date, I am indebted to the calculation made by Mr. Nîlamani Panigrahi of Parlakimedi.

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to the *Vedic* but according to the *Puânic* rites. They have *gotras* like of *Parâsara, Bhâradvâja* etc. Some of them have given up eating fish and flesh and look like the Telugu brahmanas in several respects. The worshippers (archakas) in Madhukêsvarâlaya in Mukhalingam have been always members of some families among the Kalingis, who have surnames such as Sura, Basava etc. I think that among the Kâlingis af the present day, there are the descendants of the *brahmanas* to whom the grants mentioned above were made by Anantavarma Chôdaganga.

TEXT [1]

First plate, second side.

1. Om[2]. Svasti śrîmatâm = akhilabhu[3]navinutanayavinayadayâ-
   dânadâkshiṇyasatya.
2. śauchaśauryyadhairyyâdiguṇaratnapavitrakâṇâm = âtrêyagôtrâ-
   ṇam-
3. vimalavichârâchârapuṇyasalilaprakshâlitakalikâlakalmashamahsî
4. ṇâm mahâmahêndrâchalaśikharapratishṭhitasya sa charâchara-
   gurôh sakala
5. bhuvananirmmâṇaikasûtradhârasya śaśânkachûdâmaṇêr = bhbha-
   gavatô
6. Gôkarṇasvâminahprasâdât = samâsâditaikaśankhabhêrîpanchamahâ
7. śabda dhavalachchhatra hêmachâmaravaravṛshabhalânchhana-
   samuj[4]valasamastasâmrâ
8. jyamahimnâm = anêkasamarasanghaṭṭasamupalabdhavijayalaksh-
   mî samâli

Second plate, first side.

9. ngitôttunga bhujadaṇḍa maṇḍitânâm trikalinga mahîbhujâm
   gangâ-
10. nâm = anvayam = alankarishṇôr = vishṇor = iva vikramâkrânta-
    dharâmaṇḍalasya
11. Guṇamahârṇavamahârâjasya putraha ‖o‖ Srî Vajrahastadêvaś =
    chatuś = cha-
12. tvârimśatam – abdakân kshitim = arakshît ‖ tattanayô Guṇḍamarâjâ
    va-
13. rshatrayam = apâlayat ‖ tadanu tadanujah Kâmârṇṇava dêvah pa-
14. nchatrimśadvarshâṇi ‖ tasyânujô Vinayâdi[5]tyah samâs = tisrah
15. ‖ tatah Kâmârṇṇavatanayô Vajrahastah yô madagalitagaṇḍânga-
16. jân sahasram = artthibhyah samadât sapanchatrimśatam = abda-
    kân

Second plate, second side.

17. ‖ tatas = tadagrasunuh Kâmârṇṇavadêvô = rtthasamâm ‖ tatas =
    tadanujô

1, From the original plates. 2. Denoted by a symbol. 3. Read bhuvana. 4. Read Samujjvala. 5. 'hi' sems to have been first inscribed and then corrected as 'di'.

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18. Guṇḍamahîpatis = trîṇivarshâṇi || tadanu tasyadvaimâturo Madhukâ
19. mârṇṇava êkônavimśati varshâṇi || tatah Kâmârṇṇavâd = vaidu-
20. mbânvaya samudbhavâyâm Vinayamahâ dêvyâm jâtah Srî Vajra-
21. hastadêvô yô divah patantam = atibhîshaṇam = aśanim śastryâ = bhi
22. jaghâna sa trayas = trimśatam = abdakân = avanim = apâlayat || [6] tatas = tu tasyâ-
23. tmabhavô = rimarddanas = sa Râjarâja kshitipah kshitim samâh l a

Third plate, first side.

24. rakshad = ashṭau varuṇâlayâmbarân = nidhir = gguṇânân = nidhi-
pâla sannibhah ||
25. [7] tatô Râjêndra chôlasya tanayâ Râjasundarî râjnas = tasyâ = gra
mahishî sa
26. tî sutam = asûyata || [8] śâkâbdê nandarandhra graha gaṇa gaṇitê kumbhasa
27. msthê dinêśê śuklê pakshê tṛtîyâyuji ravija dinê rêvatî =
28, bhê nṛyugmê lagnê gangânvavayâmbujavanadinakṛd = vi—
29. śva viśvambharâyâś = chakram samrakshitum sadguṇanidhir = adhipaś chô
30. ḍagangô = bhishiktah ||o|| Kalinganagarât = parama mâhêsvara

Third plate, second side.

31. paramabhaṭṭâraka mahârâjâ dhirâja trikalingâdbipatih śrî
32. mad = Anantavarmmâ chôdagangdêvah kuśalî samastâmâtya pra-
mukha ja-
33. napadân = samâhuya samâjnâpayati viditamastu bhavatâm|| Varâ-
34. ha varttanyâm Khônnagrâmaś chatussîmâvachchhinnas = sajala-
35. s = sarvvapîdâ vivarjjitam = âchandrârkka kshiti samakâlam yâ
36. van = mâtâpitrôr = âtmanaś = cha puṇya yaśôbhi vṛddhayê || hara-
nayana-
37. viyadgaganachandraganitê śakabdê mînamâsa kṛshna pacha [9]

Fourth plate, first side,

38. namyâm = âdityavârê sâmânyatô nânâ gôtrêbhyah yajanayâ
39. janâdhyaysnadhyâpanadânaprtigraha shaṭkarmma niratêbhyahtri
40. [10] sata brâhma nêbhyah dhârâpurvvakam = asmâbhir = ddatta iti || asya
41. grâmasya sîmâlingâni likhyantê || purvvatah khônna hômba-
42. ravalli tônêngi grâmâṇâm tṛkuti tônêngi grâmavakra ga-
43. rttâ | âgnêyatah valmîkasahita marîcha vṛkshah || tatpaśchima
44. tah îshat vakram gatvâ marîchavṛksha pankti [11] || tatah khônna tô

Fourth plate, second side.

45. nêngi khôllêra grâmâṇâm tṛkûṭê valmîkasahita marîcha vṛksha-

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6. Metre, Vamsastha vrttam. 7. Metre, Sloka. 8. Metre. Sragdhara Vrttam. 9. Pañcha is written as pachña and for want of space na is shown in the next plate. 10. Read Śata. 11. Read "panktih".

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46. h । dakshiṇasyâm diśi bṛhadvalmîkah । tatpaśchimatah vanarâjikâ
47. nair[12]tyâm khônnakhôllêratûluvugrâmâṇâm tṛkûtê tanuvâpi-
48. kâ garttâ cha । paśchimâyam garttâ vâyayatah khônna tûluvu [13]
gâ
49. ra grâmâṇâm garttâ tîra tṛkuṭam । uttarasyâm taṭâkadva-
50. ya sêtu samdhih ॥ î s[14]ânyatah khônnagârahômbaravêlli [15] grâmâ
51. m tônêngi garttâ tîra tṛ kuta ll [16] bahubhir = vasudhâ dattâ râja-
bhis = saga
52. râdhibhih ॥ yasyayasya yadâbhumis = tasyatasya tadâ phalam ॥
[17] Svadattâm = para

Fifth plate, first side.

53. dattâm = vâ yô harêta vasundharâm । sa vishṭhâyâm kṛmir = bh-
bhûtvâpitṛbhis = sa
54. ha pachyatê ll mahâkshâyastha Sandhivigrahi Mâvuraya sununâ
Dâmôdarê-
55. ṇa likhitam l mahâksha [18] sâli Vallêmôjênô = tkîrnn[19]am tah ll

TRANSLATION.

(L. 1. 1 to 11.) Om. Then son of Guṇamahârṇava Mahârâja who took possession of the circle of the earth by (his) valour, as Vishnu by (his) stride (and) adorned the race of the Gangas who were purified through (the possession of) precious virtues, extolled in the whole world such as political wisdom, modesty, kindness, charity, civility, truthfulness, purity, valour, and courage; who belong to the Atrêya gôtra; who had the stains of the impurities of the Kali age washed away by the holy water (viz. their) pure thoughts and deeds; who possess the glory of universal sovereignty resplendent with (the royal insignia) viz., the unique conch shell, the drum, the five mahâśabdâs, the white parasol, the golden chowrie and the excellent bull-crest, through the favour of the divine Gôkarnasvâmin (Siva), who was established on the summit of the great mountain, Mahêndra, who is the lord of all the animate and inanimate world, who is the sole architect in the construction of the whole universe and who has on his head, the moon as an ornament; who were adorned with lofty staff-like arms which were embraced by the goddess of Victory obtained in the conflict of many battles and who were the lords of the country of the Three Kalingas.

12, Read nairrtyam. 13. 'vu' in 'tuluvu' was first left out and later on, inserted below. 14. Read 'isanya'. 15. cf. 'hômbarvalli line 41. 16, 17. Metre Slokas, 18, Read Sali, 19, Read notkîrnnam.

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(Ll. 11 to 16.) The illustrious Vajrahasta protectad the earth for 44 years. His son, King Guṇdama reigned for 3 years. Then, his younger brother, Kâmârnava dêva (reigned) for 35 years (and) his younger brother, Vinayâditya for 3 years. Then, Kâmârnava's son, Vajrahasta who gave away to applicants, a thousand elephants, whose temples were trickling with rut (reigned) for 35 years.

(Ll. 17 to 22). Then his eldest son, Kâmârṇava dêva (reigned) for half a year. Then his younger brother, King Guṇda (reigned) for 3 years. Then, his maternal half-brother, Madhukâmârṇava (reigned) for 19 years. Then, there was born to Kâmârṇava by Vinayamahâdêvi of the Vaidumba family, the illustrious King Vajrahasta who struck down with his sword, the most terrible thunderbolt as it fell from heaven, reigned for 33 years.

(Ll. 22 to 24). Then, his son, King Râjarâja who was a destroyer of the foes, who was endowed with many good qualities and who was like Kubêra protected for 8 years, the earth surrounded on all sides by the sea.

(Ll. 24 to 26). Then Râjasundari, the daughter of Râjêndra Chôla and the queen consort of the king (Râjarâja) bore (Râjarâja) a son.

(Ll. 26 to 30). King Chôdaganga who was (like) the sun to the collection of the lotus flowers of the Ganga race and who was endowed with many good qualities was, for the purpose of protecting the world, annointed king the śaka year 999 denoted by the Nandas(9), apertures (9), planets (9), when the sun was in the Kumbha (Aquarius) on Saturday, the third lunar day of the bright fortnight under the Rêvati star and during the Mithuna (Gemini) lagna.

(Ll. 30 to 33). From the city of Kalinganagara, the glorious Anantavarama (also known as) Chôdaganga, the devout worshipper of God Mahêsvara, Paramabhattâraka, the great king of kings, lord of Tri-kalinga being in good health, having called together all the subject headed by the amâtyas, commands:—"Be it known to you all,

(Ll. 33 to 40) That for the advancement of the religious merit and fame of (my) mother, father and myself, the village of Khônna situated in Varâhavarṭani, enclosed by the four boundaries, has been, with all the waters (within the enclosed land) formally granted by us free of taxes and all other molestations, in the śaka year, 1003, denoted by moon (1), sky (0), Siva's eyes (3), in the Solar month of Mina (Pisces), on Sunday, the fifth lunar day of the dark fortnight, to 300 brâhmans of several gôtras, devoted to the six religious rites, viz., performing and conducting sacrifices, studying and teaching the Vêdas, and giving and accepting donations.

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(Ll. 40 to 51). The boundaries of the village are give (as follows):—To the east (lies) the winding watercourse of the village, Tônêngi at the meeting place of the (three) villages, Khônna, Hômbarâvalli, and Tônengi. To the south-east (lies) a Marîcha tree by the side of an ant-hill to the west of which (there is) after winding a small curve, a row of Marîcha trees; (and) by the side of this, (there is) a Marîcha tree at the meeting place of the (three) villages Khônna, Tônêngi, and Khôllêra. To the south, (there is) a big ant-hill, to the west of which (there is) a long row of trees. To the south-west, (there are) a small reservoir of water and a watercourse at the meeting place of the (three) villages, Khônna, Khôllêra and Tuluvu. To the west (there is) a watercourse. To the north-west (there is again) a watercourse which touches the meeting place of the (three) villages, Khônna, Tuluvu and Gâra at the bank of the river, (Vamśadhâra) To the north, (there is) a causeway connecting two tanks. To the north-east, (there is) a watercourse of the village, Tônêngi, which touches the meeting place of the (three) viliages, Khônna, Gâra and Hômbaravêlli.

(Ll. 51 to 54). (There are two of the usual imprecatory verses)

(Ll. 54 to 55). (This inscription) is composed by Dâmôdara, son of Mâvuraya who is a Mahâkshâyastha and Sandhivigrahi (and) is engraved by Vallêmôja, the famous engraver (goldsmith).

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THE EARLY RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF KALINGA.

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The great contempt in which Kalinga was held by the Mahabharatha and brahmanical lawgivers like Baudhâyana clearly shows it was essentially a country of Vratyas not following the Vedic path. Probably they were originally animists. The jungle population of Kalinga has always been animistic while the coastal and plain-folk have been influenced for good by superior faiths.

Brahmanism has been very slow in its progress in the land south of the Vindhyas partly due to the obstruction caused by the mountain. Even this slow infiltration of Northern Culture must have taken place through the accessible strips of land on the east and west of the Vindhyas. The lands on the Godavari and the Kistna being more attractive, Kalinga must have served chiefly as the route for the flow of brahmanism.

That Kalinga was brahmanical before becoming Buddhist is amply shown by the *Jataka* stories. The existence of the dynasties of Kumbhavati and Dantapura, the sailing of Vijaya to Ceylon on colonising and conquering expedition after banishment narrated in the *Mahâwamsa* and the mention of a war between the powerful Kalinga and the Assakas (of Paithan?) (*Jatakas* Vol. III) convey to us the impression that Kalinga was an old, large and strong kingdom. Volume II of the *Jatakas* relates the story that Kalinga-Raja after whom the land has taken its name sent brahmins to get a knowledge of the *Kuru* virtues to avert a big famine. Volume IV shows Kalinga-Raja's grand-son leaning towards Buddhism. The *Mahawamsa* dates the landing of Vijaya, the begining of Buddhism in Ceylon and the *Nirvâna* of Buddha about the same time. The legends woven round Dantapura (the city of Buddha's tooth-relic) and Sinhapura or Singapura, the story of whose origin is told in the Chronicle are mainly Buddhist and their antiquity is enough to establish the antiquity of Buddhism in Kalinga. These stories though they defy chronology are enough to show that Kalinga was originally brahmanical and then became Buddhist. Probably the cause for Vijaya's banishment was that he was a Buddhist (‡).

The earliest historical reference to Kalinga is in the Asokan Inscriptions. His 13th Rock edict says "in Kalinga dwell brahmans and ascetics, men of different sects who all pracise obedience to elders and teachers and kindness to slaves and servants." Men of different sects may include followers of Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism.

‡ Mahawamsa.

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Some would make us understand that Kalinga was Jain as it was long under the anti-brahmanical Nandas whose jain remains probably are found now in Nandapur in Jeypore and that Asoka who was a devotee of Siva first and a descendant of one who ostensibly overthrew the Nandas to protect the brahmin and the Veda, fought with Kalinga on religious grounds. But the only certain evidence, the Asokan Inscriptions, speak of men of different sects, brahmins and asceties and exhort the officials to lead the people in the right way meaning thereby that they, specially the borderers were not following the right path. Whatever its religion, Kalinga must have been very powerful to fight such a bloody battle as to cost thousands of lives. Megasthenes gives us the same impression of Kalinga after the overthrew of Nanda rule. The war, in leading to the conversion of Asoka who propagated Buddhism as far as Greece is one of the most decisive events in the history of the world. The high kingly ideals and the right path described in a vivid manner can be read even today in the imperishable pillars of Jaugada and Dhauli, the mere possession of which has made Kalinga sacred to the historian, as the Kalinga war has made it sacred to every Buddhist. (Smith: Asoka.)

After the death of Asoka, Kalinga asserted itself again and the Chetiyas or Chaitras were its rulers. One of them Kharavela the 3rd in the line (about 158 B. C.) has left us a difficult inscription at Udayagiri. This inscription gives us a vivid picture of Kalinga—its religion, administration and political power. The conqueror of Berar and Magadha and the preserver of local self- government, Kharavela was a patron of religion and learning. The salutation to the *Arhats* and the *Siddhas* at the begininning of the inscription would make us believe that he was a Jain, but for the later mention of his *Rajasuya* and other sacrifices. His grants to Jain professors, his jewelled doors to a Jain temple and caves for *Sramanas* to meet in assembly show his inclination to Jainism. But he was impartial in patronage since he gave lands to the caste-assembly of brahmins also. (Vol. 49 Ind. Ant.). Thus Kalinga culture was a complex compound of Animism, Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism. Curiously enough none of them was completly superseded at any time.

From the days of Kharavela till the later Gangas (8th Century A.D.) Kalinga is in the dark. The Vâkâtakas once expanded as far as Kalinga, the Vishnukundins of Vengi related to them by marriage had certainly extended their power beyond *Ramatirtham* and the Kesari dynasty of Orissa might have been another check on Kalinga. Harsha's power extended as for as Ganjam against which he sent his last expedition. By this time the Gangas had established themselves in Kalinga and though we have a definite Chronology only for the later Gângas from the 8th century, it is undoubted that there was the Ganga family even earlier.

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This period covering the 1st 7 centuries of the Christian era was a period of religious Bauddha culture sending offshoots to far off Ceylon and Java succeeded by Jaina culture which has left its remains side by side with the Buddhist, in hills and caves. The caves small and big on the Udayagiri and Khandgiri hills belong to the early Buddhist period while the remains at *Sâlihundâm*, *Râmatirtham* and *Sankaram* * so eloquent about a highly advanced culture belong to the later Buddhist period. There must be many more Chaityas and Viharas but for the work of wind and weather. By about the 7th century Buddhism declined and Jainism lodged itself in some of the Buddhist buildings. In a century or two, Brahmanism began to revive slowly driving the two religions to the wall.

A moment's attention bestowed on the remains opens a new vista in Andhra-Kalinga history. At *Salihundam* there was a fine apsidal ended brick chaitya with a large image of Buddha and by its side a number of brick stupas reared their heads. The surrounding view from the hill is very fine and for some miles all round the buildings on the hill must have presented an imposing appearance inculcating in the minds of the people the high ideals which their inmates pursued. *Ramatirtham* sacred to Buddhists, Jains and Hindus in succession, has some pleasant spots where the cool breeze from the sea will cure all bodily and mental ills. What better place can be had for a monastery? The ruins on the *Gurubhaktakonda* are those of a Vihara once busy with a hundred monks studying the stars, testing the qualities of herbs, or scaling the heavens with their minds. The remains of stupas, chaityas with a number of cells and a graceful stone statue of Buddha and the Jain images which had usurped the place of the Buddhist and local traditions about the inevitable *Panchapandavas* and *Rama* and *Sita* who had made sacred every foot of ground there —bespeak the wonderful adaptability of our people and the unbroken continuity of our history.

Now to *Sankaram* † which is also held sacred by the Hindus. The biggest of the monasteries was found here. If we remember that every monastery had a school and possessed expert religionists, philosophers and disputants, we can understand its great intellectual importance to the country. Besides serving as the moral guides to the people they must have been powerful intercessors with the king whenever necessary for the people's good, commanding as they did the great confidence of the kings as selfless, saintly and learned

* Kalinga proper covered roughly only the Present day Ganjam Dt. But form the days of Asoka, Kalinga has been taken to mean the land as for as the Godavari. So historically Vizag Dt., belongs to Kalinga rather than Andhra.

† Sankaram is a corrupt form of the word Sangharama a term which denoted a Budhist monastery. It lies two miles to the west of Anakapalli on the N. E. line of the M. & S. M. Railway in the Vizagapatam District.—Ed.

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persons. Their meetings and rules of business also must have been an example to the local corporations referred to as early as the time of Kharavêla. The articles found and the number of cells indicate that the monastry at *Sankaram* was a very big one. A number of dagobas and rockcut caves with archaic sculptures are additional features. A number of coins of the 7th century and a gold coin of Samudragupta that have been found here throw some light on the date of the building.

Three miles N. W. of Simhachalem there are the remains of a stupa. There are beautiful illustrations of Buddhist legends in the temples of *Mukhalingam* belonging to the 9th century showing the influence of Buddhism as late as that period. Till now more Buddhist than Jain remains have come to light which clench the argument further that Kalinga culture and Andhra culture also have absorbed a good deal from Buddhism. (Madras Arch. Reports 1907–11 and 1919–20.)

Buddhism declined first. There are references in the Eastern Chalukyan inscriptions to Jains and their temples and not to Buddhists. Moreover, Hiuen Tsang remarks about the decline of the religion. Kalinga had 10 *Sangharamas* with 500 priests and 100 Deva temples with different sorts of unbelievers most of whom were *Nirgranthas* (i.e., Jains). In a century, Jainism followed Buddhism. These religions had degenerated and the neo-brahmanism had incorported in it the essentials of the two religions. Their principles, their style of building and sculpture, their method of worship have passed into brahmanism and into the culture of Andhra and Kalinga. $

There are a number of grants from the early Ganga Kings of Kalinga which indicate the begining of the revival. They were devotees of *Gokarnesvara* of *Mahendragiri*. All the grants which have came down to us are to brahmins. The absence of even a single Buddhist or Jaina grant is strong evidence of the royal patronage of Brahmanism. Besides royal patronage, the revival in the north and south about this period must have had its effect, faint it might be, on Kalinga. The chronology of these early Gangas who had their capital at Kalinganagara has not yet been settled.¶

The later Gangas (beginning from the 8th C., A. D.) were also worshippers of Siva and builders of the temples of *Madhukesa, Rajarajeswara, Mukhalinga, Jagannatha* etc. and must have accepted the decline of Buddhism and Jainism. As I have pointed out elsewhere, the influence and example of the Cholas who held hegemony over Kalinga for more than a century must have been in the same direction.

$ (Beal: Budh. Records).

¶ Ep. Ind. Vol. IV, Ind, Ant, and Vols. 13, 14 and 18.

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REVIEWS OF JOURNALS.

In the *Ashâdha* issue of the Bharathi, Mr. M. Somasekharasarma edits, in an able and exhaustive manner, the Kollipara Copper plate grant of Emperor Sadasiva Raya, the last of the Vijayanagara sovereigns. The inscription is inscribed on seven copper plates, each measuring 8" by 11½". The ring was not cut when the plates reached Mr. Sarma. The language is Sanskrit poetry and the script Nandi-nâgari. The inscription records that Sadasiva Raya, made a grant of the village called Kollipara, to several brahmins of Velanâḍu, of various *gotras sutras* and *sakhàs* on Tuesday, the Sixth day (Kapila shasṭhi) of the dark fortnight of Bhadrapada, when the star was *Rohini* and the yôga, *Vyatipâta* in the year *Sobhakrit*, Saka 1465, which corresponds to Tuesday, 18th September 1543 A.D., as a *ganabhoga* and *sarvamanya*, with the eight *bhogas*, and all the rights pertaining thereto, with absolute rights of sale gift and mortgage, while he was in the *Tulasivana* in the temple of Viṭṭalaswamin on the banks of the Tungabhadra, at the request of Kônêti Timmarâju. *Ganabhoga*, Mr. Sarma translates as something "fit for the enjoyment of the *Brahmana sangha* or *gana*. The donees of this gift including one Bhâgavatula Râmayya are 233 in number while the *Vrittis* granted are only 200. The village of Kollipara has been identified by Mr. Sarma with the village of the same name, in Tenali Taluka, Guntur District. At the time of the grant the village was renamed as Sadâsivarâyapura, but it never seems to have become popular. The grant is said to have been made on *Kapila Shasti* which according to Mr. Sarma, must fall in the month of Bhâdrapada, under the following conditions. The *Shashti* thithi, should fall in the dark half of the Bhâdrapada, the Sun being in star *Hasta*, the Moon in *Rohini*, the yoga being *Vyatipata*, the week-day falling on Tuesday, and above all any one of the preceding months of the year having been an *adhika masa*. Such a day is called *Kapila Shashti*, and is considered to be an auspicious occasion for making donations. In Saka 1465. the month of Sravana, happened to be an *adhika masa*, and therefore all the requisite conditions were fulfilled in the year *Sobhakrit*, when the gift in question was made.

Kônêti Timmaraju, at whose instance the gift is said to have, been made, was the ruler of Avuku at that time. He was a grand-son of Ariviṭi Bukka Raja I. His family came to be known as *Avukuvaru* ever since the time of his ancestor Timmaraju became the chief of Avuku. Avuku (Owk) was once a strong fortress in Koilkuntla Tq., Kurnool Dt. lying 12 miles to the west of Koilkuntla and local tradition

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assigns to Timmaraju the construction or improvment of the fortress in 1463 A. D. Aḷiya Râma, othervise known also as Râmarâya the *de-facto* ruler of Vijayanagara Empire in the name of Sadasiva, was a close relation of Timmaraju. Aḷiya Râma's father Sri Ranga, and Kônêti Timmaraju's father Timmaraju were brothers, and sons of Râmarâju, son of Ariviti Bukkaraja. Mr. Sarma refers only two other inscriptions of Kôṇêti Timma as having been discovered till now, one in Vittala Temple in Hampi dated Saka 1466, *Krothin* (Ep. Col. No. 12 of 1904) and the other recording the construction of a tank in Atmakûru in Nellore District in Saka 1471, *Nala*. Kônêti Timmarâju is said to be a great patron of learning. Râmarâju Rangapparâju, author of *Sambopakhyanam* a Telugu Prabhanda, lived in his court. The book itself was dedicated to Timmaraja. Timmaraja's grand-father also, was a great patron of Telugu letters, being recipient of a dedication of *Balabhagavata* (in *dwipada* metre) by Dônûri Kônêrunatha Kavi.

The inscription was composed by Sabhâpati Swayambhuvu under the command of Sadasiva Raya; it was inscribed on the plates by Viraṇâchârya son of Virana. Mr. Sarma observes that almost of the inscriptions of Sadâsiva Râya were composed and engraved by these two persons only.

The text of the inscription which is in 360 lines appears in the *Sravana* part of the Bharathi. As usual the grant is signed "*Sri Virupasha*" in Telu-gannada script.

Another article of historical interest in the *Sravana* issue is a graphic account of the archaeological remains on Ġurubhaktakonda near Ramatirtham, not far from Vijiyanagram, in Vizagapatam District, by Mr. K. Narasimhachari. The article is profusely illustrated. Pictures of the elevation of the hill, general plan of the monastery and situation of the several caves on it, are beautifully printed.

In the *Jyestha-Ashadha* number of the Journal of the Andhra Sâhitya Parishad, Pandit Pendyala Subrahmanyasatri, contributes an exhaustive criticism on the Sanskrit Mahâbhâratha from various point of view. His views and theores are highly controversial. A separate note on it will be appended in this Journal next time.

EXCHANGES.

1. Bharathi (Telugu Monthly of Madras.) For *Ashadha & Sravana.*
2. Journal of the Andhra Sâhitya Parishad. *Jyestha—Ashadha.*

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Kalinga Sanchika.

The Secretary appeals to all scholars and especially to those of Bihar and Orissa who possess original materials relating to the ancient and mediæval history of Kalingadesa to be so good as to contribute at an early date valuable articles to the KALINGA SANCHIKA to be shortly published by the Society in Telugu. English articles will be, first, published in the Society's Journal and then translated and published in the Sanchika.

Already, the following gentlemen have contributed the articles, noted against their names:—

MESSRS.	
1. N. Venkataramana, B. A.	*Sataka Literature in Kalinga.*
2. V. Satyanarayana, B. A.	*Kalingas of Dantapura.*
3. Bh. Narayanamurty.	*18th Century Kalinga.*
4. M. V. Ramanacharyulu.	*Mukhalingakshetra Mahatymam.*
5. A. Rama Rao, B. A.	*Kalinga Poets.*
6. N. Sundaram.	*Kalinga Rajyam.*
7. Sree Vikramadeva Varma.	*Kalinga Desa.*
8. K. Iswara Dutt, B. A.	*Vijayanagara Emperors and Kalinga Wars.*
9. B. V. Krishna Rao, B.A.,B.L.	*Mukhalinga Nagaram.*
10. R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T.	*History of Kalinga from the Epic times to modern period.*
11. C. Narayana Rao, M.A.,L.T.	*Some Kalinga copper plate inscriptions.*
12. G. Seetapati B. A., L, T.	*Korni plates of Anantavarma Chodaganga.*
13. A. Jagannatha Rao, B. A.	*Khondas.*
14. K. R. Subramanyam, M.A.,L.T.	*(1) Relation between the Cholas & the Kalingas and (2) The Early Religious History of Kalinga.*

Besides these, several scholars like Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, M.A., Ph.D., Mr. N. Subrahmanyam, M.A., Mr. M. S. Sarma, Mr. G. V. Ramamurty Pantulu, B. A., Mr. Hirananda Sastri, M A., Mr. R. S. Raghava Iyengar, M.A. and others also have promised to send in their valuable contributions.

Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.

R. SUBBA RAO, M. A.
Secretary & Editor.

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THE FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1925-1926
OF
THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

Submitted at the Annual General Meeting held on 26-3-1926, in Hindu Samaj Buildings.

The Secretary presented the following report:—

The Council of the society have great pleasure in submitting the report of the society's work during the year 1925-1926. Though only six months have elapsed since the last annual meeting was held on 30—8—1925, the Council submits this report now, as under the new rules the annual general meeting has to be held in this month as the official year for the society expires by the end of March 1926.

At the last annual meeting held on 30—8—1925 the Council placed on record the report of the work of the society during the past four preceding years. At that time it became necessary to re-organise the society and not a little credit is due to the inestimable labours and zeal of our energetic secretary Mr. R. Subbarao, M.A., L.T., who spared no pains in improving the society.

At the last annual meeting, a sub-comittee consisting of Messrs. V. Rangacharya, R. Subbarao, A. Sankararao and B. V. Krishnarao was appointed, the last mentioned as the convener, to revise the existing rules with reference to the draft constitution prepared and submitted by Mr. B. V. Krishnarao, and the commitee submitted the revised rules which were adopted by the general body with certain modifications at a special meeting held on 14—2—1926. In that meeting it was also resolved that the society should be registered under India Act XXI of 1860, and a Quarterly Journal of Research, be published at an early date. Members of the society were therefore addressed on these matters and the response was satisfactory. At a meeting held on 10—3—26 the Council nominated Mr. Bhavaraju V. Krishnarao to be the Editor of the Journal, and an Editorial Committee with Messrs J. Ramayya Pantulu, M. Ramakrishna Kavi and M. Somasekhara Sarma, as members of the Editorial Committee. At the same time the Council also requested Mr. Bhavaraju V. Krishnarao to go to Madras and other places to interview all those interested in the cause of the society to solicit help and collect contributions. His work particularly in Madras, is very encouraging. Several scholars in high position have readily expressed their willingness to support the Society. The council has great pleasure in announcing that the Hon'ble Sir A. P. Patro, Minister of Education, has kindly promised to advance the cause of the society in every way. Further the society

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is particularly fortunate in being able to obtain the generous support of the Maharajah of Pithapuram, who has graciously consented to be the patron of the society. This is chiefly due to the inestimable efforts of our learned President Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu B. A., B.L., who has been doing much to advance the cause of the society. Mr. K. Nageswararao Pantulu, Editor of the *Bharathi* Telugu, illustrated monthly literary miscellany of Madras, has been kind enough to send us the journal free of cost from its start. In this town itself Mr. N. Subbarao Pantulu to whom the society owes much more than to anybody else has also promised liberal support.

One gratifying feature of the year is that membership rose from 50 to 70. We are glad that several local gentlemen have begun to take greater interest in the activities of the society and as a result the number of resident members has gone up by 15; and to-day we have on our rolls as many as 30 resident members. Regarding moffusil membership, while there were only 30 non-resident members last year we have today 40. The council takes this opportunity to appeal to all the members, especially in the moffusil, to bring in more of their friends into the society and thus widen its activitis.

MEETINGS AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

During the year, the society held two general meetings, one to adopt the new rules of the constitution and two, for holding public lectures. Prof. Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurthi Pantulu, B.A., M.R.A.S. delivered a lecture on the "Development of the Telugu language" and Prof. V. Rangacharya, M.A.,L.T., gave a lecture on "South India in the Prehistoric Age". There were good audiences for both the lectures and the members highly appreciated them. The Council also held three business msetings during the year to pass accounts, to admit new members and transact the other work of the society.

Several members of the society were active during last year, in carrying on research work. Mr. C. Veerabhadrarao Pantulu has been publishing the results of his investigations into the moot question of the origin of Andhras, in the *Sarada* and *Bharathi* our leading Telugu monthly journals. His articles have already provoked much thought and discussion in the Andhradesa. Mr. C. Narayanarao has been at work at two new important copper-plate inscriptions of Vijayaditya VII of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty,and one copper-plate inscription of Sura Mahipathi a feudatory chief of the Kakatiyas of Warangal. His monographs on the inscriptions are ready for publication. Mr. G. Ramadas Pantulu, B.A., M.R.A.S., has been at work with History of the Kalinga and Ramayana, the results of which are being published in several research journals. Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma edited three new copper-plate inscriptions belonging to the

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Salankayanas,early Eastern Chalukyas and the later Eastern Gangas respectively in the *Bharathi*. Mr. G. V. Sithapathi, B. A., L. T., of Rajah's College, Parlakimedi edited two new copper-plate inscriptions of the Eastern Ganga kings in the same journal. Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi has collected several sanskrit and prakrit manuscripts and is editing Bharatha's *Natya Sastra* in 4 volumes for the Gaekwar's Oriental series. Besides he has been contributing several original articles on various subjects to some of our leading research journals. Mr. Bhavaraju V. Krishnarao has carefully studied the antiquities of Mukhalingam, the ancient Kalinganagara and published an account of his results in the *Bharathi*. Mr. R. Subbarao continued to collect much interesting information about the life and habits, religion and folklore of the Chenchus and Koyas,the aloriginal tribes in the agency tracts. He has also collected nearly 50 new coins relating to the Sathavahana period and other early dynasties. His notes await publication. Besides there are several more members of the society who have been carryihg on research work and our earnest hope is to publish these results in our own journal which is expected to come out shortly.

Some members of the society including our revered President prepared estampages of several new stone inscriptions found in this and other places and the result of their work also awaits speedy publication. This year, too, the society will depute some of its members as it did last year to read papers relating to their respective fields of research work before the Fourth All India Oriental Conference which will hold its sessions at Allahabad in Novembedr 1926.

JOURNAL

For want of an official organ of the society the members are publishing the results of their work in the *Bharathi* and other journals. The necessity for a journal in English for the society has long been keenly felt, and therefore it has now been decided to publish our own Quarterly Journal, from April next. Several contributions for the Journal have been received already and those who are responsible for the publication of the journal have been actively engaged in trying to bring out the journal before the end of April. It is hoped that with the active co-oparation of all the members, the journal will be a success ere long.

KALINGA SANCHIKA

Preparations for the publication of the Kalinga Sanchika and the celebration of the Kalinga Day are, we are glad to report, nearly complete. Already, a large number of valuable contributions from various scholars have been received by us and many more that were promised are expected to reach us very soon. As soon as they also are received the printing of the Sanchika will be commenced. We

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earnestly appeal to all those who are interested in the History of Kalinga to send in their contributions as early as possible and co-operate with us in every way so as to expedite the event.

CONCLUSION.

We cannot close this report without mentioning the great help which the Society continues to receive at the hands of several Local Boards and Educational Officers who have been good enough to purchase copies of our "*Rajaraja Pattabhisheka Sanchika*" for the institutions under their control. This had made our financial position satisfactory and even encouraging, and it is earnestly hoped that similar help will be extended to the forthcoming Journal and Kalinga Sanchika. With the kind munificence of our noble and enlightened patron the Maharajah of Pithapuram and under the able guidance of our revered President, the objects of the society, will, we hope, be fully realised.

With a prayer to the All-Merciful to shower his choicest blessings upon our society, we present this our report for the year.

(Sd). R. SUBBARAO,
Secretary.

APPENDIX.

Statement of receipts and disbursements from 16-8-1295 to 26-3-1926.

No.	Receipts.	Rs. As. P.	No.	Charges.	Rs. As. P.
1.	Last year's balance	83—7—0	1.	Postage	26—0—6
2.	Subscriptions	57—0—0	2.	Travelling expenses	12—0—0
3.	Sale of books	34—3—0	3.	Printing	47—14—0
			4.	Peon's pay	8—0—0
			5.	Almyra hire	8—0—0
			6.	Miscellaneous	5—13—0
			7.	Balance	66—14—6
	Total	174—10—0		Total.	174—10—0

N. B. The Society has 37 bound volumes costing Rs. 185 and 274 unbound volumes of *Rajaraja Pattabhisheka Sanchika* worth Rs. 822. It has also to realise Rs. 25 from the members by way of subscriptions and Rs. 25 as arrears to be collection on sale of books

(Sd). A. SANKARARAO,
Treasurer.

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Proceedings of the fth annual general meeting of the Andhra Historical Research Society.

Held on 26-3-1926 at 7 A.M. in the Sarada Reading Room, Rajahmundry.

M. R. Ry Jayanti Ramayy Pantulu garu, B.A., B. L., in the Chair.

PRESENT.

Messrs. N. K. Venkatesam, M. A., L. T.
,, V. Rangachariar, M. A., L. T.
,, V. Jaganadha Rao, M. A., L. T.
,, R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T.
,, C. Narayana Rao, M. ., L. T.
,, B. Lakshminarayana Sastry, M. A., L. T.
,, A. Sankara Rao, B. A., L. T.
,, C. Veerabhadra Rao.
,, N. Kameswara Rao, B. A., B. L.
,, B. Sivaramayya.
,, D. Sambasiva Rao,
,, C. V. Hanumantha Rao, B. A.
,, V. Appa Rao, B. A., B. L.
,, S. Bhimasankara Rao B. A.,
,, B. V. Krishna Rao, B. A., B. L.
,, D. Venkata Rao, M. A., L. T.

1. The Secretary, M.R.Ry R. Subba Rao garu, M. A.,L. T., presented the fifth annual report of the society for the year 1925–1926. The Treasurer, M.R.Ry A. Sankara Rao garu, B. A ,B.L. presented the accounts and the balance sheet for the year.

2. The Secretary proposed that the words "Assistant Secretary" be changed into Joint Secretary". Seconded by M.R.Ry V. Rangachariar Avl. Resolution Lost.

3. Proposed by the Secretary that the Society should elect Hon. Presidents and Hon. Vice-Precidents. Seconded by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao. Resolution Carried.

The following were the elected as Hon. Presidents:—

The Hon'ble The Raja of Panagal, Chief Minister for Govt. of Madras
The Hon'ble Sir A. P. Patro, Minister for Education. do
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice V. Ramesam, B. A., B. L. do
Sir R. Venkataratnam Naidu, Vice-Chancellor Madras University
Mr. C. R. Reddi, M.A.,M.L.C., Vice-Chancellor Andhra University
Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu, B. A., B. L.

The following were elected as Hon. Vice-Presidents:—

Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurthy Pantulu Garu, B. A. M. R. A. S.
Mr. K. Nageswara Rao.

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4. Proposed by Mr. R. Subba Rao and seconded by Mr. B.V. Krishna Rao and carried unanimously that the Maharaja of Pittapur be elected as the first patron of the society.
Resolved further that the thanks of the Society be conveyed to the Maharaja of Pittapur for giving his kind permission to elect him as the first patron.

5. Proposed by Mr. C. Narayana Rao and carried finally that the following be elected as office bearers for the year 1926–1927.

President	M.R.Ry	J. Ramayya Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.
Vice-President	,,	V. Rangachariar Avl., M.A. L. T.
Secretary	,,	R. Subba Rao Garu, M.A., L. T.
Asst. Secretary	,,	B. V. Krishna Rao Garu, B. A., B. L.
Treasurer	,,	N. Kameswara Rao Garu, B. A., B. L.

Members of Council.

Messrs.	C. Narayana Rao, M. A., L. T.
,,	C. Virabhadra Rao.
,,	M. Rama Krishna Kavi, M. A.
,,	V. Appa Rao, B. A., B. L.

PUBLIC MEETINGS.

A public meeting of the society was held on 26—3—1926 at 6 P.M. in the Hindu Samaj Hall under the Chairman-ship of M.R.Ry N. Subba Rao Pantulu Garu. Several members of the society and the public attended.

Mr. Chilukuri Veerbhadra Rao author of "the History of Andhras" delivered a lecture on the "Origin of the Andhras" and held the view that they belonged te Aryan stock.

Mr. R. Subba Rao, M. A., read an address on the "Andhra Coinage and its value" and exhibited several lead coins of the Andhra collected from several centres.

(Both the addresses will be published in the Journal.)

A public meeting of the Society was held on 27–3–1926 at 6 P.M in the Hindu Samaj Hall when M.R.Ry N. Subramanyam Avl., M.A., L. T., delivered a lecture on "Modern Geography and its National Importance".

MEETINGS OF THE COUNCIL.

Proceedings of the Managing Council meeting held on 9-5-1926.

PRESENT

Messrs.	N. Kameswara Rao.
,,	R. Subba Rao.
,,	C. Narayan Rao.
,,	B. V. Kishna Rao.
,,	V. Appa Rao.

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1. Resolved that following gentlemen be admitted as members.

1. D. Sambasiva Rao	10. S. Narasimha Rao
2. M. Subbarayudu	11. V. S. Sastri
3. K. Ramakotiswara Rao	12. T. Sivasankara Sastri
4. C. V. Hanumanta Rao	13. A. Bapiraju
5. V. Appa Rao	14. I. Venkataramanayya
6. S. S. Setlur	15. S. Narasimhasastry
7. Somasunadra Desikar	16. S. Nagabhushanam
8. I. Gauripati Rao	17. S. Hanumanta Rao
9. N. Krishna Rao	18. S. Roy

2. Resolved that the accounts from 14—2—1926 to 9-5-26 be passed.

3. Resolved that the estimate tendered by the Saraswathi Power Press, Rajahmundry for the printing of the Society's Journal be accepted.

4. Resolved that the following be appointed as the Editorial Committee for the Kalinga Sanchika:—

Mr. R. Subba Rao, Editor.

„ C. Narayana Rao
„ V. Appa Rao
„ B. V. Krishna Rao
} Members.

5. Resolved that a sum of Rs. Three only be sanctioned temporarily for 6 months toward the payment of rent for a room for the Society.

Proceedings of the Managing Council passed by circulation on 2—7—1926.

1. Resolved that the account from 9—5—1926 to 2—7—1926 be passed.

2. Resolved that the following members be admitted into the society:

(1) Mr. S. Subrahmanya Sastry, High Court Vakil, Madras.
(2) Mr. B. Appa Rao, M. A., L. T., Rajahmundry.

3. Resolved that the resignation tendered by the Assistant. Secretary Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao be accepted.

4. Resolved that Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao be thanked for the services he rendered as Assistant. Secretary.

(Sd.) V. Appa Rao.
C. Narayana Rao.
V. Rangachari.
R. Subba Rao.
B, V. Krishna Rao.

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List of members of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry with the amount of subscriptins and amounts due.

Names	Subs-criptions	Paid.	Balance-due
Messrs			
1 Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao	4 0 0	3 0 0	1 0 0
2 Chilukuri Narayanarao M.A., L.T.,	5 0 0	5 0 0	
3 Damerla Venkatarao M.A., L.T.,	5 0 0	5 0 0	
4 Desabhatla L. Narsimham M.A.,L.T.,	5 0 0	Nil	5 0 0
5 N. Subrahmanyam M.A., L.T.,	5 0 0	1 0 0	4 0 0
6 Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma	4 0 0	Nil	4 0 0
7 Bhavaraju Venkata Krishnarao B.A.,B.L.	5 0 0	5 0 0	
8 Jayanti Ganganna B.A., L.T.,	5 0 0	1 0 0	4 0 0
9 Chilakamarthi Lakshminarasimham	5 0 0		5 0 0
10 Bodapati Sivaramiah	5 0 0	1 0 0	4 0 0
11 Ivaturi Kanakachalam M.A., L.T.,	4 0 0		4 0 0
12 Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurti B. A.,	4 0 0	1 0 0	3 0 0
13 Gidugu Sitapathi B.A., L.T.,	4 0 0	1 0 0	3 0 0
14 Gudu Jaganathaswami M.A., L.T.,	4 0 0	Nil	4 0 0
15 Adidam Narayanamurti M.A.,	4 0 0	1 0 0	3 0 0
16 A. S. Murti	4 0 0	Nil	4 0 0
17 R. Subbarao M.A., L. T.,	5 0 0	5 0 0	
18 J. Ramiah Pantulu B.A., B.L.,	5 0 0	5 0 0	
19 Kuruganti Seetaramiah M.A.,	4 0 0	Nil	4 0 0
20 G. V. Raghavarao B.A.,	4 0 0	Nil	4 0 0
21 B. Suryanarayana B.A., L.T.,	4 0 0	Nil	4 0 0
22 M. Ramakrishna Kavi M.A.,	5 0 0	Nil	5 0 0
23 V. Jaganadharao M.A.,L.T.,	5 0 0	5 0 0	
24 A. Sankararao B.A., L.T.,	5 0 0	5 0 0	
25 C. Krishnarao B.A.,	4 0 0	Nil	4 0 0
26 G. Ramdass M.A., L.T.,	4 0 0	1 0 0	3 0 0
27 M. Venkata Rangiah M.A.,	4 0 0	1 0 0	3 0 0
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29 K. Rangachari M.A.,	4 0 0	Nil	4 0 0
30 T. Rajagopalarao B.A., L.T.,	4 0 0	1 0 0	3 0 0
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32 A. V. Venkata Rama Iyer M.A.,	4 0 0	1 0 0	3 0 0
33 P. Raghavendrarao B.A., L.T.,	4 0 0	1 0 0	3 0 0
34 V. Rangachari M.A., L.T.,	5 0 0	5 0 0	
35 N. Rangachari M.A., L.T.,	4 0 0	1 0 0	3 0 0
36 M. Satyanarayana B.A., L.T.,	4 0 0	1 0 0	3 0 0
37 S. Kameswararao M.A., L.T.,	4 0 0	1 0 0	3 0 0
38 R.M. Statham M. A.,	4 0 0	1 0 0	3 0 3

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40	A. V. Sankhyara Sarma, B. A.	4	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0
41	S. Perisastry, B.A.,	4	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	3
42	V. Satyanarayana, B.A.	4	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0
43	Dr. B. Seshagirirao, M.A.	4	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0
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47	P. Linganna	4	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0
48	N. Jagannadharao	4	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0
49	B. Kameswarasastry	5	0	0	1	0	0	4	0	0
50	D. Venkataramayya	4	0	0	4	0	0			
51	M. Suryanarayanasastry	5	0	0	1	0	0	4	0	0
52	J. Satyanarayanamurti, M.A.	5	0	0	1	0	0	4	0	0
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90 Y. Venkata Rao,	3	0	0				3	0	0

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1. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Telugu manuscripts in the Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library Madras. Vol. II. Prabhandhas (Sringara)
2. A Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts collected during the Triennium 1916–17 to 1918–19. Vol. III. Part III. Do. Do.
3. Do. Vol. III. Part IV. Do. Do.
4. All the previous Volumes of Andhra Sahitya Parishat Patrika.

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2. Some Kalinga Copper-plate Inscriptions of the Eastern Ganga Dynasty. C. Narayana Rao, M. A.
3. King Nânya Dêva on Music. M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M.A.
4. The Influence of Prâkrit and Sanskrit on Andhra (Telugu). C. Narayana Rao, M. A.
5. A Firman granted by a King of Golconda, of the XVIII Century. V. Appa Rao, M. A.
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7. Korni Copper-plate Inscription of Anantavarma Chôdagangadêva. G. V. Sitapati, B. A., L. T.
8. Two Copper-plate Inscriptions of Jayasimha I (Eastern Chalukya). V. Rangacharya, M. A.
9. Andhradesa in the Twelfth and the Thirteenth Centuries. Bhavaraju V. Krishna Rao, B. A., B. L.
10. Origin of the Andhras. C. Veerabhadra Rao Pantulu.
11. Peda-Vegi plates of Sâlankâyana Peda Nandi Varma. M. Somasekhra Sarma and R. Subba Rao, M. A.

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4.	*R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T.* The Gurindagunta Stone Inscription	81—85
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6.	*R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T.* Peda Vegi Copper plates of Nandivarman II.	92–102

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

1. Public Meetings.
2. Procedings of the Council.
3. Lists of Subscriptions and Donations received.
4. Exchanges.

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ERRATA.

Page.	Line.	*For*	*Read*
55	1	Sangîta a Ratnākara	Sangîta Ratnākara
56	20	Superceded	Superseded
70	27	anspicious	auspicious
71	14	and the	and then
,,	20	स्वस्तिश्रोः	स्वस्तिश्रीः

,, *Sloka* in 22 is wrongly printed. Read it as follows :—

एतन्निखिल भूपाल मौलिमण्डलमण्डनम् ।
गणपत्यवनीन्द्रस्य चन्द्रार्कस्थायि श ॥

72	9	not a	not such a
,,	23	would might	might
84	4	ehall	shall
,,	19	is is	is
,,	24	found inscriptions	found in inscriptions
,,	39	formf	forms
85	15	Reddikamu	Raddikamu
86	11	one the	one of the
,,	30	discriptions	descriptions
89	2	ment	meant
,,	18	unacquianted	unacquainted
,,	31	Archacological	Archaeological
90	22	who who	who
91	21	Ephigra	Epigra
,,	22	pronounciation	pronunciation
,,	23	la	es la
,,	,,	csuntry	country
92	14	Salankayama	Salankayana
,,	15	by	the
93	10	controlled several	controlled several vassals,
,,	16	inscriptiin	inscription
,,	22	Sakankayana	Salankayana
,,	23	Vljaya	Vijaya
94	11	heir-opparent	heir-apparent
,,	15	parkrit	prakrit

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THE
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Vol. 1 OCTOBER 1926. No. 2

KING NANYADEVA ON MUSIC.

By M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI, M. A.

Sārngadeva, the author of Sangīta a Ratnâkara, mentions one Nānyadeva among prominent writers on music:—

रुद्रटो नान्यभूपालो भोजभूवल्लभस्तथा (I—12)

In my studies of Abhinavagupta's commentary on Bharata's Nāṭya śāstra (Science of Theatrics), I attempted to procure and go through every work on Nāṭya if available anywhere. In the reports of Dr. Buhler on the research of MSS. in Gujarat,* a copy of Bharata-bhāshya was recorded as available in Kathiawar. It was ascertained after long trial that the MS. was missing. Dr. Aufrecht seems to have considered Bharatbbhāshya as a commentary on Bharata's Gītālankāra. Fortunately I was able to trace out another copy of it in the library of the Bhandakar's Institute itself. Dr. Belvalkar was approached for the loan of the MS. and I am very deeply indebted to him for his kind lending of the MS. until I could examine the whole work and take a copy of it. It is a versified commentary of Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra from Ch. XXVIII to XXXIV, which portion deals with music in all its aspects related to theatre. The copy of the institute contains only fifteen chapters while the author promises to treat Vāchikāmśa in 17 chapters. Perhaps the other copy at Kathiawar, which is now lost might have been complete. The first sheet of this copy though it contains the beginning does not seem to belong to this work, but decidedly to some other work later by two or three centuries. Some sheets are missing here and there and the original from

* Vide fasciculus IV pp. 274.

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which this was copied might perhaps be defective and imperfect. The copyist also could not read his original properly. The work as found consists of about 7000 granthâs. The remaining two chapters which deal with prosody and prâkrit languages in relation to stage cannot exceed 3000 granthâs.

The colophons generally read:—

इति श्रीमहासामन्ताधिपति धर्मावलोक श्रीमन्नान्यपतिविरचिते

सरसतीह्रदयालंकारहारनाम्नि भरतवार्तिके वाचिकांशे(or) भरतभाष्ये.....॥

Thus the work is called Bharatabhâshya or Bharatavârtika. We know that Râhulaka and Sriharshâ wrote vârtikas each separately and no work is yet specifically known as Bharatabhâshya. Abhinava calls his commentary a vivriti or sometimes vritti,but really it deserves the name of bhâshya. Nânyadeva designates his work as Saraswati-hridayâlânkâra and the appellation instantly reminds one of Saraswati kaṇṭhâbharaṇa of Bhojadeva who applied this name to his works on grammar, music and alankara, as well as to his palace at Dhârâ.

With regard to Nânya we shall know what the author has to say of himself. In course of discussion of theories he gives his own opinions under Nânyapati, Nânya, Mahâsamantâdhipati, Dharmâvaloka, Dharmâdhârabhûpati, Mithileśwara [1] and Karṇâtakulabhûshaṇa. This practice of authors citing their surnames when a siddhânta has to be stated is common among the sutra writers, He was the brother of Kîrtirâja[2], and he defeated the heroes of Souvîra[1] and Mâḷavâ[1] and broke up the power of Gauda & Bangâla kings[3]. He probably married a Gûrjara lady[3]. He bore the titles of Râjanârâyana[2], Nripamalla[1], Mohana-murâri[1], Pratyagravânîpati[4] &c. He has quoted once from his own work called Grandhamâhârṇava[5]. These references are available in his work and we have to seek the help of history to determine his time

---

1 (a) मल्लारं नृपमल्लमोहनमुरारातिर्वदत्युत्सुकः (b) तामाचष्टे माथुरां मैथिलेन्द्रः

(c) धर्मालोकः कथयति जगद्दक्षिणां दाक्षिणात्यां

(d) हास्यश्रृङ्गारयोराह पञ्चमीमध्यमोद्भवाम् । लुप्तमालवभूपालकीर्तिर्माल वपञ्चमीम् ॥

(e) षड्जमध्यासमुद्भूतः श्रृङ्गारो स्मरदैवतः। जितसौवीरवीरेण सौवीरक उदाहृतः ॥

(f) बाङ्गालिकेति कथिता मिथिलेश्वरेण ।

(g) यत्रानुरणनं सम्यक्क्रियतेमुक्तपाणिना । मुक्तमाह प्रहारं तं कार्णाटकुलभूषणः ॥

2 (a) जयति स नृपतिः कीर्तिराजानुजन्मा ।

(b) एवं ग्रामत्रयेऽप्युक्तः सुधिरस्य समुद्भवः। राजनारायणेनेह कीर्तिराजानुजन्मना ॥

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and place. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal,. M. A. in his articles on Nānyadeva and the history of Mithila, speaks of Nānyadeva as a powerful king of Mithila who ruled over it from the 18th July 1097 to A.D. 1133. Vijaya-sena of Bengal seems to have defeated him perhaps when he was still young. In the Bodh Gaya inscription of Tunga-dharmāvaloka the donor is said to have been the son of Kirtirāja and the grandson of Nanna-Gunāvalôka, a Rāshtrakûta king. The Rāshṭrakûṭas were Karṇāṭas and many of the early kings of the Malkhed branch are known as Samarāvaloka, Vīrāvalôka, Puṇyāvaloka, etc. The significant word *avalóka* prompts us to identify Rashṭrakûṭa Kirtirāja with the brother of Nānyadeva. The Rashṭrakûṭas, when their power declined in the Dakkhan about 970 A. D., made a move towards the north and the east and established their dynasties in their new acquisitions till they were all finally swept away in the deluge of Moslem invasions in the 12th and 13th centuries.

Nānyadêva closely follows Abhinavagupta in all his criticism which gave the work its world-wide recognition, and in two places Nānya mentions the great commentator by name- Abhinava died about 1030 A. D. Even in his lifetime his works seem to have spread all over India. His commentary on the Nāṭya śāstra superceded all the previous attempts in the direction throwing to background, works of even Bhôjadeva and Someśwara, the son of Vikramānka, who appear to have also commented on Nāṭyaśāstra besides their activities in other directions.

As far as we know śārngadeva is the only author who cites Nānyadêva. Granthamahārṇava might be an encyclopāedia, for that was the age when wide-growing literature in Sanskrit was condensed into epitomes for easy reference, to scholars and commentators Learned sovereigns like Bhoja, Someśwara, and later on Madanapāla

---

(3) श्रीरागस्यैकभूमिर्ललितमधुरवाग्भिन्नवङ्गालगौड
प्रौढप्राग्भारसारः ककुभमुभयथा साधयन्विश्वमुच्चैः ।
संग्रामे भैरवो यः प्रविलसति मुहुर्घूर्जरीयस्य कण्ठे
सौवीरोऽध्यायमेनं व्यधित कृतमतिर्भूपतिर्नान्यदेवः ॥ (VII)

(4) मध्यप्रागपरान्तकोत्तरदिशामुत्तुङ्गमा[सारितं]
यस्योच्चैर्गुणवर्धमानमनिशं गायन्ति दिव्याङ्गनाः ।
स श्रीनान्यपतिः क्षितेरधिपतिर्गान्धर्वविद्यापति-
र्गीताध्वायमिमं सुबोधमकरोत्प्रत्यग्रवाणीपतिः ॥ (VIII)

(5) उक्तंत्रचास्माभिर्ग्रन्थमहार्णवे । (XV—63)

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Viramitra, Kêladi Basava etc, have liberally contributed to such literature. The inscription of Srîdhara, $ the minister of Nānyadeva seems to mention Granthamahārnava as a work of his.

श्रीमन्नान्यपतिर्जेता (कृतग्रन्थ)महार्णवः । यत्कीर्त्या जनितं विश्वं द्वितीयः क्षीरसागरः।

The latter half of the verse though a common epithet, reminds us of the following line in his work :—

पीयूषाब्धिसहोदरेण यशसा कल्पानलेनोजसा।
तेनायं मिथिलेश्वरेण रचितोऽध्ययोऽवनद्धाभिधः

Thus far we might not be wrong in identifying our author with the Karṇāṭa King of Mithila referred to by Mr. Jayaswal.

Bharata divides his science of stage into fôur sections *viz.* Vāchika, āngika, sāttvika and āhārya. The first relates to the rules of delivery and its musical accompaniment, the second to the gestures including the poses, the third to the production of bhāva and rasa in the minds of audience by proper display of feeling and the last to the stage toilet and deportment. Nānya calls his work Vāchikāmśa, that is, that portion of the subject-matter of Bharata which deals with delivery and music. It is doubted whether he has taken up the remaining three divisions as well. If so the whole work would swell over thirty-thousand granthas. Kumbhakarṇa divides his work Sangîta-Mîmānsa into five divisions similarly but separating delivery proper, from music giving a meagre treatment to aharya or dressing.

Nānya's treatment of the subject isvery lucid and comprehensive. Bhojadeva exhibits unique powers of analysing his subject in a new cast and taking the reader for quite a novice to literature, leads him into all the intricacies of thought and word in a calm and determined manner. But Nānya teaches to a scholar and always defends or justifies his statements by quoting from great masters of the past. Among his authorities the following deserve a passing notice.

Matanga:—the author of Brihaddeśî now available to all. About one hundred quotations are given from this monumental work. Matanga is older than Silappadikāram in Tamil, one of the oldest works in that language. Mādhavî, one of the characters in it, questions the hero on the merits of Matanga and Bharata. This work has been assigned by the Tamil critics to 200 B. C. Matanga himself quotes from Chatura, Kôhala, Nandin, Dattila, Bharata, and Nārada. His treatment is śāstric and original. He originated what is called dvādaśa-svara-mûrchanā, though it was abandoned by later scholars.

$ Vide J.B.O.R.S.Vol. IX p 303, *Letters within brackets are mine for the lacuna.

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Visâkhila:— a very old writer on music whose work is not yet discovered. He is cited earliest by Umbeka in his commentary on ślokavārtika. Umbeka is now known as Bhavabhuti and as a pupil of Kumārila.

Dakshaprajâpati:— as an author on music is attested by Abhinava in Abhinavabhâratî (Ch. XXVIII) and by Singabhupāla in his commentary on Ratnākara (Calcutta Edition Page 22-24). It was he that created what are called brahmagîtās in Vedic music. *

Satatapa:—is known only as an author of a smriti and his composition of a musical work is yet unknown.

Kâsyapa and *Vriddhakâsyapa:*— probably different from their Buddhist namesakes. Kāśyapa seems to be the greatest authority on rāgas. He is often cited at length both by Abhinava and Nānya, who gives about 150 quotations from the work of that sage.

Nandin:— his original work is not now available to us but an epitome of it known as Aumāpata is found in 40 chapters. It is a mere catalogue of technical terms. King Raghunātha of Tanjore describes it as follows:—

उमापतेराधुनिकस्य तन्त्रं विलोक्य नन्दीशमतानुसारि.

Dattila :— one of the five Bharatas whose work is not extant. He is a special authority on the fundamental principles of music and saptagîtas corresponding to the tālādhyāya of Bharata and also on dhruvā metres.

Yashtika :— an epitome of whose work is now available. Abhinavagupta frequently quotes from him. He is said to have reconciled the mārga with the desi rāgas, *viz.*, the older forms with the developments in various provinces in course of time. Yāshṭika lived in Kadalîvana, probably in the district of Tanjore and Ānjanêya approached him to receive instruction and to clear himself of apparent differences in theory and practice as affected by time. Ānjanêya, tutored by him introduced a number of deśi-rāgas with the modifications of śrutis. King Raghunâtha says of him:—

कदाचिदागात्कदलीवनान्तमासोदिवान्याष्टिकमांजनेयः
संगीतविद्योपनिषद्रहस्यमध्यापयन्तं धुरि दत्तमुख्यान् ॥
देशीयरागेष्वपि च स्वरेषु श्रुतिष्वमूषामपिलक्षणेषु।
नानाविरोधानिह याष्टिकं तं ते दत्तमुख्यास्त्वितिपर्यपृच्छन् ॥
सप्तस्वरा द्वादश वैकृता ये तेषां चतस्रः श्रुतयो न चान्यः ।

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*ऋगाथा पाणिका दत्तविहिता ब्रह्मगीतिका. * Yagñavalkya praises him (Pra, IX-106,)

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षञ्चश्रुतिः षtchchhruतिरित्यपीयं देशियरागेषु कथं प्रसिद्धिः ॥
अतोभवेच्छास्त्रविरोध एषां त्यागेषु तासां नहि रागलाभः ।
एवं विरोधे परिशङ्कथमाने ततस्त्ववादीत्परिहारमेवम् ॥
शास्त्रास्य लक्ष्य मिथो विरोधो स स्याद्यथा स्यादपि रागलाभः ।
स पर्यहार्षीदिति तान्विरोधान्द्राग्याष्टिको रामपदाब्जसेवी ।
आलोच्य वुध्याचिरमाञ्जनेयो लक्ष्याविरुद्धं प्रणिनाय शास्त्रम् ॥

Kirtidhara:— frequently referred to by Abhinavagupta also. Kôhala mentions him and he must be an old writer. He is a great authority on flutes and deśi-nritya.

Naradiya siksha and its *vivarana*:—Sikshā is considered a very late work by various western scholars who unhappily take a fancy to bring down any author to the age of Elizabeth or Anne. Mr. Popley speaks of Nāradîya-Siksha in the following terms :—

"The Naradiya Śikshā, wrongly connected with the name of the great rishi, was probably composed between the tenth and the twelfth centuries. It shows considerable development on the Nāṭyaśāstra in its rāga system and in a number of matters agrees with the Kudimiyâmala inscription †where that disagrees with the next important treatise, the Ratnakara. Some scholars think that Nārada Sikshā comes much later than twelfth century."

But Nānya quotes even from its commentary and Abhinavagupta frequently cites from śikshā. In fine, Bharata himself quotes the following verse of śikshā in chapter XXXIV-199.

आचार्या समभिच्छन्ति पदच्छेदं तु पण्डिताः
स्त्रियो मधुरमिच्छन्ति विकृष्टमितरे जनाः॥

The commentator whom Nānya quotes is Bhaṭṭa Subhānkara. We have recently obtained a good copy of his commentary from Malabar.

Devaraja:— is cited later on by King Raghunatha also. But Nanya's quoting from his work removes the conjecture that he was the king of Vijayanagar and patron of Kallinātha, the commentator on Ratnākara.

Ratnakosamata:—probably the work of Mātrigupta and certainly not of Kumbhakarna who composed his work in five ratnakośas only in the 15th century, for he mentions Kallinatha of 1400 A. D. in his Nritya-râtnakośa.

† Kudimiyamala inscription follows the Kasyapa system and Narada need not borrow from the inscription, which requires a re-edition in the light of the latest discoveries in musics.

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Nānyadeva was chiefly indebted for his material to Kāśyapa, Matanga and Abhinavagupta. It may be questioned whether Bharata-bhāshya is a commentary on Nātya śāstra or an origenal work based upon it. Abhinavagupta fully explains and amplifies portions of Bharata's work where the sage is meagre with the summaries from the theories from Kāśyapa. Viśākhila &c. and these portions together with the commentary on tāḷa and dhruvādhyāyas require further elucidation. This we find in Nānyadeva who is very elaborate and best in the chapters on saptagîtas and dhruvās. Nānyadeva has introduced much new matter in his treatment of jātis and rāgas, which is not found in Bharata or in Abhinava's works. Nānya treated at length of about 160 rāgas in all its details. But as the name signifies he introduces the text of Bharata with *avatârika* and a *pratika* only twice or thrice. For example in Saptagîtādhyāya :—

अनन्तरं चाङ्गानां संक्षेपो विस्तारो वेत्यादि मानसंस्थनमङ्कस्थि त्याशंक्या ह उक्तरं द्वादशापरमित्यात्यदि————————————नाट्यशास्त्रा (XXXI-282.)

Nevertheless it may be called an independent work like Ratnākara which is also deeply indebted to Abhinavagupta.

GENERAL PLAN OF THE WORK.

The first four chapters of it are devoted to the fundamental principles of music *viz.*, svara, śruti, grāma, múrchana and tāḷas, When he does not agree with certain theory of any author he omits it and simply follows the recognised authorities unlike many writers like Abhinava, Kumbhakarṇa, who criticise the various theories fully. The fifth chapter which should deal with the alankāras is lost in the copy. The sixth treats of jāti and the seventh of rāgas. Here the author brought in much from his vedic studies. About 160 rāgas are fully discussed. His seven-fold division of rāgas was based upon Abhinava-gupta who defines jāti as source of ragas, *viz.*, śuddha, bhinna, gauḍa, (vesara), sādharaṇa, bhāshā, and vibhāshā. In these the first five are the divisions adopted by Durgâschool while Yāshṭika has only three—bhāshā, vibhāshā, and antarabhāshā. Kohala treats all rāgas as bhāshas. This terminology was abandoned later on in the 16th century and a new mnemonic scale was introduced to simplify the older system.

The eighth chapter dwells npon what is called Saptagîta which in matter corresponds to the Tāḷādhyāya of Bharata which according to Abhinavagupta is a very difficult chapter.* Nānyadeva in that chapter

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पोलूयन्ते यदुपरि परे पारलाभानवा से यत्प्रीत्तानां विमलमपि संदोहमेवावहेत।

मायाम्भोधिप्रकृतिगहनात्तालतत्वादमुष्मात्प्रोत्तीर्णाः स्मः..... (XXXI)

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is very clear and full, for this matter relates much to Vedic and ritual origin of Brahmagitas. The ninth and tenth chapters deal with dhruvā and dhruvātāḷas as given by Bharata in the 32nd chapter which relates to the musical operations behind the stage to regulate the action, entrance, exit &c., on the stage. For instance the vaitālika, charcharīs, jhambhaṭikas &c., in the fourth act of Vikramorvaśī come under this section, where Nānya gives perfect details and examples in various Prākrit tongues as to suit high and low characters. After Bharata, Nānya is the only available writer who deals with this part of the subject. Tumburu whom Nānyadeva mentions was also an old writer on music who deals with Dhruvātāḷas giving examples in Prākrit languages and whose work has recently been discovered. Kumbhakarṇa's work on this portion is still missing. śārngadeva made a passing remark only.

The eleventh chapter describes all the deśi-ragas which are generally of Karnāṭa type betraying the nativity of the author. Someśwara and śārngadeva are more profuse in this section. The next section treats of vinās and flutes entering into few details. We know that the author's masters, Matanga, Kāśyapa and Abhinava are also meagre and it is the various tantras alone * that exhaust the information on flute and stringed instruments. To compensate this shortage the next two chapters on mridanga, paṇava and dardura—the instruments of percussion, receive the greatest of his attention. The next two chapters are missing.

Sârngadeva is deeply indebted to Nānya and Abhinava for all his details in every section. Nānya goes to the root of the matter and is ever ready with his authorities. As his masters are great sages he is generally free from errors. Sârngadeva is accused of his faults by Kumbhakarṇa, Raghunātha * &c. This work is most useful for a research scholar at every step of his exposition of ancient music.

From the sixteenth century old order in the teaching of music gave room to easy and new methods which did not tax the brain more than the voice or hand. New works, compendia in nature with dim head lines of sections, drove all the ancient heavy works to the upper shelves of reference libraries. Settled practice with mnemonic

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*रागालपनमत्राहुः केचित्पण्डितमानिनः। शार्ङ्गदेवादयस्तेषां मतं न मम संमतम्॥ (कुम्भकर्णः)
श्रीशार्ङ्गदेवेन कृतां च सप्तध्यायीं तथा लक्ष्मविरोधिलक्ष्याम्।
अबोधकात्यल्पतरप्रयोगामुद्दिष्टरागानुदितस्वरूपाम् ॥ (संगीतसुधा।)

* Vina tantra, one of the 32 tantras of the Yamala school, purports to deal with vina at length in 100,000 slokas,

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symbols descended from the master to the pupil created a new terminology which was necessitated by the influence of the foreign systems. The times were also troublous and the intellect and critical faculty could not find much avocation for the older system which excited only academical interest. In the royal halls a happy combination of voice, instrument and personal charm compensated the want of scientific comprehension and infinite variety. But the advent of the new nations disturbed that surface once more. Devotion to art has now become a luxury and craving for ease and cheapness is enhanced by want of leisure. Wealth which once offered pleasures in art which ultimately stirred up the finer phase of the soul now runs only to kaledeiscopic views whose impressions vanish away even on the sensual strata without touching the mental plane. Thus it is no matter for surprise that the ancient works are now chattels of mere curiosity.

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INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT AND PRAKRIT ON TELUGU.

By C. NARAYANA RAO, M.A., L. T.

Telugu is a mixed language and has incorporated into itself words from various sources—Sanskṛit, the Prâkṛits, Canarese, Tamil, Hindustani, English, Arabic, Afghan, Persian, Malay, Oriya, Dakkhaṇi, Bengali, Chinese, Turkish, Tartar, Marâthi, French, Latin, Portugese, Italian, Greek, and Mexican. It is a natural process with all languages which come into contact with others. The substratum of course, remains Telugu and consists of a majority of Telugu words. These again are connected with words of kindred languages *viz.*,Tamil, Canarese, Malayâḷam and other Dravidian idioms to which Telugu in the main belongs by grammatical and glossarial affinity.

Apart from the Dravidan words, Sanskrit and the Prâkrits have contributed the greatest number of words to the Telugu Vocabulary. Native grammarians have in fact declared Telugu to be derived from Saṇskṛit. They were right in their opinion so long as vocabulary alone decided the affinity of languages. But camparative philologists have discarded this test and established the principle that no matter how great the glossorial affinity may be, it is the grammatical relationship alone that counts in the affiliation of languages. Since Caldwell wrote his Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages, Telugu was affiliated to the Dravidan group beyond dispute. People are not wanting who are attempting to restore Telugu to the Indo-European group, but their attempts have so long proved futile.

However, it will be an interesting point for investigations how far Telugu words owe their origin to Sanskṛit and Prâkrit words. Telugu Dictionaries that are now extant do not aim at any etymological explanation of words, and where they do, they do so in a cursory and haphazard fashion. They regard words which are evidently derived, from Sanskṛit or the Prâkrits as native and vice versa. They do not indicate from what Prâkrit, and how the words are derived. There is a vast field for work in this direction and scholars will do well to take it up.

The dictionaries by Brown and Sabdaratnâkara-kāra are the biggest now available for use. The latter swells the vocabulary by the inclusion of large numbers of pure Sanskrit words, while the former adheres to words used in books, while at the same time recording as far as possible words in common usage. Sabdaratnākara records 35,055 words, of which 15,814 words are pure tatsamās *i. e.* Sanskrit words adopted into Telugu with a simple case or tense sign

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attached to them. These have not undergone any change since coming into the language. About 2,000 Sanskrit words, however, have been affected by Telugu phonetic laws and are adopted to the needs of the Telugu organs of speech. Sabdaratnâkara again classifies words into ubhayās (*i.e.* words which are pure Telugu in certain meanings and Sanskrit in others), dvayās (*i. e.* words composed of tadbhava and dêśya components), miśrās (*i.e.* words composed of Sanskrit and dêśya words), and yugaḷās, (*i.e.* those which are *vaikrita* in certain meanings and dêśya in others). This cross classification is on the face of it unscientific. A better method would have been to group them as Samskrita-*sama*, Samskrita-*bhava*, Prākrita-*sama*, Prakrita-*bhava*, *desya* and *anyadesya*, indicating at the same time from what Prakrit or anyadêśya they are respectively derived. Vâikrita words, both Sanskrit and Prakrit derived, are 3891 as given in this dictionary, ubhayās 302, dvayās 3,227, miśrās 170, and yugaḷas, 252. The pure dêsyās recorded are 12,337 in number. If we add the ubhayās and yugaḷâs to the tatsama and dêśya words respectively, each class will gain 554 words to itself.

It is easy to recognize Sanskrit. But there are certain words which cannot be so easily identified. A list of such words is given below, with the corresponding sanskrit roots of the Dhātupatha of Pāṇini:—

Telugu.	*Sanskrit root.*
āta - play.	aṭa-gatau.
addamu - across.	adda-abhiyogâ.
aṇachu - to press down.	ana-gatau.
attu - to adhere, to fit in.	ati-bandhanê.
adumu - to press down.	adi-bandhanê.
amayu - to be useful.	ama-avatansanê.
ala - wave, (allala-nāḍuv.)	ala-bhushana,paryāpti, vāranishu
avayu - to break.	ava-bhāge, vṛiddhan cha.
āchu - to stop.	āyāme.
eguru, egayu - to fly up,	igi-gatau.
idu - swim.	ija-gatikutsanayôh.
uruku - to leap, to run.	ukha, ukhi-gatau.
ûkoṭṭu - to listen, saying û.	uy-śabdê.
udda (vaḍi) - very.	urda-mānê.
ujjagonu, ujjāyimpu - to estimate.	ûha-vitarkê.
kacca - cloth tied round the loins.	kaca-bandhanê.
kaṭakaṭapaḍu - to grieve.	kaṭṭha-kṛicchrajîvanê.
kaḍu - great.	kaḍa-made.
kaḍḍi - a rod (esp. of metals).	kaḍḍa-kārkasyê.
kadi (annapu) - a morsel of food.	kaḍi-bhêdanê.
kamiyu - to be pressed and spoiled.	kami-daśanê.

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kalupu - to add, to mix.	kala-śabdasankhyānayôh.
kalla - an untruth.	kalla-avyaktaśabde.
kiṭakiṭalāḍu - to be crowded.	kiṭa-trāsê.
kûyu - generally sound of birds.	kuy-śabdê.

Instances can be multiplied, but this essay is not intended to exhaust the list. There about 160 Saṇskṛit roots to which Telugu words so far not detected to have any connection with them, can be traced.

The Prâkrits—Pâli.

Of the Prâkṛits, Pâli has contributed the largest number of words to Telugu. It is what one should expect, considering the fact that the Telugu country was long under the occupation of the Buddhist and the Jains till the beginning of the eleventh century and even in later times. The Pâli influence on the Telugu pronunciation of Sanskṛit words can be traced both in the speech of the masses and the words actually borrowed into the language. Names of persons like Bojjanna, Skt. Bôdhâ (yana) Pâli. Bujjh; Kondanna, Skt. Kaundinya Pâli. Kaundinna; Appanna, Skt. Arpaṇa Pâli. Appanna and so on; Names of places like Naḍagâm, Urlâm, etc., are Pâli derived. Below will be given certain Telugu words which are adopted from Pâli, directly into Telugu.

Telugu	*Sanskrit*	*Pali*
Mayamu, Majjha (*coll.*).	Madhya.	Mâjjha, Mâha, Mahâ
		Maa, Maya.
Kummara	Kumbhakâra	Kummara.
	Kumbhara	Kummâra
Jâṇa	Jna	Jâṇa
Pasâdam (*coll.*)	Prasâda	Pasâdam.

The following are instances of assimilation:—

Sanskrit.	*Pali.*	*Telugu.*
Pustaka	potthaka	(*coll.*) pôttakamu pottakamu.
Bhakta	bhaṭṭa	batta baṭṭuḍu.
Utpanna	uppanna	uppanna-(buddhulu).
Dharma	dhamma	(*coll.*) dammamu.
Janma	jamma	jamma or jalma.
Sabda	sadda	saddu
Ulkâ	ukka	ukka or uḍaka.
Kârya	Kayya	Kayyamu.
Pushpa	puppha	pup-(podi).

Skt. *v* Pâli. *b* Tel. *b*

eg. Skt. Vandhyā, Pāli. banjjhā, Tel. banjaru.

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Skt. *y*, Pāli. *j*, Tel. *j*.

eg. Skt. yajna. Pali. Janna Tel. Jannamna.

Skt. Vaidyâ Pâli. Vêjja Tel. Vejju.

Skt. *tya, thya*, and conjunct conservants with *s* or *sh* as the latter component *cca*.

Skt.	*Pali.*	*Tel.*
Mṛityu	maccu	Macchu (māya-mainādu.)
Satya	sacca	sacchamu (*coll.*)
Rathya	racchā	racca.
Kshaṇa	chaṇa	canamu (*coll*).
Apsaras	accharā	accara.
Matsara	macchara	maccaramu

The following tendencies which are present in Pāli are to be found in Telugu also. Notice that in Telugu there is a further development.

Skt.	*Pali.*	*Skt.*	*Pali.*	*Tel.*
kya	kka	sakhya	sakka	sekkamu
khya	kkha	akhyāna	akkhāna	akkhênamu
gya	gga	yôgya	yôgga	aôggemu
bhya	bbha	abhyantara	abhantara	abbhentaramu
sya	ssa	hāsya		āssemu
tra	tta	rātri	rāttiri,	rêtiri, rêyi
		rātiri		ratiri
gra	gga	ugra		uggaramu
dra	dda	ārdraka	addaka	addakamu
dhra	ddha	gridhṛa	giddha	gadda or gedda
nya	nna	anya	anna	annemu
ksha	kka	riksha		rikka

Only a few of the changes are noted above. Instances can be multiplied. Childer's Pāli dictionary provides us with about three hundred words to which Telugu words can be traced. In the Pāli-English dictionary by Rhys Davids (now of happy memory)and Stede, there could be traced as many as 369 originals to Telugu words.

Other Pâkṛits : Mahârâshṭri and Saurasêni.

Many Telugu words can be traced to other Prâkrits. We shall begin with Mahārāshṭri and Saurasêni. The difference between these two Prākrits is that *t* and *th* of Sauraseni are not dropped but changed into *d* and *dh* in Maharâshtri and that *nt* into *nd*.

Sanskrit.	*Maharashtri.*	*Telugu.*
Gaurava.	gāravam.	gāravamu.
Kavitva.	kaitta.	kayita, kaita.

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Sukha.	suha.	suhamu *(coll.)*
Lakshmi.	*Saur*: lacchi.	lacci.
Sri.	siri.	siri.
Lagna.	lagga.	laggamu.
Vijnāna.	*Saur*: viṇṇāna.	vinnāṇamu.
Mukha.	*Saur*: muha.	mohamm, momu.
Vaidya.	,, vejja,	vejju.
Pishṭa.	,, piṭṭa.	piṭṭamu,(*coll.*) piṭṭu.
Nidrā.	,, niddā.	niddā.
Sanjnā.	saṇṇa.	sanna.
Sunya.	,, suṇṇa.	sunna.
Pali. *Paisachi* and *Magadhi-*	Sannā.	Sayya (Sayyāta) Sayyata.

Skt.	*Mhr. & Saur.*	*Tel.*
Parāmarśa.	,, parāmarisa.	parâmarisa.
Tâmbûla.	,, tâmbôla.	(*coll.*) tāmbôlamu.
Sthula.	,, thora.	toramu.
Bhata.	,, bhaḍa.	baḍava.
Pridhivi.	,, pudhvi.	pudami.
Dâḍima.	,, dālima.	dālimma & dānimma
Aygāra.	,, iygāla	iygalamu.
Daśa.	,, daha.	daham (as in counting.)
Sidhila.	,, siḍhila.	sadalu,
Tṛitîya.	taia.	tadiya.
Vakra,	,, vayka.	vayka, vaykara.

Paisâchi.

Telugu grammarians trace the Telugu language to a Paiśāachi original, but do not support their statement by facts. There is no doubt that certain Telugu words owe their sources to Paiśāchi originals, but they are there just like the other Prakrit words and nothing more. Unlike in Maharāshtri, single consonants are not changed in any way in Paiśāchi and dentals are not changed into cerebrals; but Sanskrit cerebrals are optionally changed into dentals. Skt. ṇ, ḍ, = *n* and *t*; ś, *sh*, and *s* = *s*; *jna* and *nya*, = *nna*. In the Chulikā Paiśachi, all sonants are changed into surds. The Paiśāchi differs from Pali only in the hardening of sonant. In other respects, it closely agrees with Pāli.

Apabhramśa.

Apabhramśa affinities of Telugu words may also be traced :

Sanskrit.	*Apabhramsa.*	*Telugu.*
Lakshmi.	lacchi.	lachi.

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Ishṭa.	iṭṭu.	iṭṭamu.
Dṛishṭi.	diṭṭhi.	dishṭi.
Sthāpa (-yati),	ṭheviti.	ṭhêva, thāvu.

Idṛiśa. Pr. Idiśa. Ap. aiâ. Mod. Mhr. aisê. Tel. haisa.
Dṛishaka. Pr. diṭṭha. Ap. diṭṭhau. Guj. dîtho. Tel. diṭṭamu.

Modern North Indian Vernaculars which are the direct descendants of the old Prākrits provide us also with certain originals for Telugu words. Prof. Louis H. Gray's 'Indo-Iranian Phonology' provides us with a large number of them. There could be traced a hundred such words from it, in which the author has utilized only a few by way of illustration. A close investigation might bring more Prakrit affinities to Telugu words.

A few examples taken from that book will be cited here with the Telugu equivalents thereof :

Skt. Sveta.	Aves.	Sphæta.	Tel. Safedu.
Skt. Kira.	Hindi.	Kîda.	Tel. Cîda-(purugu)
Skt. Rshi.	Sindh.	Rusi.	Tel. Rushi (also ṛishi)

While Telugu has in this way borrowed words from the Prakrits, the Prakrits themselves have adopted certain native words into them. The following are certain Telugu words shown as dêsyâs in Prakrit glossaries.

Telugu	*Moderu Maharastri*	*Prkt. Pali*
Akka (an elder sister)	ākkā.	akkā.
Kôṭa.	kôṭa.	kôṭṭam.
Kalupu.	kālavanêm	kallaviam
Chinâli.	sindaḷa.	chiṇṇô, chinnû, chiṇṇaḷô, chiṇṇaḷô.
Poṭṭa	Hird. & Guj.: pêṭ	pôṭṭam.
Bāpure, Bāpu	Hind. & Guj. : bāpa.	bappe.

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KOLAVENNU PLATES OF THE KAKATIYA KING GANAPATIDEVA.

By R. S. RAGHAVA IYENGAR, M. A.

A set of five Copper-plates was discovered during the excavation of a mound near the temple at Kolavennu, a village in the Bezwada taluk of the Kistna district. It was received by the Govt. Museum, Madras, from the Collector of Kistna.

These five plates are strung on a ring the ends of which are secured by means of a seal. The ring was cut when it was received in the Museum. On the seal there is a figure of a standing boar facing the proper right surmounted by the figures of the Sun and the Moon. The first plate bears writing on the inner side only. The outside of the fifth plate contains the words. "Kolaventi Sasanalu" in Telugu. The other plates are written on both sides. They have slightly raised rims, though in some plates these are either beaten down or worn away. The length of the plates varies from 9⅛″ to 9¼′ and the breadth, from 4 ⅛″ to 4 ⅜″. The plates are slightly broader at the ends than at the centre, The inner diameter of the ring is 3″. The thickness of the ring is 1/2″. The outer circumference of the ring is 1″–⅝″.

The inscription consists of 69 lines of writing and is in a good state of preservation, except in places where the plates are corroded. The language of the inscription is sanskrit, which consists of sixteen verses (lines 1-24 and 60-69) and a prose passage giving the names of the donees. (lines 24-60). The script employed is Telugu throughout.

The incription is one of King Gaṇapati who is stated to be of the Kâkatîya dynasty (l.7). He is said to be the son of Poranti Venna (l.1) who has been much praised (v.2). This Gaṇapati gave the village of Kolavennu situated on the banks of the river Krishṇa to one hundred and thirty Brahmans on the anspicious occasion of a solar eclipse.

We shall compare this record with the known records of the Kâkatîya Gaṇapati. The following are the records that are at present available for comparison :—

(1) Chêbrôlu inscription of Jâya. Ep. Ind. Vol. V. p. 142.

(2) Gaṇapêsvaram inscription of the time of Gaṇapati. Ep. Ind. Vol. III. p. 82.

(3) Chêbrôlu inscription of Jâya. Ep. Ind. Vol. VI. p. 38.

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(5) Ekâmbranâtha inscription of king Gaṇapati.

Indian Antiquary Vol. 21. p. 197.

(6) Gâravapâdu grant of the time of Gaṇapati noticed in page 122 of the Report on Madras Epigraphy for 1917.

On comparing our record with these noted above, two peculiarities present themselves: (1) The abruptness with which the record begins and (2) the novelty in the name of Gaṇapati's father.

Let us now consider the first case. All the records noted above begin with benedictory verses in praise of Varâha, Siva and Gaṇêsa. Records No. 1,2,3 begin with the praise of Varâha, Siva and Gaṇêsa; and No. 1 has praise of Saraswati also. No. 4 begins with the praise of Gaṇêsa, Varâha and Siva, No. 5 begins with the praise of Gaṇêsa, Saraswati and Siva.

But our grant begins with 'शुभमस्तु' and the mentions Gaṇapati's father. This procedure is quite contrary to the nature of the other grants noted above. But we may take the expression 'शुभमस्तु' as intended to denote the *mangala*. This abruptness is not found in the other grants of Gaṇapati. We find the same abruptness in the Ekamranatha inscription, which begins with स्वस्तिश्रीः and then is found.

एतन्निरिखवल भूपाल मौलिमण्डलमण्डनम् ।
गणपत्यवनीन्द्रस्य चन्द्रार्कस्थायि शासनांम् ॥

In spite of this, slokas in praise of Gaṇêsa Varâha and Siva follow. But there is no such thing in our grant. Therefore our grant differs from the known grants of the Kâkatîya king Gaṇapati.

Let us now take the second case:—

All the grants noted above give this genealogy of king Gaṇapati and state that he was the son of Mahâdêva. But contrary to all these, our present record states that Poraṇṭi Venna was the father of Gaṇapati. If our grant belongs to the Kâkatîya family, Mahâdêva should have had another name as Pôraṇṭi Venna. If not Gaṇapati of our grant should be different from the Gaṇapati referred to in thoso grants. There is no record to show that the Kâkatîya king Mahâdêva had another name as Pôraṇṭi Venna. The name itself is quite foreign to the Kâkatîya dynasty and is appropriate with the Reddi line of kings. But no such king appears to have existed even in the Reddi line. In the course of the inscription it is stated that the village granted was named after the father of Gaṇapati and the grant was therefore named Kôlaventi Sâsanalu. It is therefore certain that Venna was the father of Gaṇapati. Let us now see who this Gaṇapati was. From the records known at present we meet with the following names:-

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(1) Ganapati, son of Ayyappa who was the lord of Vengi. (Ins. No. 140 of 1897).

(2) Kôna Gaṇapati Deva Mahâraya, a later chief of the Haihaya-Kôna line, (Inscription No. 520 of 1903, Saka, 1184).

(3) Srîpati Gaṇapati who was defeated by Ambadêva Mahārāja who was a feudatory chief of the Kākatîyas. Saka 1194.

Our Gaṇapati connot be identified with No. 1 as the father's name is stated to be Ayyappa, nor with No. 2 as that king is stated to be of a different line and nor with No. 3 as this chief was not a powerful one as to give grants. Our Gaṇapati is entirely different from these three, and until more records are discovered it is not possible to say who he was.

The date of the grant was the new-moon day in the month of Māgha of the year Saumya, Saka 1172. This corresponds to 3rd February 1250 A. D. according to the Ephemeries of L. D. Swami kannu Pillai. The day in question is a new-moonday, but Pillai says that from the position of nodes on that day an eclipse was impossible. On the day in question the sun was 280° from the node and at such a distance an eclipse was impossible. This fact gives much room to doubt the genuineness of the grant.

Generally grants are made on auspicious occasions and copper-plates are issued subsequently. Similarly this grant might have been made on an eclipse that occurred before, and the plate would might have been engraved on the date quoted in the grant. The scribe might have compounded both into one.

It is stated that all special gifts enjoined in the Code of Hêmâdri have been given away by Gaṇapati. From this it is to be inferred that by the time our grant was made the Code of Hêmādri attained great fame. The date of our grant is 1250 A. D. We shall see when the Code of Hêmādri was composed. Hemadri was a great Sanskrit scholar, and the son of Kamadeva. He occupied the श्रीकरणाधिपत्यपदवी under Mahâdêva, one of the Yâdava kings of Dêvagiri, who ruled from 1260 to 1278 A. D. Hêmādri was his minister. He was also the minister of the King Ramachandra who succeeded Mahâdêva. Hêmâdri got this high position after 1260 A. D. The Code referred to is not the original work of Hêmâdri, but a compilation of several Smṛitis and Dharmasastras. This huge work should have been brought out with the help of great scholars and money. It is probable that this work might have been composed only when Hêmâdri occupied the high position of a minister *i. e.*, after 1260 A. D. From the colophon at the end of each chapter it is clear that Hêmâdri composed this work when he was the minister of Mahâdêva श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्री महादेवस्य समस्तकरणाधीश्वर श्रीहेमाद्रिविरचिते चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणौ ।

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But it may also be possible to think that the compilation might have been made earlier to have brought renown in consequence of which Hêmâdri might have got the high position in the state. Then the colophon will not be correct. In that case the compilation should have been done before 1260 A. D, As the date of our grant is 1250 it is very difficult to believe that the compilation might have been made prior to the date of our grant. We may suppose that the publication of the Code was made in Mahâdêva's time, Then the compilation would have been started earlier. There is therefore, room to doubt the genuineness of the grant.

As regards *orthography*, ṇṭê is written with an anusvâra, and ṭa, ṇṭa are written with an anusvâra and ṭa rya is written by combining the full form of rêpha with the secondary form of ya while in some cases rêpha is written over the line. अवतंसमंति, कांत्यां, ऐश्वरेय; प्रांत;दुरनांख। may be noted. The characters appear to be a little more modern when compared with the character of the known records of the Kâkatîya king Gaṇapaṭi.

The village granted exists even now with the same name, in the Bezwada taluk of the Kistna District.

The receipients of our grant all belong to *S'uklayajurvédu* and their names are given in the list appended to the translation.

TEXT *

First plate, second side.

1. S'ubhamastu [‖*] Ganapa Kshmâpati janakô bhuvi vilasati Pôraṇṭi Vênna bhupâ-
2. lah | avatamsayamti kirtir = pravimalakusumâni yasya din-nāryah [*1]
3. dânê suryasutam pratâpavibhavê śri râmachandram nṛipam ḍhai-
4. ryê mêru mahîdharam himakaram kântyâm ravim tê-
5. jasi | aiswaryê pramathadhipam yamasutam dharmê balê vâyuj-jam rû-
6. pê panchaśaram vidhuh [1] Pôranti [2] Vênna-kshmâpatim paṇḍitâh [*2] Gaṇa-
7. pati bhûpati chandrê prabhavati bhuvi Kâkatîya vamś=âbdhau

Second plate, first side.

8. kṛitayugam-iva lôkôyam kritakṛityô bhavati saukhya sampannah [3*] jî-

* From the original plates. (1) Read viduh. (2) Under ne there is na symbol

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9, [3]yyâd=âchandratâram tribhuvana vilasat sad-guṇâlamkritâm.
gô vai-
10. ri kshômâ-nâtha-darpa-praśamana samanah prâptabhûdêvatâsih |
Hêmâdri prâ[4]
11. [m] takalpa- drumakalita-navôdyâna lîlâ nisâmta svarṇârîgîta.
kirtir-jagati
12. Gaṇapati kshôṇipâlah kṛupâvân[5] | [*4] samadhika sampatpra[6]tram
samasta-
13. dhânyôl-bhiv=ôchitam lôkê | Vipulataram=agrahâram krishnâ.
tîra prabhûta vi-
14. khyâtim [*5] Gaṇapatidêva mahîśô grâmam janakâbhidhâna
vilasanttam | kri-
15. tvâ sṛutisâstra pathapravaṇêbhyô dâdviśishṭa vidvadbhyah | [*6]
S'akhânâm prathamê
16. trivishṭapatalê vikhyâtimârgam gatâ yachchhâkhâpi nijânvavâya.

Second Plate, second side.

17. janakasy=âdhâjnyavalkyô munih | têbhyas-samtata Vêda śâstra
padavî pârangatêbhyô
18. bhuvi prâdâd viprakarêbhya [êsha] nṛipati [S'] S'ri kôlvennum
mudâ [7*] śâkâbdênayanâdri
19. rudraganitê saumyê subhê-vatsarê mâghê saptaramagama grahaṇa
satkâ[1]ê supuṇyê-
20. dinê | trimśad-bhukta śatâya bhúmimarutâm srî-kôlavennum pra-
bhur lôkê viśrut=â-
21. mâvidhuda[8] Gaṇa[9]pa-kshônîpatir=dattavân | [8*] Prâchyam chim
ch=âs-tadagah śikha diśa śâ-
22. manasyêshṭi kâkupa aśâbhâge daityaśya kulyâ diśi cha jalapatê
stôraṇ=âśvattha bhûjâh | vâ-
23. yavyâm mrômpakulyâjala vimala talâ-ch=ôttaraśyâm cha
kulyâ cha=iśânyâm vighnarajô diśi ja
24. navidit=âśchâgrahârsya sîmah [*9] Gôvindabhaṭṭa êkabhâgi-
Nârâyaṇabhaṭṭa êkabhâgî Mádhava-
25. bhatta êkabhâgi Keśavabhaṭṭa êkabhâgi Trivikramabhaṭṭa êka
bhâgi Manchibhaṭṭa-

Third Plate, first side.

26. padôna bhâgî Visweswarabhaṭṭô bhâgi Râ[gha]va bhaṭṭô bhâgi
Lakshmaṇabhaṭṭo bhâgi Bhîmê-
27. śwarabhaṭṭâraka bhâgi Aubhalâraya bhâgî Prôlanadyah padôna
bhâgi Mārubhaṭṭa adha-
28. bhâgî Kuchibhaṭṭô bhâgî Krishṇabhaṭṭô bhâgi Mallanâryah
padôna bhâgi Annambhaṭṭa

(3) Read yada. (4) The anuswara is marked in the beginning of the nex ine. (5) N looks like n. (6) Read tpatram. (7) Read Visruta. (8) Read dhudu. (9) The etlter na isinserted below there letter pa,

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29. arḍha bhâgi Kamâyabhaṭṭa êkabhâgi Singanâryô bhâgi Tripurâri bhaṭṭa dvibhā-
30. gî Nagâyabhaṭṭa êkabhâgi Bhâskarabhaṭṭa êkabhâgi Âittabhaṭṭa êkabhâgi Na-
31. rasimhabhaṭṭa êkabhâgî Sri dharabhaṭṭo bhâgi Jagannaḍha bhaṭṭa êkabhâgi Padmanâbhbhaṭṭa ê-
32. kabhâgi Purushottabhaṭṭô bhâgi Vallabha bhaṭṭô bhâgi Telungaâryô bhâgi Su-
33. rubhaṭṭa ardhabhâgi Pinnâyabhatta pâdônabhâgi Appalabhattô bhâgi Tâlubhaṭṭa bhâgi
34. Kambhaṭṭa bhâgi Varadabhaṭṭa arḍhabhâgi Vambhaṭṭa ardhabhâgi Simhadri bhaṭṭa bhâgi gaṇa-

Third Plate, second side.

35. êtê Kaśyapagotrâh | Kaśavâryô dvibhâgi Maḍhvâryô bhagi Kâmanâ
36. ryô bhâgi Ganganâryô bhâgi Nâganâryô bhâgi Râmanâryô bhâgi La-
37. kshmaṇâryô dvibhâgi Peddanâryô bhâgi Yajanâryô bhâgi Samanâryô bhâgi Du
38. gganâryô dvibhâgi Damanāryô bhāgi Singanāryô bhāgi Vabhāryô bhāgi
39. Ranganāryô bhāgi Vissanāryô bhāgi Pināya bhāgi Nanāryô bhâgi-
40. S'inganāryô bhāgi Singanāryô bhāgi Appanāryô [10] lāgi Ganganāryô bhāgi
41. Raghavāryô bhāgi Narānaryo bhāgi Appan=ārddha bhāgi Alladanāryô bhagi
42. Raganāryô bhāgi Visweswarabhaṭṭa bhagi Naganāryô bhāgi Vama naryô bhāgi
43. Maranāryo bhāgi Sômanādha dvibhāgi Bhaṭîratha baṭṭa bhāgi Ganganâryô bhâgi

Fourth plate first side.

44. êtê Bhâradvaja gotrāh | Ganganāryô bhâgi Mallanāryô bhāgi
45. Keśavāryô bhāgi Naraṇāryo bhāgi Pedanāryo [11] vāgi Vamanāryô
46. Sankarāryô bhāgi Madukaranāryô bhagi Govindanāryô bhāgi Vishnunâryô
47. bhāgi Trivikramanāryô bhāgi Vamanāryô bhāgi Srîdharanāryô bhāgi Narasimhya-
48. nāryô bhāgi Padmanāryô bhâgi Dâmôdarāryô bhāgi Vâsude [12] nāryô bhâgi
49. Rāghavaryô bhāgi Akkanāryo bhāgi Linganāryô bhagi Brihaspati nâryô bhāgi Nara-
50. ṇāryôbhāgi Sarvva nāryô bhâgi Bhāvāryô bhāgi Yeeṇāṛyô bhâgi
51. Mallanāryô bhāgi Bhâskaranāryô bhāgi Mādhavāryô bhāgi

(10) Read bhâg. (11) Read bhagi. (12) dévanâryô.

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yajna nāryo bhāgi Dugga-

52. nâryô bhāgi Kāmanāryô bhagi Prôlanāryô bhāgi Kāmanâryô bhagi Yelanáryô bhâgi

Fourth plate second side.

53. êtê | Kauṇḍinyagotrâh | Madhavâryô bhāgi Gôvindanâryô bhāgi S'ankarâ

54. ryô bhāgi Somanāryô bhagi Mallanāryô bhāgi Prôlanāryô bhāgi Vâsudêva

55. nāryô bhāgi Raghavāryô bhagi Kesavāryô bhagi Prolanāryô-

56. ardha bhāgi Dharmanāryô ardhabhāgi Sarvanārya ardhabhāgi êtê Kauśikigôtrâh Nārā

57. yaṇāryô bhāgi Mādapāryô bhāgi Râghavāryo bhāgi Sômanāryô bhâgi Ya-

58. llanāryô bhāgi Vâmanāryô bhāgi Dêvanāryô bhagi Bhâvanâryô bhāgi Ganganā-

59. ryô ardhabâgi Nâganâryô ardhabhâgi Yellanâryô ardhabhâgi Prôlanâryô ardhabhâgi Parvatâ-

60. ryô ardhabhâgi Annamâryô ardhabhâgi Râghavâryô ardhabhâgi Keśavâryô ardhabhāgi Mâ-

61. dhavâryô ardbabhâgi Yellanâryô ardhabhâgi [11*] Hêmâdri kalpôkta viśêsha dân=âny=âdau kri-

Fifth plate first side.

62. tân=îśwa [ra] mandirāṇi | prîtyā vivâhôpanayau babhûvur baṛhirmukhânâm gaṇa

63. pâlakêna | 1 [I0*] gaṇapâlaka bhûmipâlavaryê ḍharaṇa pâlana tatparê janâścha | nijadharma ra-

64. tâ vimuktavairâ-dhanadhânyair-vilasanti pîrnagêhâh | [11*] srimatkâkativams'a kartu rakhi-

65. lô-rvînâtha mauḷi-spurad-ratna prôchchalad amśu ranjita padâm-bhôjaśya bhartu-

66. bhûpah | Lôkâlôka girîndra kandara tamassandôha samhâriṇî | kîrtir brâhm[y]a-

67. nâkamartya phaṇabhru=llokêshu samvâsinî | [12*] Gaṇapâla mahîpêna kṛitam dharmam=atandri-

68. tâh | pâlayantu mahîpâlâ âchandrârkam mahîtalê || [13*] srîmat-swayambhû siva tarpaṇâ

69. ya Gaṇâdhipa kshamâpatina pradattam | yôvaïnamâd=yam prabhur-agrahâram nihanti têna dviya govadhah kritah | [14*[

70. êkaiva bhaginîlôkê sarvêshâmapi bhûbhujâm | nabhojya nakara-grahya vipradattā vasumdharà | [15*] sâm mnyôya

(13) Read dharanî. (14) Read sphura. ‡ Read yam – Metres employed–vv. 1,3,5& 6 Arya vv. 2,7,8 & 12 Sardula vikrîdita, vv, 4 & 9 Sragdhara vv, 10 & 14 Indravajra vv. 13 & 15 Salinî. V. 16, Mandâkrânta

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71. dharma śêtu=rnruṇam kâlê kâlê pâlanîyô bhavadbhih | ityau[tsu[katyât-dbhâvinah parthivêndrân bhûyo bhûyo yāchate Râma-chandrah [*16] | sriswayambhúnâtha ||

Fifth plate, second side.

Kôlaventi śâśaṇâlu |

TRANSLATION.

May there be prosperity!

v. 1. King Pôraṇṭi Vênna, father of king Gaṇapati, shines in this world and the extremely white flowers of his fame decorate the damsels of the quarters.

v. 2. Learned men know king Pôraṇṭi Vênna to be Karṇa *(Sûryasuta)* in gift, king Srî-Râma in wealth of prowess, Mount Mêru in firmness, the Moon in splendour, the Sun in brilliance, Siva in wealth, Dharmaputra *(Yamaduta)* in righteousness, Bhîma in strength and Manmatha in beauty.

v. 3. When the moon, king Gaṇapati, rose in the world from the ocean, the Kākatîya dynasty, the people of this world were contented and were full of happiness as if it was a Kṛita age.

v. 4. May victory attend, as long as the moon and the stars endure, the merciful king Gaṇapati, that king *whose* body is adorned with qualities resplendant in the three worlds, who was death (*Samana*) in subduing the pride of hostile kings, who had obtained the blessings of Brahmans, whose fame had been sung by heavenly damsels in the pleasure houses in the form ofnew gardens composed of *Kalpa* trees on the Mêru.

vv. 5 & 6. King Gaṇapati having named after his father a big Agraharam village of great renown on the bank of the river Krishna which was the abode of great riches, which was capable of producing all kinds of grains, gave it to famous scholars devoted to the path of the *Sastras.*

v. 7. This king gave with pleasure the village of Kôlavennu to the best of Brahamans who were ever well versed in the *Vedas* and all branches of knowledge and who have specialised in that branch *viz.* Sukla-Yajurvêda which has been reputed to be the first among all the branches of the *Veda* and who had the honour of having Yāgnavalkya as their progenitor.

v. 8. King Gaṇapati gave the prosperous village Kôlavennu, to last as long as the moon and stars (exist),to one hundred and thirty well read Brahmans on an auspicious day at the right moment of a Solar eclipse in the month of Māgha of the excellant year Saumya which corresponded to the Saka year 1172 expressed by (the chrono-gram) *nayana* (two) *adri* (seven) and *rudra* (eleven),

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v. 9. The following are the wide known boundaries of this *agrahâra*. Tamarind trees on the eastern side, a tank on the South east. a well built of brick on the south, a canal on the southwestern side, a gateway and *ficus religiosa* tree on the western side, the Mrômpa canal which was full of clear water on the north-western side, a canal on the northern side and the (image of) Gaṇapati on the north-eastern side.

Then come the names of the several donees and the number of shares assigned to each of them. These are given in the following table:—

No. of line.	Name.	Shares.	No. of line.	Name.	Shares
	These belong to the Kāśyapa gôtra.				
24	Gôvinda Bhaṭṭa	1	29	Tripurāri Bhaṭṭa	2
,,	Nārāyana Bhaṭṭa	1	30	Nāgāya Bhaṭṭa	1
,,	Mādhava Bhaṭṭa	1	,,	Bhāskara Bhatta	1
25	Kêśava Bhaṭṭa	1	,,	Āyitha Bhaṭṭa	1
,,	(Tri) vi (kr) ama Bhaṭṭa	1	31	Narasimha Bhaṭṭa	1
,,	Yagnêsvara Bhaṭṭa	1	,,	Srîdhara Bhaṭṭa	1
,,	Maṇchi Bhaṭṭa	¾	,,	Jagannātha Bhaṭṭa	1
26	Viśvêśvara Bhaṭṭa	1	,,	Padmanābha Bhaṭṭa	1
,,	Raghava Bhaṭṭa	1	32	Purushôtta Bhaṭṭa	1
,,	Lakshmana Bhaṭṭa	1	,,	Vallabha Bhaṭṭa	1
,,	Bhîmêśvara Bhaṭṭa	1	,,	Teluṇganārya	1
27	Aubaḷārya	1	33	Sûru Bhaṭṭa	1/2
,,	Prôlanā (r) ya	¾	,,	Pinnaya Bhaṭṭa	¾
,,	Māru Bhaṭṭa	2	,,	Appale Bhaṭṭa	1
28	Kûchi Bhaṭṭa	1	,,	Tâlu Bhaṭṭa	1
,,	Kṛishṇa Bhaṭṭa	1	34	Kām Bhatta	1
,,	Mallanārya	¾	,,	Varada Bhatta	1/2
,,	Annam Bhaṭṭa	½	,,	Vāma Bhatta	1/2
29	Kāmāya Bhaṭṭa	1	,,	Simhādri Bhatta	1
,,	Singanārya	1			
	These belong to the Kauṇḍdinya gôtra.				
35	Kêśavārya	2	39	Nanārya	1
,,	Mādhavārya	1	40	S'inganārya	1
,,	Kāmanārya	1	,,	Singanārya	1
36	Ganganārya	1	,,	Appanārya	1
,,	Nāganārya	1	,,	Ganganārya	1
,,	Rāmanārya	1	41	Rāghavārya	1
37	Lakshmanārya	2	,,	Nāranārya	1
,,	Peddanārya	1	,,	Appanārya	1/2
,,	Yajanārya	1	,,	Allādanārya	1
,,	Somanārya	1	42	Râganārya	1
38	Dugganārya	2	,,	Viśvêśvara Bhatta	1

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,,	Damanārya	1	,,	Nāganārya	1
,,	Singanārya	1	,,	Vāmanārya	1
,,	Vabhārya	1	43	Māranārya	1
39	Ranganārya	1	,,	Sômanātha	2
,,	Vissanārya	1	,,	Bhāgīrathi Bhatta	1
,,	Pināya	1	,,	Ganganārya	1

These are of Bhâradvâja gôtra.

44	Ganganārya	1	49	Rāghavārya	1
,,	Mallanārya	1	,,	Akkanārya	1
45	Kêśavārya	1	,,	Linganārya	1
,,	Nāraṇārya	1	,,	Brihaspatinarya	1
,,	Pedanārya	1	50	Nāranārya	1
,,	Vāmanārya	1	,,	Savvaṇārya	1
46	Sankarārya	1	,,	Bhâvanārya	1
,,	Madhukarārya	1	,,	Yaṟṟanārya	1
,,	Gôvindanārya	1	51	Mallanārya	1
,,	Vishnunārya	1	,,	Bhâskaranarya	1
47	Trivîkramanārya	1	,,	Mâdhavārya	1
,,	Vāmanarya	1	,,	Yajnanārya	1
,,	Srîdharanārya	1	52	Dugganārya	1
,,	Narasimhyanārya	1	,,	Kamanārya	1
48	Padmanārya	1	,,	Prôlanārya	1
,,	Dāmôdarārya	1	,,	Kemanārya	1
,,	Vāsudêvānarya	1	,,	Yalanārya	1

These belong to Kaundinya gôtra.

53	Mādhavārya	1	,,	Sômanārya	1
,,	Gôvindanārya	1	58	Yallanârya	1
,,	Sankarārya	1	,,	Vāmanārya	1
54	Sômanārya	1	,,	Dêvanārya	1
,,	Mallanārya	1	,,	Bhavanārya	1
,,	Prôlanarya	1	,,	Ganganārya	½
,,	Vasudêvanārya	1	59	Nāganarya	,,
55	Rāghavārya	1	,,	Yallanārya	,,
,,	Kêśavarya	1	,,	Prôlanārya	,,
,,	Sarvanârya	1	,,	Parvatārya	,,
,,	Prôlanārya	1/2	60	Annāmārya	,,
56	Dharmanārya	½	,,	Rāghavārya	,,
,,	Sarvanārya	1/2	,,	Kêśavārya	,,
,,	Nārāyanārya	1	61	Mâdhavārya	,,
57	Mādapârya	1	,,	Yallanārya	,,
,,	Rāghavārya	1			

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v. 10. By Gaṇapati the different type of gifts enumerated in the *Kalpa* work of Hemādri were first performed, temples for gods constructed and marriage and *upanayana* ceremonies performed for the good willof the Dêvas.

v. 11. When Gaṇapati, the best among the rulers of the earth was devoted to the protection of (his) country, the people observed the duties (ordained for them) giving up hatred and their houses were filled with wealth and grains.

v. 12. May the fame of this lord of the earth, the founder of the illustrious Kākatîya dynasty, whose lotus-like feet are reddened by the rays of light proceeding from the sparkling gems (set on) the crowns of all kings (who lay postrate before him) pervade (everywhere) dewelling in the regions of the Dêvas, mortals and Nāgas having destroyed the darkness of the caves in the chief mountain Lôkalôka.

v. 13. Let kings, always alert, protect, so long as the sun and moon endure, the charity done by king Gaṇapati.

v. 14, He who destroys this chief *agrahara* given by king Gaṇapati to please the glorious Siva in the form of Svayambhu kills Brahmans and cows,

v. 15 & 16. Translated elsewhere.

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THE GURINDAGUNTA STONE INSCRIPTION.

By R. SUBBA RAO, M. A., L. T.

The stone containing the inscription was presented to the Society by one of the members Mr. T. Achyuta Rao, M. A. L. T., Headmaster of the Government Training School, Rajahmundry, and it was accepted with grateful thanks as the inscription on it has been found to be an old and important one.

The stone which is of white granite is oval in shape and measures 52 inches round its length and 21 inches round its breadth and weighs nearly one maund. Letters were inscribed in nearly circular lines all round the stone and the inscription consists of seven lines and is in a fair state of preservation except for two letters in the end which are worn out.

The alphabet employed belongs to the Telugu-Kannada type of letters which was prevalent in the Telugu inscriptions of the period A. D. 800 to 1100. The characters used are big and bold.

The points that call for notice in respect of orthography are the following:—

1. In words like Sudrakuṇḍu, Gurindaguṇṭa, Nevvaṇḍêni and Mûṇḍu, the place of annusvâra was taken up by the anunâsika (ṇa). This original anunâsika was changed into annusvâra and finally now into ardhânusvâra.

2. In the inscription, no distinction was made between the long and short vowels. Where we now use long vowels, only short vowels were employed eg. Raju, Rukalu, Darapa, Dakiri etc.

3. The use of *vu* instead of *nu* as in Dharmavu is old.

The language of the inscription which is a short one consisting of seven lines only, is throughout old Andhra and it is partly prose and poetry, the first four lines being in prose and the last three in poetry.

The inscription does not give the geneology of any line of kings nor does it deal with political matter. It deals with purely donative gifts of different kinds made to different persons. No date is given. However, from the use of several old Andhra words used in it which belong to the age of Nannayabhatta and also from the use of old type of Telu-gannada characters employed, we may observe that the inscription belongs even to the Pre-Nannaya age. It belongs in my opinion to the 10th century A. D.

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The stone itself was discovered at Gurindagunṭa, a village in Bandar or Masulipatam Taluq of the Kistna District, and is situated close to Vadlamanadu Railway station. The name Gurindagunṭa is clearly mentioned in the inscription. The gifts mentioned in the grant were made to the Raṭṭôdu of Gurindagunṭa and to others who might be village officials of the place. Another village is also mentioned in it, *viz*, Dakiri, which may be identified with the Dakaram village in Gudivada Taluq which is close to the place where the inscription was discovered.

The recipients of the grant are the following:—

1. Gurindagunṭa *Rattodu.*
2. *Nalva Chimmana.*
3. *Remiya.*
4. Dêvonojjalu.
5. Darapa.
6. Dakiri Sree-Sûla.

TEXT.[1]

1. *Svasti* [*] *Rima Raju noguna Sudrakundu Gurindagunta.* [*]
2. *Rattodaki*[2] *enurukalu* [*][3]
3. *Nalva chimmanaku drammamu* [*][4] *Remiyaku Drammamu,* [*]

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1. From the original stone. I am thankful to Messrs. C. Narayanarao M. A., and M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M. A., for helping me in the reading of this text.

2. Vide note in the end.

3. The word means Five Rûkas which may be equivalent to Re. 1-4-0 in modern coin. For one Rûka, in Sreenadha's time (XV century) a splendid meal was given. In his Krîdâbhirâma the poet writes :

"కప్పురభోగివంటకము కమ్మని గోధుమపిండివంటయున్
గుప్పెడు పంచదారయును గ్రొత్తకగాచిన యాలనేపెసర్
పప్పును గొమ్మునల్లనంటిపండ్లును నాలుగు నైదు నంజులుల్
లప్పలతోడ గ్రొంబెరుగు లక్ష్మణయొజ్జల యింట రూకకున్.

The word Rûka is still current in Cuddapah, Chingleput and other districts and is equivalent to 4 as.

4. "Thick pieces of silver, derived from Sessanian type but degraded in execution are found in Rajaputana. Malwa and Gujerat. They are called Gadhiya Paisa and Cunningham identified the same with the *Sadbodhikha Drammas* of Jaunpur inscription. They weigh 60 to 65 grains".-Rapson's Audhra Coins. The S'abdaratnakaram explains the word as meaning a gift or charity but this is unsatisfactory

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4. *Devonojjalakû* [5] *mundu drammamulu, Darapaku Drammamu.* [*]
5. *Siddhâyabu* [6] *Dakiri Sreeslaku* [7] *bandumu vadla-pattu,* [8]
6. *Nalvaru pannasa* [9] *karur* (ఱు) (*pachu*) *varu* [10]
7. *Rattodlu nevvandeni rakshinchu vanida dharmavu.* [11] [*]

Translation.

1. Hail! To the merit of king Rima, Sudraka (made the gifts)
2. To the headman of Gurindaguṇṭa, five Rukas,
3. to Nalva Chimmana one drammamu, to Remiya one,

On p. 184 of V. A. Smith's Oxford History of India, Drammas are identified with Drachmæ, the Sessanian coins. A dramma is equal to nearly ⅓ of a Rupee in weight according to the above account. But from the Hindu measures and weights, we learn that one Dramma is equal to 1/16 of a Nishka or ¼ of a Suvarna weighing 20 gurinda seeds. It is also equal to 5 Phanams. See also Ind. Ant 1918. p. 76.

5. See note under 3. The word means Vedic reciters or priests in a God's temple.

6. Ready income free from all obligations.

7. It means "to the Lakshmi temple in the village of Dakaram" in Gudivada Taluq.

8. Land which can be sown with 10 Tûmus or 40 measures (Kunchams) of grain. It is equivalent to a puṭṭi of land which is equal to 8 acres.

9. The words Paṇṇeya and Paṇya are found in Kanarese and mean "Land which originally belonged to the king and which was leased out on condition of his resumming it whenever he liked." There seem to be various kinds of Pannasa or Land tenure. For instance, in a western Chalukyan grant, we get "unjamanna Pannasa" and in Saktivarma's Prabhupaṛru plates which belong to the first quarter of the 11th century, We get "chigoja Pannasa." In our grant the tenure seems to be free from the four kinds of obstacles which are mentioned in an inscription of Vishnuvardhana IV who ruled in the latter half of the 9th century thus:—

అరియు డగు తెఱెయు, సిద్దాయబు, దండు, అపరాధము.

ariyu ḍagu teṛeyu siddaya(m)bu, daṇḍu, aparādhamu.

These may mean exaction, fixed tax, fine and attachment respectively.

10. This word is not clear. The letters in brackets are worn out and indistinct. According to the reading given here, the word means the removal of obstacles. (the four kinds mentioned above).

11, Dharmuvu, Dharmamu, Dammuvu and Dharmavu are all found in the inscriptions.

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4. To the divine priests three drammas, To Darapa one,
5. As "free" income to the Lakshmi temple of Dakiri,† land which, can be sown with ten Tûmus or 40 kunchams of grain.
6. This Pannasa tenure ehall be enjoyed free from obstacles.
7. Whoever among the village headman will protect this gift will be the actual donor of it.

RATTODLU.

The words "Rattodu and Rattodlu" found in the second and sixth lines in the inscription are also found in several inscriptions of the 9th and 10th centuries as well as in Telugu literature. In *Sivatatvasaram* published in Andra Sahitya Parishad Patrika, we get the line "Rajulu Rattaḷḷu Naguta Rāvellitikin," and the word Rattaḷḷu was explained as meaning "Redlu." The word Rattaguḍi is found in several inscriptions details of which are noted on page 67 of Raja Raja Sanchika by Mr. M. S. Sarma. For instance, we get Mahendra Raṭṭaguḍi, chalki Raṭṭaguḍi and here the word means the Reddi or headman of the place prefixed. The plural forms are found to be Raṭṭaguḍlu, Raṭṭaguḷḷu Raṭṭallu, Raṭṭadlu or Raṭṭodlu etc. For instance, we get Marpidugu Raṭṭagudlu, Gurindagunṭa Raṭṭodlu. The word Raṭṭaguṭṭu is is also found in the early inscriptions of the 8th and 9th centuries. Raṭṭaguṭṭu seems to be the Telugu form of "Rashtrakuta" which is found in several inscriptions of Rastrakuta kings as Raṭṭakuṭa and Rashtrakuta also. Allusions to Raṭṭas, Raṭṭaraja, Raṭṭamanḍal are found in several inscriptions. Similarly allusions to Raṭṭaguḍi are found inscriptions. e. g. Kammaraṭṭa-guḍi, Cholaraṭṭaguḍi, Salki raṭṭa-guḍi which mean raṭṭa chief in Kamma, Chola and Chalukyan countries. Raṭṭaguḍi thus seems to be the equivalent of the Sanskrit word Rāshṭrakûṭa. In several Eastern Chalukyan inscriptions of the period 8th to 11th century A. D., we get the following:— "Gudrahāra Vishaya nivasinô Rāshtrakuta Pramukhan Kutimbinassarvan Samāhuya etc." Both Vishnu-Vardhana IV and Vijiyaditya II who ruled in the latter half of the 8th century and the first half of the 9th century A. D. respectively, use the word 'Rāshtrakuta Pramukhān.' This Rashtrakuta seems to be a latter Sanskrit form of Raṭṭaguḍi which is used in several earlier inscriptions of Telugu Cholas of Nellore and Cuddapah which belong to the 7th and 8th centuries A. D. The Rashtrakutas or Raṭṭa-guḍis are addressed along with Kutimbinas who are cultivators. This word Raṭṭaguḍi changed into Raṭṭ ḍi, Raṭṭoḍu by the dropping of 'Ga' Hence the plural formf Raṭṭaḍlu and Raṭṭoḍlu. In the list of Nellore

† Vide Vol. X p. 16 Verse 200.
పూజింపుఁడు పూజింపుఁడు పూజింపుఁడు శివునిఁ భక్తిఁ బూజింపుడు మీ
రోజసెడి నడవకుండుఁడు రాజులు రట్టభృనగుట రావెల్లిటికిన్.

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inscriptions mentioned by Mr. M. S. Sarma in Raja Raja Sanchika, we find the words Raḍḍôḍi, Raḍḍ ôḍi, Raṛṭa, Raḍḍi and Reḍḍi. The words Reḍḍoḍu and Reḍḍi are still used for village headman in Cuddapah district. In my opinion, it was by the close of the 12th century that the word Raṭṭaguḍi was finally changed into Reddi.

Further, from the list of inscriptions mentioned in Ep. Ind. Vol. VII p. 215, we learn that Raṭṭa and Rashtrakuta were names of a family chief belonging to "Rashtroda Vamsa. A corruption of this word is found in Ratthoda, and Raṭṭeḍa. Thus, the original family name seems to be Ratta which changed into the Sanskrit form Rashtrakuta and from it came the corrupt forms Râshtroda and Raṭṭoḍa. I am thankful to my friend Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao for bringing to my notice the existence of the words Rattadi-kāmu and Rattadi-kamu. (Vide S. I. I. Vol. IV p. 408) These words donote the office of the reddi'. To-day "Reddikamu" or "Reddikamu" is used popularly to denote a particular sitting posture which in all probability might have derived its meaning from the holder of the office in olden times.

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A NOTE ON THE IPURU PLATES OF VISHNUVARDHANA III.

709 (715?)—749 (751?) A. D.

By BHAVARAJU V. KRISHNARAO, B. A., B. L.

Dr. Hultzsch edits this grant in Epigraphia Indica, Volume XVIII at p. 58 from inked impressions prepared by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, Avl., B. A. . The inscription is an important one for more than one reason, and therefore deserves to be carefully studied. It has been mis-read in two important places, and the mis-reading has led Dr. Hultzsch to advance new theories which are apparently untenable and even incorrect. I do not however propose to re-edit the record, for those two or three mis-readings only, but deal with the erroneous and fantastic conclusions drawn by him, and then discuss the importance of the grant.

The inscription, is one the Eastern Chalukya **Vishnuvardhana Maharaja III,** the son of **Vijayasidhi,** and son's son of **Vishnuvardhana II.** It records an order issued in the twenty-third year of his reign by **Vishnuvardhana** [III] of a gift of a piece of a land, and a house-site together with a flower garden, in Jaḷayuru, in the district of Pḷoḷnāṇḍu, to a brahman Kēśavaśarman, the son of Taḷi Sarman, and grand son of Aggi Sarman, of Ātreya gotra and Hiraṇyakeśi sutra, on the auspicious occasion of *Samkranti*. The grant was made by the daughter of Sri **Maghimduvaraja,**[1] **Prithivipothi,**[1] whom Dr. Hultzsch considers to have been one of the queens of Vishnuvardhana III. Dr. Hultzsch identifies further, the king **Maghimduvaraja** with **Mahendra Varman** (III), the Pallava ruler of Kanchi, rather cautiously, and concludes that the scribe might have mis-spelt the word with his characterstic carelessness. He supports this conclusion by boldly assuming a sort of Pallava origin for *'pothi'*, the second member of the donor's name. And in order to substantiate this theory of the Pallava origin, and thereby make the donor, the daughter Mahêndravarman III, he finds a close connection between Eastern Chalukya and Pallava dynasties, from the supposed existence of some amount of resemblance, in the panegyrical discriptions of the kings, in their respective grants.

1. The reading is that of Dr. Hultzsch, but it is shown below how the reading is not justifiable.

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Dr. Hultzsch in the first place assumes, without any justification whatsoever, **Prithivipothi** to have been a queen of **Vishnuvardhana III.** Evidently, he thought so when he identified **Maghimduvaraja** with the Pallava ruler Mahendravarman III. The lady's husband's name is nowhere mentioned in the grant either expressly or by implication. She is referred to only as the "Dear daughter of Sree Maghimduvaraja." His conjucture therefore is certainly unfounded, and it can be attributed only to his erroneous reading of the inscription. And further I am inclined to think that the reading of the word as **Maghimduvaraja** is also quite untenable. No doubt the dot denoting the *anusvara* is placed on the letter *ghi* though it ought to have been on or after letter *ma*, for then the whole word reads as Manghiduvaraja. We find for instance in a stone inscription [2] of the time of Vijayaditya III (844-888 A. D.) in Kandukuru, Nellore district, the dot denoting the *anusvara* is placed on the following letter, when it is clearly meant to be read with the preceding one. The word that occurs there is, the name of Pāṇḍuranga, the famous general of Vijayaditya III. The word is written as Pāḍumragam, the *anusvara* dots appearing on *du* and *ga*. If however, the word is read as it was written, it certainly has no meaning whatsoever. Similarly in the stone inscription of Yudhamalla II in the Mallesvarasvamin's temple at Bezwada,[3] the *anusvara* dot appears on the next letter (1. 14), though it should have been placed either on the preceding letter or after it. Again in the Koṇḍânāgûru grant of Indravarman[4] also, this peculiar feature of placing the *anusvara* dot on the following letter can be noticed. The word which occurs there is the name of a village called Mumzuṇûru which Dr. Hultzsch erroneously reads as Muzumṇûru. The name as read by him certainly conveys no idea and is therefore impossible of identification, since there is no village of that name in the whole of Andhradesa. But if read as Mumzuṇûru, it can be identified with the modern village of Mumjulûru in the Kaikalûru Taluka of the Krishna District. This practice of placing *anusvara* dot on the next following letter might not be entirely due to mere carelessness or mistake but to a practice prevailing among the writers in the country from the 7th century onwards down to the 10th.

If, then, the name of the father of the princess, Prithivi-pôthi, is read as **Manghiduvaraja**, it becomes then quite easy to identify him with **Mangi yuvaraja**, for in old Telugu *du* and *yu* are clearly

2. See Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty; Nellore Inscriptions Vol. II plate 2, facing page 542, Kandukuru inscriptions, Nos. 31 and 32.

3. Ep. Coll. No. 323 of 1892; See also Journal of the Telugu Academy, Vol. VI p. 63 line 14. Ep. Ind. Vol. XV p. 150. A.

4. Ep. Ind. Vol. XVIII. p. 1, at 3. Text line 19.

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interchangeble and therefore *duvaraja* becomes *yuvaraja*.[5] The scribe is evedently careless in writting *ghi* for *gi* also in the name Manghi.[6]

It is therefore interesting to note that the donor of the grant was the *daughter* of **Mangi Yuvaraja** and not of the Pallava king Mahendrarman III. Now the question arises, what is the relationship between this lady, Prithivipôthi, and the reigning king Vishnuvardhana Maharaja III? In line 8 above of the inscription, it is said that the Vishnuvardhana Maharaja was the son of Vijayasidhi and son's son of Vishnuvardhana.. The name of Vijayasidhi[7] is quite familiar to us as the title borne by Maharaja Mangi yuvaraja himself. The chief historical interest of the inscription lies, therefore, in the mention of a new member of the Eastern Chalukya family, who appears to be a *sister* and not a queen of Vishnuvardhana III as suggested by Dr. Hultzsch.

The next thing that led Dr. Hultzsch to discover a sort of close connection or relationship between the Pallavas and the Eastern Chalukyas is, the word *pôthi*, which forms part of the name Prithivipôthi. *Pôthi* is considered by him to be a feminine derivative of *pôta* which is known to have formed part of the names of the Pallava kings.[8] But it appears that *pôta* came to be used in the names of Pallava kings of later times only, and there is no evidence also of its having formed part of the names of the earlier kings. Be that as it may, but still the connection between the two dynasties is too far fetched, and is based on slender authority. I do not agree with Dr. Hultzsch in his reading of the letter *thi* (ಥಿ) as such. It is clearly (ಱಿ) *ri*. The difference between the two letters can be easily noticed since they occur in the same line and word, Prithivipôthi. In *thi* there is only a dot in the body of the letter while there is a horizontal stroke in the second letter, which clearly makes it (ಱಿ) *ri*. The scribe, no doubt, is careless in writing the letter, and leaves the reader much in doubt, for it does not resemble *ri* in line 15 and 24 where it occurs in the names of the river Eliyeṟu and the *ajnâpati* Kaḍêyaṟāya. The letter is not written properly as it should have been, but I have satisfied myself by a careful examination of the original plates

5. See Ep. Ind. Vol XVIII p. 257 where Dr. Hultzsch admits that the word duvaraja is a Dravidian tadbhava of the Sanskrit word Yuvaraja and compares it with the Tamil Tuvarasan which also corresponds to Yuvaraja. See his note No. 5 on p. 180 in Ep. Ind, Vol. IV, S. I. I; Vol 11 No. 73, text lines 103 & 106 where yuvaraja and Tuvarasan occur.

6. Note the word Mangi is also written as Mangi in the Masulipatam plates of Ammaraja I, Ep. Ind. Vol. V p. 132.

7. See Ind. Ant. Vol. XX p. 105. where Mangi Yuvaraja calls himself as Vijayasidhi and Sarvalôkasraya.

8. See S. I. I. Vol, II p. 34 1.

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themselves lent to me by the owner, through the kind intervention of my friend Mr. K. Raghavayya Chowdari and I believe this scribe ment only *ri* but not *thi*.

If we then, read the letter as *ri*, the meaning of the word *pôri* becomes quite clear. In old Telugu we come across the word *pôri* (పోఱి) as the feminine derivative of *pôradu*, (పోఱడు) which means a youth.[9] If that be so, it is certainly interesting to find that in olden days *i. e.*, as far back as the eigth century, the word *pôri* was added as an honourable suffix to the names of ladies of the royal blood. I hope, I will not be considered too bold if I suggest, that *pôri* meant an unmarried girl or even a compartively young girl in point of age. Whatever that might be, we have at present no means of finding out the etymological meaning of the word, and cannot therefore conjecture whether Prithivipôri was an elder or younger sister of the king.

None of the localities mentioned in the grant except Plôlnāṇḍu have been identified by Dr. Hultzsch. It is no wonder that he could not do so being unacquianted with the geography or the local traditions of the part of the country to which the grant belongs. Plôlnāṇḍu is Prôlunāṇḍu, referred to in many Eastern Chalukya and Reddi grants, and it corresponds to the eastern half of the present East Godavari District comprising the *talukas* of Rāmachandrapuram. Cocanada and Peddāpuram and the divisions of Tuni and Pittāpuram, The agricultural population of the district still use the name for that part of the district. The next locality is **Kommara** which can be identified with the village of that name in Ellore taluk in West Godavari District, but the village, has come to be spilt up into two villages, North Kommera and South Kommera. **Jalayuru** is Jalluru in Pittapuram division. The place, is noted for its ancient Jain remains and it is very unfortunate that the place has not been examined till now at all, by the Government Archacological Department. **Eliyeru** is the modern river Elêru which flows through the present town of Pittapuram. **Kakandivada** offers some difficulty as there is no village of that name in that locality. But I am inclined to identify it with the modern city of Cocanada, which is not very far and which is pronounced as Kākināḍa in Telugu. Kākāṇḍi[10] we know, has become Kākani; and it is just possible therefore for Kākanivada (Kākani-vāda) to have become Kākināda, dropping the medial consonant *va*. As no particulars are forthcoming for the present regarding the discovery of plates, it is not possible to say how they could have travelled into the Guntur District, crossing the rivers, the Godavari and Krishna.

9 Vide S'abdaratnakaram by B. Sitharamachary ulu.

10 See S. I. I. Vol. IV (Texts) p. 221 Ep. Nos. 700, 701, 702. The Village name in Sanskrit is referred to as Kakandi and in Telugu as Kakani.

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It might be that the donee's successors and heirs have carried the plates with them, at a latter period, when they migrated to some place south of the river Krishna.

Another circumstance which makes the inscription equally interesting and important, is the occurance of a hitherto unknown letter (ఌ) ḷa, in Telugu. It occurs in the name of Taḷisarman, father of Kesavasarman, the donee of the grant, and also in the beginning of line 5 where instead of *cha*, ḷa (ళ) is written. We do not know yet whether the word Chalukya was also written as ళలుkya. But for the present we will satisfy ourselves that the scribe wrote ḷi for *cha*, by mistake.

The letter ఌ ḷā has a very interesting history behind it. It has long since ceased to exist in the Telugu language. The original pronunciation and the letter have become merged into ḍa (డ) in Telugu, and ḷa (ೞ) in Kanarese. It however remains in its original form in Tamil. Till very recently the existence of such a letter or its sound has not been suspected or even noticed. It was late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao M. A., who first discovered it while reading the stone incription of Yudhamalla II (927–934 A. D) in the temple of Mallesvarasvamin at Bezwada.[11] His dicoverv has roused much controversy and opposition from the classic school of pandits led by Mr. K. Brahmayya Sastri who who for want of historic sense do not accept the theory. The letter and the sound are quite peculiar to the Dravidian group of languages and therefore did not originally exist in the Telugannada alphabet which is considered to have originated from the Asokan script. The Telu-gannada scribes therefore, had to invent a form to denote the sound. The letter appears in several ancient inscriptions of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty, prior to the 11th century in various words. Its form, too, came to be gradually changed: it was originally written as ∞, like two circles drown closely together, but later on when the cursive form of writing became popular during the latter part of the ninth century it came to be written as double ra (bandi ra (ఱ) but without the horizontal stroke in the middle. The following are the inscriptions in which letter la appears in Telugu country.

(1) Stone inscription of Yudhamalla II, Jour. of the Andhra Academy, Vol. VIII p. 256 ff., Ep. Ind. Vol. XV p. 150–A. — See lines 7, 8, 11, 15, 23, 28, 30, 41, 42, and 45, where it appears as an independant letter and lines 3 to 9, 12, 14, 22, 24, 27, 31, 43, and 44 where it occurs as a *samyuktâkshara* or joint letter.

(2) Edêru plates of Vijayaditya — See line 25, it appears in the

11. Jour. Andhra Academy Vol. VIII p. 256.

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II (799—843), Ep. Ind. Vol. V. p. 118.	name of a person Bôlama,
(3) Satyaditya's Malapadu stone inscription (Circa 10th century) Ep. Ind. Vol. XI p. 345 (Telugu) Malapadu.	See lines 1 and 8.
(4) Copper plate grant of Puṇyakumara, Ep. Ind. Vol. XI, p. 337.	
(5) Ep. Col. No. 883 of 1917, stone ins. of Vikramditya I on the Indrakila Hill, (909 A.D.) Jour. Andhra Academy, Vol. VII p. 227.	See line 4.
(6) Copper plate grant of Chalukya Bhima II (934-945 A.D.) Ep. Ind Vol. V p. 134. I.	See line 17. It occurs in the name of a person.
(7) Timmapuram plates of Vishnuvardhana I (615—633 A. D.)	See line 11, it appears in the name of a district Plakivishaya.
(8) Copper plate grant of Western Chalukya king Vikramditya I (circa 660) Ep. Ind. Vol. IX p. 98.	See line 22, it occurs in the name of village Kolachumakonru.

In the last mentioned two records the letter appears in its older form as in our present grant. From the foregoing ephigraphical evidence it is clear that the letter and the peculiar pronounciation la existed in the Telugu csuntry in various words *e.g.* verbs, nouns, common and proper prior, to the eleventh century. The letter and the sound seem, to have disappeared in the early part of eleventh century, *i.e.* before the epoch of Nannaya, owing to the powerful and overwhelming influence of Sanskrit on Telugu.

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PEDAVEGI COPPER PLATES OF NANDIVARMAN II.

By R. SUBBA RAO, M. A., L. T.,

These plates were edited in Telugu by my friend Mr. M.S. Sarma in *Bharathi* dated August 1924 and by kind permission, I am now editing them in English. It is a set of five copper plates containing on the whole 25 lines and it was discovered near Pedavegi, eight miles to the north of Ellore and transmitted to the *Bharathi* office for publication by Mr. V. Viswanatha Sarma, M.A. Lecturer in the Government Training College, Rajahmundry.

The first plate is inscribed on the sceond side only, while the second side of the fifth plate contains only one line. Each plate measures 6 4/5" by 2 1/10" Each plate contains three lines on each side. The five plates are held together by a ring which is two and half inches in diameter. The ring has a seal measuring 1 4/5" and on it is fixed an image which is said to be indistinct. But, since on the Kantêru copper plates of Sālankayama Nandivarma,[1] an image of Nandi has been noticed by the editor, by late Mr. K. V. Laksmana Rao, I take the image on the seal of these plates to be that of Nandi. The image of Nandi has been found not only on the seals of the Sālankayanas but also on those of the Pallavas, the Gangas of Kalinganagara and other dynasties. The five plates were numbered by the original scribe and this practice of numbering has been found in all their grants.

The inscription which contains 25 lines, is in a state of good preservation. The alphabet employed belongs to the old form of Telugu-Kannda type and is called *Vengi-lipi*. In this *lipi*, inscriptions were written till the beginning of the 7th century A. D.

The points that call for notice in respect of **orthography** are the following :—

(a) In words like Vengi, Nandi, Sālankayana, Chencheruvu, Munduru, and Samantha. the sound of anunāsika has taken the place of anusvāra, as usual in all old inscriptions.

(a) The characters, *na* and *tha* resemble closely. So also *na* and *tha*.

(c) In the last line, the fifth letter which is given as 'bhi' should be read as '*nu*' and the seventh letter which is given as '*na*' should be read as '*ntha*'. The language of the inscription is

1. Journal of the Andhra Acadency Vol. XI page 113 to 127.

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sanskrit and it is entirely in poetry. The last four lines contain the two usual imprecatory verses, The use of certain words like "Arutore" "Vishnugrihasvami," "Munuda" etc., shows that the Sanskrit language used was not of a high order.

The genealogical list given in these plates is very important. It is mentioned that the great grand-son of Maharaja **Hasthivarman** of victorious **Vengi** who won victories in several battles, the grandson of Maharaja **Nandivarman** who granted several kinds of gifts, the eldest son of Maharaja **Chandravarman** who by his prowess controlled several was the Maharaja **Salankayana, Sri Nandivarman,** who was the worshipper of the feet of God **Chitraradha svamin,** who was devoted to the feet of **Bappa bhattaraka** and who was *Paramabhagavatha* himself.

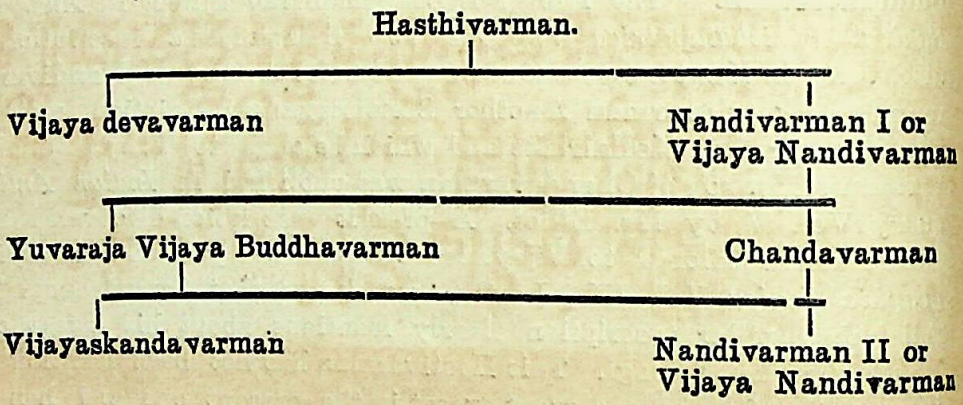
So far, excluding this grant, six inscriptions are known to us in which the names of these Sālankayana kings have been mentioned. Of these, a prakrit inscriptiin which was discovered by Mr. Elliot remains unpublished; but two kings mentioned in it are known to us as **Vijayanandivaraman Yuva maharaja** and **Vijayabuddhavarman.** The late Mr. Lakshmanarao edited in *Andhra Sahitya Parishatapatrica* Vol. XI two Salankayana inscriptions discovered in **Kanteru** near Guntur and these belong to **Nandivarman** and **Skandavarman** Another Sakankayana inscription which was discovered in **Kollair**lake and which belongs to **VIjaya Nandivarman** eldest son of **Chandavarman** was published in *Indian Antiquary* Vol. V by Mr. Elliot. A prakrit inscription discovered at Ellore which belongs to **Vijayadevavarman** was published in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. IX. Lastly, we know that Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription clearly mentions about his defeat of Hasthivarman of Vengi. This Hastivarman has not been mentioned in any other Salakayana grant except in the present one and hence its importance.

Now, from these seven inscriptions, discovered so far we get the names of certain Salankayana kings of Vengi. Of the kings mentioned in all the seven inscriptions, **Hastivarman** of Vengi mentioned in Samudragupta's Allababad inscription may be identified with the one mentioned in our plates. Chandavarman and his son **Vijayanandivarman** mentioned in the Kollair sanskrit inscriptions may be safely indentified with those mentioned in our present grant. **Nandivarman** of Kanteru sanskrit inscription is the same as the donor of our grant. He may be called **Nandivarma II.** Since he is mentioned as the eldest son of Chandavarma in these plates, it is possible that **Vijayaskandavarman** of the Kanteru plates may be the second son of Chandavarman and so a brother of Nandivarman II. As proof of this, we get the discovery of both their inscriptions together in Kanteru.

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The language and characters of both are similar, and in both, gifts were made to brahmans of *Maudgalya gotra* and hence the probability of both being brothers. Vijaya nandivarman of the Ellore prakrit inscription must be indentified with the Nandivarman I mentioned in our present grant which describes him as the son of Hasthivarman. That inscription being a prakrit one must be regarded as clearly earlier in age. In that inscription, Yuvamaharaja Vijayabudhavarman was mentioned and he might be the son of Vijaya nandivarman I. Both the names are found together in the same plates. In these as well as in the earlier Pallava grants also, we find the names of the *Yuvaraja* or heir-opparent and the reigning monarch mentioned together.

Vijayadevavarman mentioned in the Ellore prâkrit inscription must be considered as one of the earliest kings of the line since his inscription is a parkrit one. I take him therefore to belong to the age of Hasthivarman. He may be an younger son of Hasthivarman. Subject to this hypothesis, and helped by the order given in our present plates we may constrcet the following pedigree.



The importance of the present grant is that it mentions Hastivaraman as king of victorious Vengi. In Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription, we read of Samudragupta's invasion of South India. and his defeat of Hasthivarman of Vengi. This invasion is considered to have taken place about 340 A. D. so that Hasthivarman of Vengi who is said to have been defeated by Samnudragupta must be considered to have lived in the first half of the 4th century A. D. In the present grant, no era is given and no date is fixed but the grant is said to be made in the tenth regnal year of Nandivaraman II. (Pravardhamāna Vijayarâjya Samvatsarasya Daśamasya 10). I am inclined to take Hastivarman of the present grant as the same as the one mentioned in Allahabad Pillar inscription. In the present grant, no reference has been made to Vijayadevavarman and Yuvaraja-Vijaya Buddhavarman. Evidently, these two princes did not rule as sovereigns.

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PEDAVEGI PLATES OF SALANKAYANA NANDIVARMAN II.

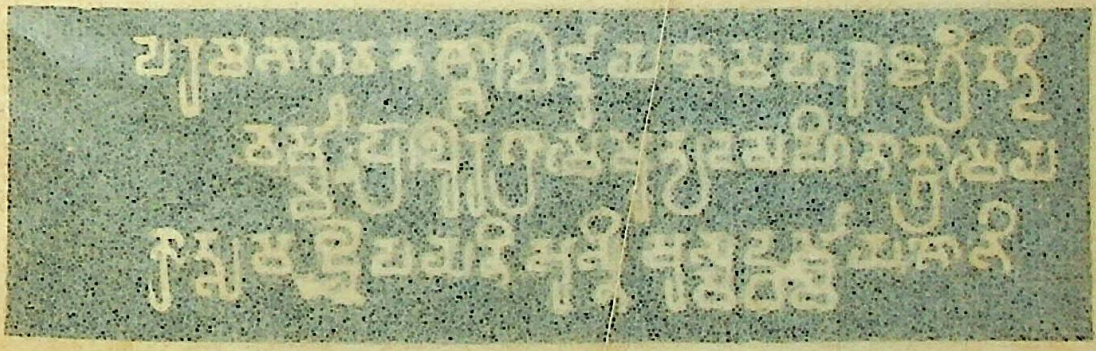
1st plate: Second Side.



2nd plate: First Side.



2nd plate: Second Side.



Photos: By the kind courtesy of Mr. K. Vaidyanatha Rao Pantulu Editor "Bharati".

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The language and characters of both are similar, and in both, gifts were made to Brahmans of Maudgalya gotra and hence the probability of both being brothers. Vijaya Nandivarman of the Ellore prakrit inscription may be identified with the Nandivarman I mentioned in the present plates which describes him as the son of Hasthivarman. This prakrit one must be regarded as clearly earlier in date to the present one. Yuvamaharaja Vijayabudhavarman mentioned in the present plates might be the son of Vijaya nandivarman I and Chandavarman and he might be mentioned together in the same plates. In these as in the Pallava grants also, we find the names of the heir-apparent and the reigning monarch mentioned together.

Chandavarman mentioned in the Ellore prâkrit inscription is considered as one of the earliest kings of the line since the inscription is a prakrit one. I take him therefore to belong to the family of Hasthivarman. He may be an younger son of Hasthivarman. On this hypothesis, and helped by the order given in our present plates we may construct the following pedigree.

Hasthivarman.

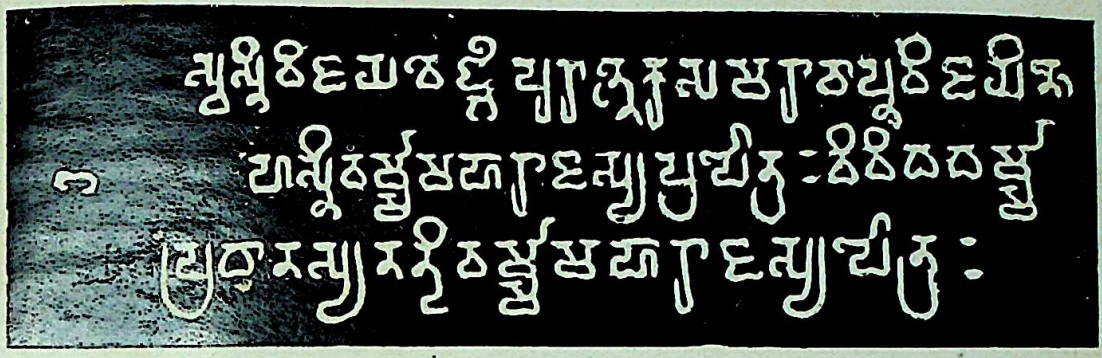
Vijaya devavarman	Nandivarman I or Vijaya Nandivarman
Yuvaraja Vijaya Buddhavarman	Chandavarman
Vijayaskandavarman	Nandivarman II or Vijaya Nandivarman

The importance of the present grant is that it mentions Hasthivaraman as king of victorious Vengi. In Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription, we read of Samudragupta's invasion of South India and his defeat of Hasthivarman of Vengi. This invasion is considered to have taken place about 340 A. D. so that Hasthivarman of Vengi who is said to have been defeated by Samudragupta must be considered to have lived in the first half of the 4th century A. D. In the present grant no era is given and no date is fixed but the grant is said to be made in the tenth regnal year of Nandivaraman II. (Pravardhamâna Vijayarâjya Samvatsarasya Dasamasya 10). I am inclined to take Hasthivarman of the present grant as the same as the one mentioned in Allahabad Pillar inscription. In the present grant, no reference has been made to Vijayadevavarman and Yuvaraja Vijaya Buddhavarman. Evidently, these two princes did not rule as sovereigns

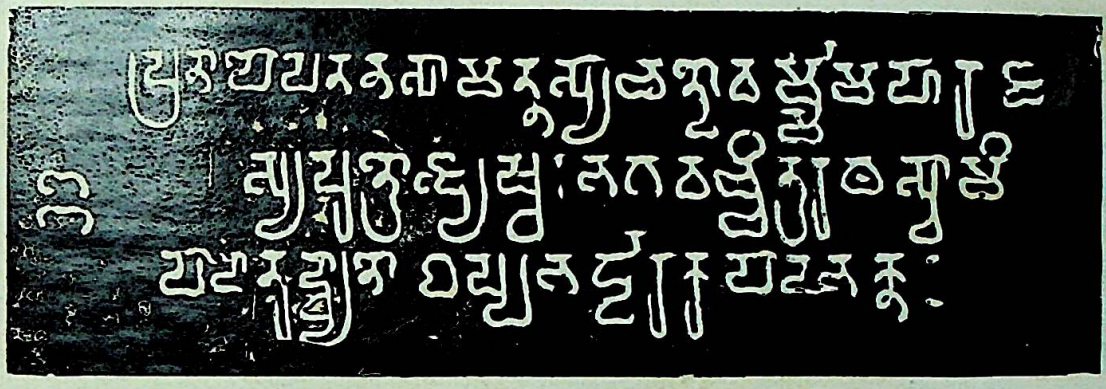
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PEDAVĒGI PLATES OF SALANKAYANA NANDIVARMAN II.

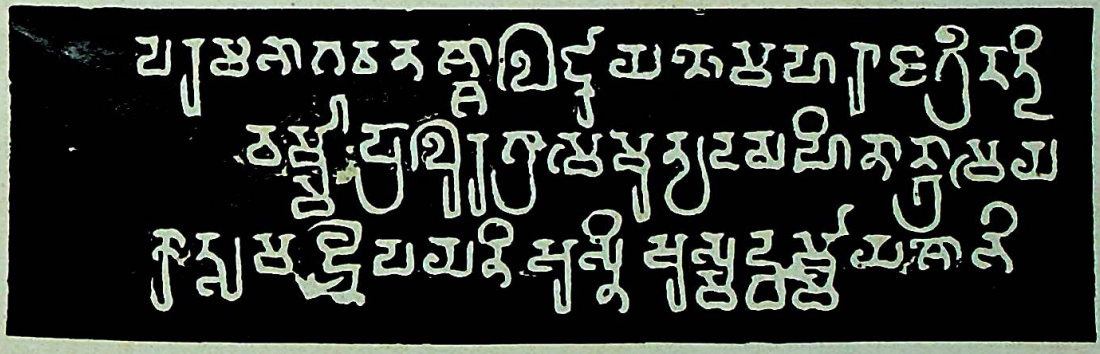
1st plate : *Second Side.*



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2nd plate : *Second Side.*



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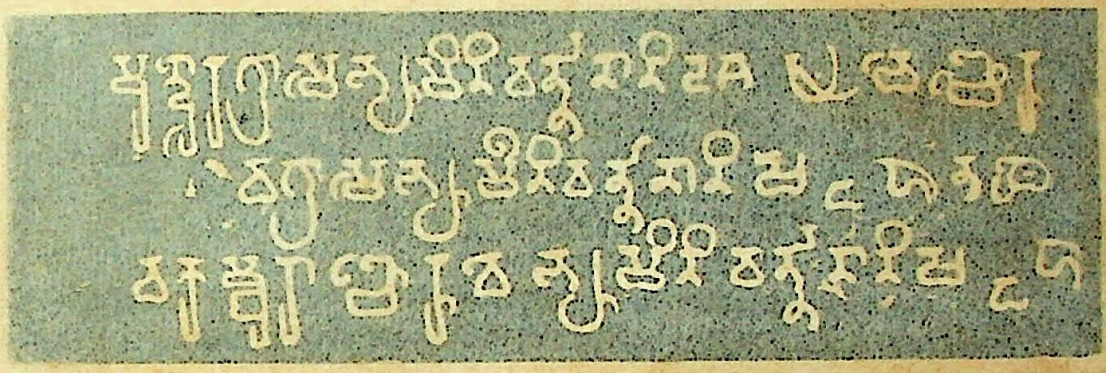
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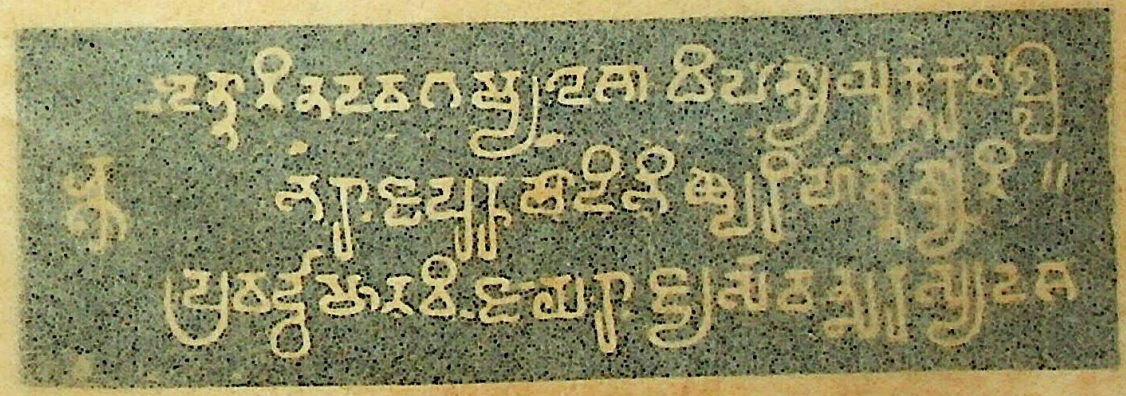
3rd plate: *First Side.*



3rd plate: *Second Side.*



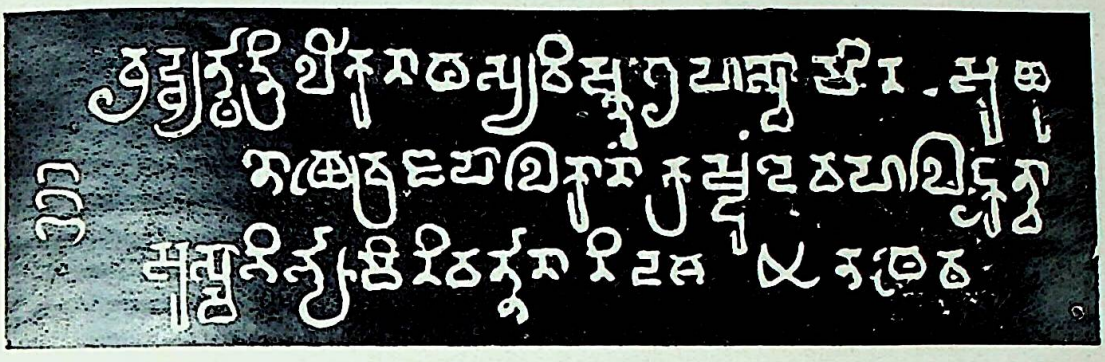
4th plate: *First Side.*



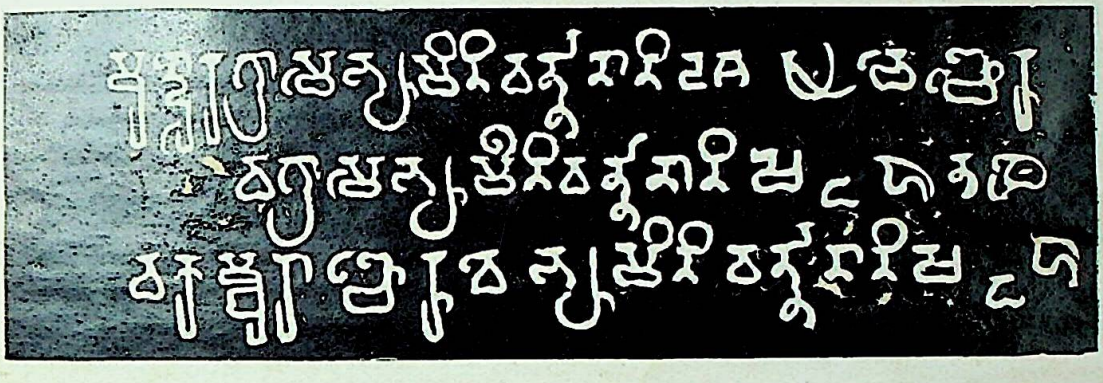
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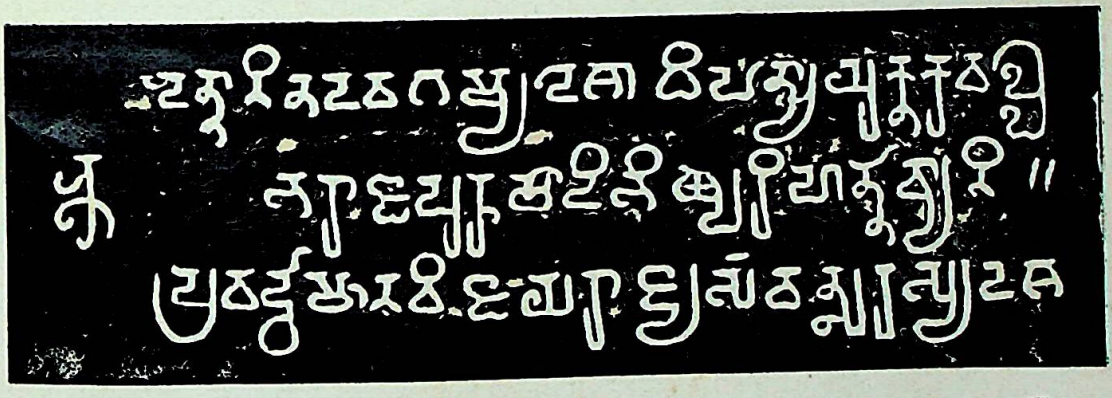
3rd plate : *First Side.*



3rd plate : *Second Side.*



4th plate : *First Side.*



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4th plate: *Second Side.*



5th plate: *First Side.*



5th plate: *Second Side.*





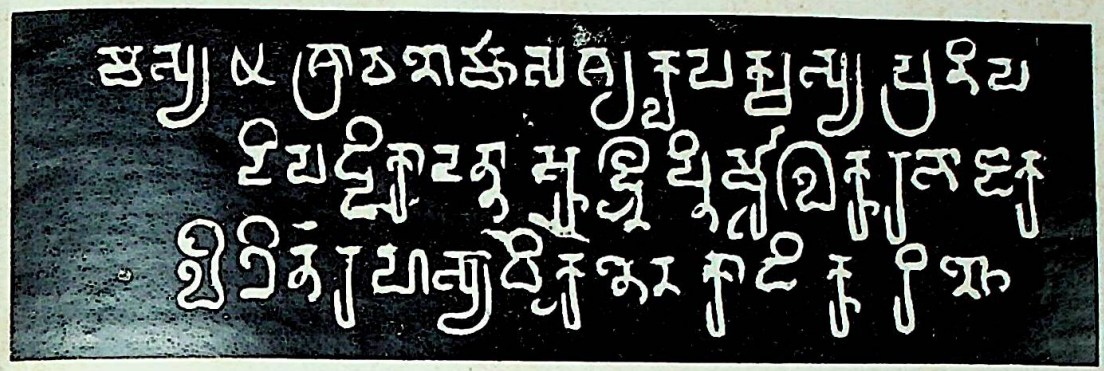
SEAL.
From the KANTERU plates.

By the kind permission of the Madras Academy

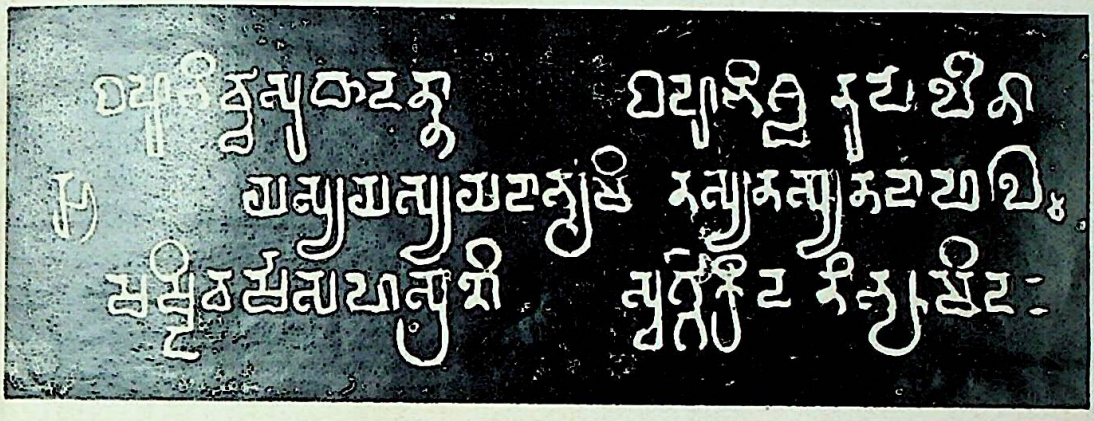
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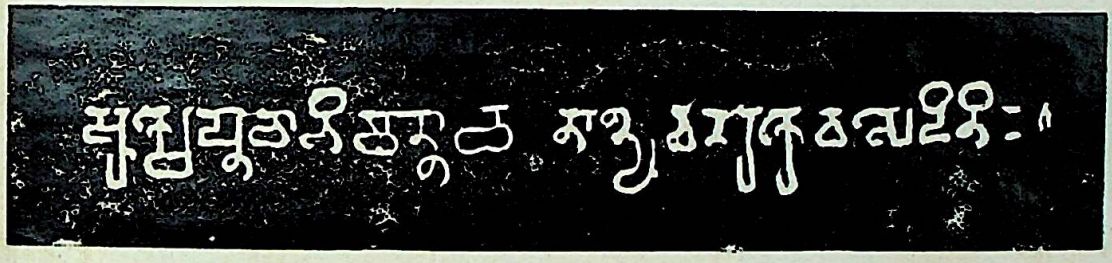
4th plate : *Second Side.*

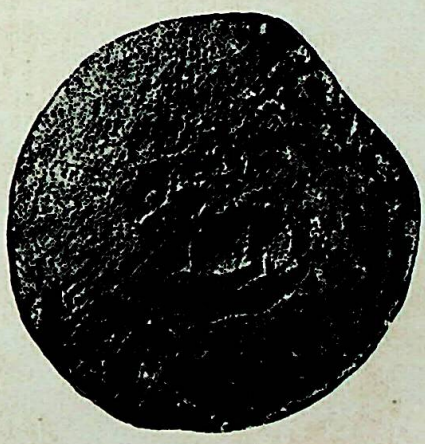


5th plate : *First Side.*



5th plate : *Second Side.*





SEAL.
From the KANTERU plates.

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Now, allowing a period of 25 years to each of the kings beginning from Hasthivarman, we get 440 A. D. as the final limit of the present Donor's rule, It was about this period that the Salankayanas were over thrown by Vishnukundin kings. Vikramendravarman II's Chikkulla inscription states that from Dendulur (Lendlur) near Ellore, the Vishnukundin kings ruled over Vengi Rajya. Either Vikramendran I or his father Madhavavarman I might have defeated Nandivarman II or his younger brother Vijayaskandavarman about 450 A. D., and thus established the rule of the Vishnukundins over Vengi. It is said that Madhavavarman I, the first Vishnukundin king had married a Vakataka princess and with the help of the Vakatakas uprooted the Salankayanas and established his rule over Vengi.

THE GRANT.

The grant refers to gifts of land *(measured in Nivartanams)* in four different villages namely 1. Prālûru 2. Mundûr 3. Chencheruvu 4. Kamburan cheruvu. Of these 2 and 4 exist even now in the Ellore Taluk. Prā'ûra may be the Paulura mentioned by Ptolomy in his ancient geography. If so, from the order given in Ptolemy's book, we may take the village to belong to Bandar or Masulipatam Taluk. Chencheruvu cannot be identified. In villages 1 and 2, ten *Nivartanas* of land (*bhumi nivartnani dasa)* were granted, while in villages 3 and 4 *six nivartnas* of land (*bhumi. nivartnani shatu*) were given. The land granted was termed *'Devahalam'* which may mean the same as *Devabhogahalam* mentioned in Pallava grants. These words mean *Devamanyam* or *Devapolam* or land gifted away to God. The God mentioned is **Vishnugrihasvamin** the lord of three worlds (Trilôkanāthasya Vishnugrihaswami). It was for the support of this deity that so many *nivartanas* of land in the four villages were given to the cow-herds of Arutore (Arutore Vrajapalakas). The lands which were donated were declared free from all obstacles and taxes and the royal officers were ordered not to interfere with the said lands. The composer of the grant was called Mûlakûrabhôjaka and the scribe was called Kaṭikuri.

MEANING OF THE WORD SALANKAYANA.

Sālankāyana is said to be a Vedic sage.[1] Two Sālankāyana gôtras are referred to in Pravara kānda of which one is Bhārdvāja Gôtra and has the Triarisheyam namely Angirasa, Barhaspatya and Bharadwaja. The second is of Viswamitra Ganam and has Triarisheyam, Viswamitra, *Salankaya na* and Kausika. Panini mentions the word Salankayanaka as meaning the abode of the Salankayanas.

1. See the late Mr. K. V. L. Rao's article on Kanteru plates in Vol. XI Andhra-Sahitya Parishat Patrika.

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According to the Sanskrit Dictionary *Medini*, the word is said to mean Nandi or bull, the image of which we get on the seals of the Salankayana charters.

SOME RESEMBLANCES BETWEEN THE SALANKAYANAS AND THE PALLAVAS.

1. The earlier grants of both the dynasties are found in the Prakrit language while the latter are in Sanskrit.

2. Both place the Nandi or bull on the seal of their grants.

3. Both claim as belonging to Bharadwaja gotra.

4. While the Salankayanas worshipped Surya in the form of Chitra Radha Swami, the Pallavas are known to be Agni worshippers.

5. The early kings of both the dynasties claim to have performed the horse sacrifice.

6. The names of the early kings of both the dynasties closely resemble; (compare Salankayana Vijayaskandavarman, Buddhavarman and Nandivarman with the Pallava Sivaskandavarman, Buddhavarman and Nandivarman).

7. The suffix Varma is peculiarly common to both and the title Yuvaraja is taken up by the heir-apparent in both the dynasties.

8. Both the dynasties seem to have sprung up after the fall of Andhras and ruled over the adjoining countries. From the above resemblances, we may assume that both the dynasties were closely related. The common names prevailing among both the dynasties would suggest that they even had inter-marriages. (Compare the existence of identical names in the Later Eastern Chalukya and the Chola dynasties owing to inter-marriages). The Salankayanas and the Pallavas also bore the title Maharaja and this shows that they were independent of each other. The Pallava power did not spread beyond the right bank of the river Kristna as none of their inscriptions have been discovered in the lands on the other side of the river. The Salankayanas as evidenced by their grants ruled over the Vengi and Gudrahara Vishayas which correspond to modern West Godavari and Kristna Districts. In other words, the Salankayanas ruled over the country lying between the two great rivers, Godavari in the north and Kristna in the South. These tracts were comprised in the Andhra empire in the begining of the 3rd century A.D. and after the fall of that Empire (about 226 A. D.) the Ikshvâkus, the Brihatpalayanas, and the Salankayanas seem to have risen up to power one after another and ruled over the country lying on the left bank of the river Kristna, while the Pallavas succeeded to the country lying to the right bank of the river Kristna.

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THE RELIGION OF THE SALANKAYANA KINGS.

The Salankayana kings issued their grants from the victorious Vengipura. (Compare the victorious Kalinganagara of the Gangas.) They bore the title Maharaja and one of the earliest kings mentions in his grant as having performed horse sacrifices. The early kings seem to be Saivites, but in the present grant Maharaja Nandivarman claims to be a devotee of the feet of God Chitra Radha Swamin. (Compare the Kalinga-nagara Ganga kings' similar statements in their grants *viz.*, devotees of the feet of God Gokarnaswamin). The Salankayana kings were also devoted to the feet of the revered father. *(Bappabhattâraka pâdabhaktas.)* The Gupta, Vakataka, Pallava, and Ganga kings also bore a similar title *viz. Bappabhattâraka pâdânudhyâtas.* The Salankayana kings called themselves Parama Bhagavatas. One of the early Salankayana kings **Vijayadevavaraman,** declares himself to be a *Paramamahesvara* and boasts of having performed a horse sacrifice. But in other Salankayana charters, we do not hear about the performance of horse sacrifices. The later Salankayana kings do not call themselves *Parama Maheśvaras* but, instead, call themselves *Parama Bhagavatas.* It would appear that in ancient times, there were both Siva and Vishnu Bhâgavatas for, Patanjali in his Mahābhāshya mentions also Siva Bhâgavatas. The donor of the present grant, Nandivarman was devoted to the feet of God **Chitraradhaswami.** In China-Vegi, which formed part of ancient Vengipura the capital of the Salankayanas, there is even now an old shrine in ruins popularly pointed out as Chitraradhaswamin's temple. Chitra-Radha is identified with Sun and a Solar disk is said to be found on the seal of the Kanteru inscription[1]. Evidently, the Salankayanas worshipped the Sun-God, and several such sun temples have been found to exist in Nellore, Ganjam and Puri Districts.[2] In the present grant Nandivarma gives lands for the benefit of *Trilokanâdha Vishnugrihaswami.* Probably, the later Salankayanas were converts to Vishnu cult.

SALANKYANAS AND SAMUDRAGUPTA'S INVASION.

Samudragupta in his Allahbad pillar inscription claims to have defeated, captured and then replaced several kings then ruling over the countries lying along the Eastern coast of the Dakhan and mentions Hasthivarman of Vengi as one of them. Now from the present grant we learn that Hastivarman of victorious Vengi won several battles over his enemies. Which of these statements is to be believed? I believe that though Samudragupta came as far as the river Krishna, he was not allowed to go on his victorious march by

1. See the late Mr. K. V. R. Rao's article in Andhra Sahitya Parishat Patrika.
2. Ibid.

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the rulers of the neighbouring centuries *viz* Hastivarman, Maharaja of Vengi and Vishnugopa of Kanchi who ruled over all the countries extending to the southern bank of river Kristna. That Samudragupta indulged in a boast is proved by the facts that these countries of the South, were not comprised in his Empire and that the various kingdoms continued to enjoy their independence under their own dynastic rulers. Thus the present grant is important not only in informing us that Vengi under Hastivarman was always victorious against enemies but also in mentioning the name of Hastivarman which figures in Allahbad inscription. On p. 61 of his book, Prof. Dubereil writes thus:-"Of all the kings mentioned in the Allahabad inscription, there is only one who is known in other ways; It is Vishnugopa of Kanchi whose name figures in Vāyalur inscription." We can now say that there is one more king Hastivarman, known to us in other ways *viz*, through the help of the present plates. On p. 89 of his book he writes further, that "it appears in fact that these kings (Salankyanas) came *after* the invasion of Samudragupta." We can now say that at the time of the invasion, the Salankayana kingdom was at it's height.

VENGIPURA.

Maharaja Nandivarma of the present inscription granted lands belonging to Mundûru and other villages which are situated in Yernagudem and Ellore Taluks which formed part of the ancient Vengi mandala. The same Nandivarman in the Kantêru plates granted to a Brahmin the village of Kuruvâda in Kudrahâra *Vishaya* which is mentioned as Gudrahara *Vishaya* in the inscriptions of several Eastern Chalukya kings. This Gudrahâra is identified by some scholars with the modern Gudivada town, and by others with the modern *Guduru*, a village (Ptolemy's *Koddura*) near Masulipatam. Thus from the grants of Nandivarman II, we see that Vengi and Gudrahara Vishayas were comprised in the Vengi-rājya. In other words, the modern districts of West Godavari and Kristna were comprised in the ancient Salankayana kingdom. These very tracts, we know well, once formed part of the ancient Andhra Empire. After the fall of that empire about 226 A. D. various dynasties succeeded to political power and ruled over various parts of the Empire. The Puranas mention that after the last Andhra king Pulômat, a race of kings called Andhrabhrityas would succeed to power. Now we know that after the fall of Sâtavâhana dynasty, a large part of their empire in the South passed into the hands of the Chûtus and Mahārathis who often bore the title of Satakarni. Prof. J. Dubreuil writes in his Ancient History of Dakhan, thus:—"The Chûtus succeeded the Andhras not only in Mysore but also in Aparanta near Bombay. The Mahārathis who have the same title of Satakarni

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reigned in the vicinity of Malville and Chittaldrug. They bore the title of Nāga. It is probable that these Mahārathis, Nāgas etc., who bore, like the Andhras, the title of Satakarni were the Andhrabhrityas or servants of the Andhras who, as mentioned in the Purāṇas, succeeded the Sātavāhanas."

Thus, the Southern and Western parts of the Andhra empire seem to have passed into the hands of the Chûtus or Nāgas while the country to the south of river Kistna was occupied by Pallavas and this is proved by the discovery of Pallava inscriptions at Mayidavole and other places in Guntur District. The Pallavas must have succeeded the Andhras about the middle of the 3rd century A. D. Since none of their inscriptions are found in the lands to the North of the river Kistna we have to presume that other dynasties might have succeeded the Andhras in those regions. This is supported by the discovery of certain inscriptions belonging to different dynasties. The earliest was the Ikshvāku. Three inscriptions of a king called **Madhariputra Sree Vira Purushadatta** of the Ikshvāku race were discovered on the ruins of Jaggayyapeta Stupa, in the Nandigama Taluk of Kistna District, and since their alphabet is declared by palaeographists to belong to 3rd century A. D., we have to consider that the Ikshvākus ruled over that part of the Andhra empire about the middle of 3rd century A. D.. Purushadatta calls himself an Andhrabhritya. Similarly, from the Koṇḍamuḍi plates, we learn, that a certain Jayavarma of the Brihatpalayana race reigned at Kudura which was his capital. It is a Prakrit inscription and paleographists have ascribed it to the middle of 3rd century A. D. Evidently the Brihtpalayanas succeeded to political power over the whole of Gudraharavishaya. A village in Kuduharavishaya which is mentioned in several plates as Kudrahara or Gudrahara or Gudravara was given as gift by Jayavarma, who must have therefore ruled over that part of the country. The very same Kudrahara is mentioned in the plates of Salankayana kings as belonging to them. Hence we have to take it that in 4th Century A. D. the Salankayanas succeeded to the country once ruled over by Brihatpalayanas and that both these dynasties rose on the ruins of Andhra empire one after another. Vengi remained under the Salankayanas for only four or five generations, from the beginning of the 4th century to the middle of the 5th century A. D. and then passed into the hands of the Vishnukundins who from their capital, Lenduluru, modern Dendulur (a suburb of Vengipura four miles off Ellore), ruled over Vengi-mandala from the middle of the 5th century to the beginning of the 7th century A. D. when the Western Chalukyan emperor Pulikesan II conquered it (about 610 A. D.) and appointed his younger brother Kubja Vishnuvardhana as Viceroy, and by the latter, in 615 A. D., an independent dynasty called "The

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Eastern Chalukyan Dynasty" was established and it remained in power for nearly six centuries.

Vengi was thus the seat of powerful dynasties and its history can be traced with the help of the epigraphical records from the early centuries of Christian era. An examination of the ruins of Vengi, clearly brings to our minds what an extensive and powerful city it must have been in its palmy days. Vêngi or Vêngipura or Vêngi-nagara or Vijaya-Vêngipura as the place is called in several inscriptions, lies eight miles to the north of Ellora. At present, we see near its ruins, two small hamlets called Pedavegi and Chinavegi. A few miles off, lies the village of Dendululru with its hamlets of Gangana-gudem and Sênagudem close by. In ancient times, all these villages might have comprised the rich and powerful city of Vengipura. At present, on the ruins of the ancient capital, we can see a few hamlets, several raised mounds of earth, big tanks, several old and ruined temples or their traces and ramparts and a large number of huge stones, images of bulls and Gods etc. One of such old temples is popularly known as Chitraradhaswamin's temple. A few miles off Vengi, lies the Kolleru lake whose beautiful description we get in Dandin's *Dasakumara-charitram*. The poet calls Vengi by the name Andhranagara and the ruler (Eastern Chalukyan king Jayasimha) was called Andhra-nāṭha. The big lake was described as being situated close to the capital and containing beautiful lotuses, clear waters and several kinds of water-birds. Vengi-rajya under the Salankayanas consisted, as I have already mentioned, of two mandalas or Provinces namely, the Vengi vishaya and the Gudrahara vishaya. Of these the later has been mentioned as being famous as a great centre of trade. The capital of the Kudrahara vishaya, Kuduru the modern Guduru is situated four miles to the west of Masula. It is interesting to note in this connection that Ptolemy who wrote his geography in the first half of 2nd century A. D. mentions the places Maisolus, Kontakossyla, Koddura in his book and states that from this part of the Eastern coast vessels carried merchandise and pilgrims to Indo-China, Burma and other eastern countries. These places are now identified with Masulipatam, Ghantasala (which lies 10 miles from Masulipatam and 6 miles from Guduru) and Guduru respectively, and these were great centres of trade in the early centuries of Christian era. Further, this part of the country also appears as the stronghold of Buddhism. The famous Buddhist stupa at Ghantasala affords proof of the same. Hiuen-Tsang who visited the country about 635 A D. wrote in his book of travels that there were sixty Buddhist monastries in the Vengi country with 3000 monks in them. He also wrote that there were 30 temples of the Hindus and a few Jain Vihāras. He also stated that a few miles north west of Vengi there was a beautifully decorated

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storied monastery containing the image of Buddha and opposite to it there was a big Buddhist Stupa, but we do not find at present any traces of the same close to Vengi. It must be certainly admitted that Buddhisim was professed by a large section of the people and though the Salankayana kings were not Buddhists, they might have shown toleration to other creeds.

TEXT.[1]

1. Svasti [*]Vijaya Vêngîpurâneika Samarâvâptavijayinô
2. Hastivarma mahârâjasya prapautrâh Vividhadharma-
3. pradhânasya Nandivarma mahârâjasya pautrah
4. pratâpôpanata sâmantasya Chandavarma Mahârâja-
5. sya putrô jyêshtah bhagavach=Chitraratha-Swami-
6. pâdânudhyâtô Bappa[2] bhattâraka pâda bhaktah
7. parama bhâgavata Sâlankayana Mahârâja Srî Nandi-
8. varma Prâluragrâmê[3] munuda[4] sahitân grâmêya
9. kân=samâjnâpayati [*] asti asmad-dharma yasôbhi—
10. vrudhyartham Trilôkanâthasya Vishnugruhasvâminah Aru[ఱు]
11. to re[ఱు][5] vrajapâlakânâm krashtum dêvahalam[6] krutvâ
12. asmâbhir=bhûmi nivartânâni[7] dasa[8 8] tathaiva,
13. Mundûrugrâmê bhûmi nivartanâni dasa[8] 10 Chencheru-
14. vagrâmê bhúmi nivartanâni shaṭ[8] 6 tathai-
15. va Kamburâncheruvê bhûmi nivartanâni shaṭ[8] 6
16. dattâni tadavagamya dêsâdhipatyâ-yuktaka[1] valla-
17. bha[10] râjapurushâdibhir-pariharttavyâni[*]
18. pravardhamâna vijayarâjya samvatsarasya dasa

1. From the plates published in Bharati dated August 1924. I am thankful to Mr. M. S. Sarma for allowing me to use his readings.

2. It might be a name of the early founder of the Pallava dynasty. But here it means 'father'.

3. It may be the "Paulaura" mentioned in Ptolemy's Geography. It is situated in the Bandar Taluq of Kistna District.

4. 'Munuda' may be another form of 'muluda' which means old settlers.

5. In my opinion it may be a village name. But the word means in Kanarese' 'holy river'

6. In several inscriptions, the word Devabhôgahalam is also found. Devabhogahalam, Devahalam, Devapolam, Devamanyam and Devadayam all mean the same thing, e.g. land granted to the God.

7. "Nivartanalu" like "Putlu" denote measurement of land. According to Sukranitisaram and Manusatram quotedby Mr. Sarma in his article, the lengths of 4 hands or 5 hands would make a dandam and 25 dandams would make one Nivartanam. But other authorities would suggest 30 dandams for one Nivartanam A dandam means a staff measuring 4 or 5 hand lengths "Vrittih Vartana Jivanah" The words Parugu, Katti, Putti, Nivartana, Maruthi, Vrithi and Jivika-all denote measurement of land.

8. The number is given in figures.

9. Cf. Adyakshas. It means Royal officers or Superintendants in charge of revenue matters.

10. Lords or hereditary nobles.

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masya 10 [8]Srāvana māsa Suklapakshasya pratipa-
di pattikâ dattâ âjnaptih [11] Mûlakura Bhôjaka [12]
likhitam rahasyādhikrutêna Kâtikurina [/*]
[13]bahubhir vasudhā dattā bahubhischānupâlitâ
yasya yasya yadā bhûmi tasya tasye tadâphalam
shashtivarsha sahasrâni svargê krîḍati bhûmidah-
akshêpta châbhi[14]mantâcha tânyêva narakê vasê ditih. [/*]

TRANSLATION.

Ll. 1-8: Hail! The great grandson of Maharaja Hastivarma lord of the victorious Vengipura, [who] won victories in several battles, The grand son of Maharaja Nandivarma [who] performed several kinds of gifts; The eldest son of Maharaja Chanda-varma who byhis prowess controlled several vassals, the Salankayana Maharaja Srî Nandivarman who was the worshipper of the feet of God *Chitraradhaswami*, who was devoted to the feet of *Bappa Bhattaraka*(revered father)and who was Parama Bhâgavata himself, thus commands the inhabitants of the village of Prâluru and its old settlers:

Ll. 9-12: Having made, for the increase of my *Dharma* and fame, the gift of *Devahalam* 'cultivable, to the cow-herds of *Arutore*, belonging to *Vishnugrihaswami*, the Lord of the three worlds, I have granted 10 *nivartanas* of land (in that village).

Ll. 13-15: Similarly, in the village of *Munduru* 10 *nivartanas* of lands in the village of *Chencheruvu* 6 *nivartanas* of land and similarly, in *Kambuvancheruvu* 6 *nivartanas* of land are granted.

Ll. 16-18: Be it known! These gifts shall be freed from all obligations, by the vassal rulers of the country, revenue officers, Lords, and Royal servants etc.

Ll. 19-21: This Pattika (patrika) is granted on the day of *Sukla Pâdyami* in the month of *Srâvana* in the *10th regnal* year of the prosperous and victorious reign.

Ll. 22-25: Then follow the two usual imprecatory verses which cover up the last 4 lines of the inscription.

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11. Executor or officer in charge of the grant. The same Mulakura was the officer in charge of the Kollair grant of Vijaya Nandi Varma

12. The word means Priests. It also means Village-head. It also means the holder of lands. In several Eastern Chalukyan grants, The word Boya is mentioned and it means the same as Bhojaka. Boya appears to be a later form of -Bhojaka and means one who enjoys the land.

13. These last 4 lines are usually found in all inscriptions. They contain the usual two verses which are imprecatory and benedictory.

14. "bhi" may be a mistake for "nu"

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MEETINGS HELD DURING THE QUARTER.

Public Meeting.

A Public Meeting under the auspcices of the Society was held on 15-7-'26 under the presidency of M. R. Ry. V. Rangachariar Avl. M.A.,L.T.

Mr. C. Narayana Rao, M. A., L. T. read an interesting paper on "The Ryali Copper Plates of Vijayaditya VII" which have been discovered recently at Ryali. A note on the same will appear in a subsequent issue of the Journal.

Meetings of the Council.

Proceedings of the Council meeting held on 5-9-1926.

Present:

Messrs. 1. V. Rangachariar.
2. C. Narayana Rao.
3. N. Kameswa Rao.
4. V. Appa Rao.
5. M. Rama Krishna Kavi.
6. R. Subba Rao.

1. Resolved that the accounts from 3-7-1926 to 5-9-1926 be passed.
2. Resolved that the following gentlemen be admitted as members of the Society:—

Messrs. 1. D. China Kameswa Rao, B. A.
2. Y. Venkata Rao.
3. I, Veerabasavarazu.
4. K. Seetarama Rao, M. A.
5. K. R. Subramanya Iyer, M. A,
6. D. Ramachandra Rao, B. A.
7. K. Suryanarayana Rao.
8. A. Rama Rao, B. A., B. L.
9, N. J. D. Prasadarayudu, B. A.
10. V. Subba Rao, B. A., B. L.
11. Ch. Venkata Rao.

3. Resolved that a sum of Rupees one hundred only be paid to the Printer towards the cost of printing etc., of the Journal.

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4. Read letter from the Librarian, University of Madras, requesting the free supply of the Journal. Resolved to supply the same for one year in exchange for the Catalogue of the University Library.
5. Resolved that M. R. Ry. V. Rangachariar Avl. M.A.L.T., the Vice President of the Society who is transferred, be thanked for the invaluable services rendered by him to the Society.

Proceedings of the General Body meeting held on 5-9-'26.

1. Resolved that Rule 4 be amended as follows:—

   (a) That instead of "Secretary and Asst. Secretary" there be "Two Joint Secretaries."

   (b) That Rule 19 be deleted.

   (c) That in Rule 18 and wherever in the rules the words "Secretary and Asst. Secretary" occur, they be changed into "Joint Secretaries."
2. Resolved that the quorum for the general body meeting be one third, instead of one half, of the resident members.
3. Resolved that Mr. Bhavaraju V. Krishnarao be elected as the Joint Secretary.

Proceedings of the Council meeting held on 27-10-1926.

Present:

Messrs. C. Narayana Rao.
V. Appa Rao.
N. Kameswa Rao.
B. V. Krishna Rao.
R. Subba Rao.

1. Resolved that the resignation of M. R. Ry. V. Rangachariar as Vice-President of the Society be accepted.
2. Resolved that the following be admitted as members of the Society:—

Messrs. 1. P. H. Anantarama Iyer, M. A.
2. D. V. S. Prakasa Rao, B. A.
3. U. Rama Joganna, B. A. M. L.
4. K. Kesavaramamurty, B. A.
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10. D. Sadasiva Reddi, B. A. *(oxon)*

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11. Rao Bahadur R. Krishna Rao Bhonsle, M.R.A.S.
12. A. Perrazu Sarma.
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15. S. Narasimham, M. A., L. T.
16. Diwan Bahadur C. Venkatachellam, B. A., B. L.
17. R. Venkatarama Razu.

3. Resolved that M. R. Ry. D. S. Reddi Garu, B. A. *(oxon)* Chief Lecturer in History, Govt. Arts College, Rajahmundry be elected as Vice-President of the Society.

4. Resolved that the accounts from 6-9-26 to 27-10-26 be passed.

5. Resolved that the sum of Rs. 150/-advanced by the Treasurer to the Printer be approved.

6. Resolved that the following members of the Society be sent as delegates to the 4th All India Oriental Conference to be held at Allahabad on the 5th November 1926 and subsequent dates.

Messrs. (1) M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M. A.
(2) J. Ramayya Pantulu, B, A., B. L.
and (3) R. Subba Rao, M. A.. L. T.

7. Read letters from Messrs. R. Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar M. A. and P. V. Jagadisa Iyer, Madras. Resolved that copies of the Journal be supplied to them for one year free of cost.

8. Read letter from the Librarian, Viswabharati requesting exchange of Journals. Accepted.

9. Read letter from the Editor, Maharajah's College Magazine, Vizianagaram for exchange of Journals. Accepted.

10. Resolved that the following be considered to have resigned their membership of the Society:—

(1) C. L. Narasimham. (2) M. Suryanarayana Sastry. (3) V. S. Narayana Sastry. (4) A. S. Murty. (5) A. Seshagiri Rao. (6) G. Somanna.

11. Resolved to celebrate the Kalinga Day at Mukhalinganagaram on the 26th of December 1926 and to request the Editorial Committee in charge of the Kalinga Sanchika to make the necessary arrangements for the same.

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List of members who paid subscriptions during the quarter.

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18.	U. Ramajoganna.	3
19.	R, Venkatarama Razu.	4
20.	D. V. S. Prakasa Rao.	3
21.	K. Ramakrishnayya.	3
22.	L. Subba Rao.	3
23.	A. V. Venkatarama Iyer.	3

List of members who paid donations.

1.	J. Ramayya Pantulu.	10
2.	R. Subba Rao.	5
3.	C. Atmaram.	5
4.	B. V. Krishna Rao.	5
5.	V. Appa Rao.	5

LIST OF EXCHANGES.

1. Andhra Sahitya Parishat Patrika.
2. Bharati (Journal), Madras,
3. Viswabharati Quarterly, Santiniketan.
4. Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.
5. Maharajah's College Magazine, Vizianagaram.
6. Catalogue of the University Library, Madras.

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PAPERS ON HAND FOR THE JOURNAL.

1. History of the Velanati Chiefs 900–1250. A. D.
M. Somasekhara Sarma.
2. The works of Bilvamangala Swamin,
M. Ramakrishnakavi, M. A.
3. Sataluru Plates of Vijayaditya III.
Bhavaraju V. Krishnarao, B. A., B. L.,
4. Kanteru Plates of Nandivarman Salankayana,
R. Subba Rao, M. A.,
5. The Reddi Principalities of the Dekkan,
V. Appa Rao, B. A., B. L.,
6. History of Kalinga from the Copper Plate grants of its Kings, M. Somasekhara Sarma.
7. Savaras- Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurthi Pantulu, B. A.,
8. Nâmavaram Cave Inscriptions of the Early Eastern Chalukyas. R. Subba Rao M. A.
9. A letter of Ramadharmaja yogi of the time of the Vijyanagara Emperor Venkatapati Raya.
C. Narayan Rao, M. A. L. T.,
10. History of the Chalukyas of Vengi.
11. Andhra Coins. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L. T.
12. Rêngaradā plates of Jaya Bhanja Deva,
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14. Rajahamundry Museum plates of Anna Chodadeva,
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15. History of the Kota Chiefs of Amaravati.
Bhavaraju V. Kishna Rao, B. A., B. L.
16. Firman of Nawab Rustum Khan.
Vissa Appa Rao, M. A., L. T.

TREASURER'S APPEAL.

Members, who are in arrears of their subscriptions are earnestly requested to make early remittances, so as to enable the Society to carry on its work without break.

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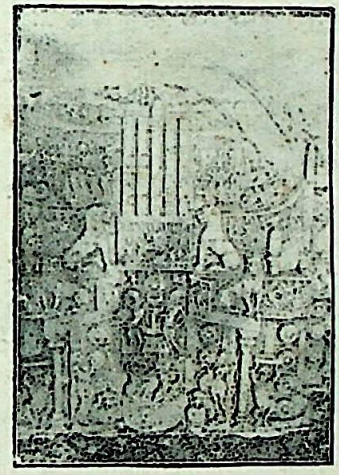
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Vol. I JANUARY, 1927 Part III



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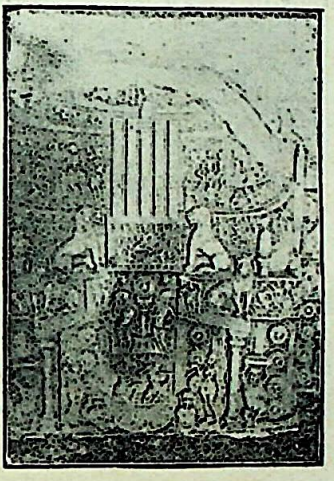
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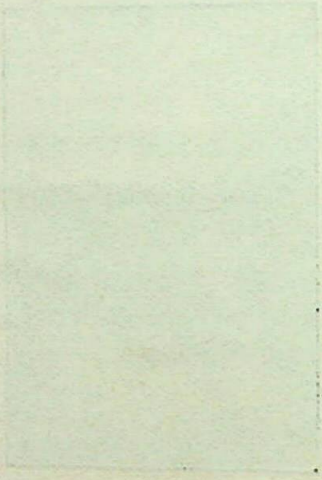


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THE
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Vol. 1 JANUARY 1927. No. 3

A NOTE ON THE ILLUSTRATION ON THE COVER.

By R. SUBBA RAO, M. A., L. T.

The illustration on the cover and on the title page of this issue of the journal has been reproduced from a photo of the sculpture taken by me at Amaravati on 18th December 1924 when I took a party of the college students on a historical excursion to study the remains of the Amaravati Stupa.

The subject-matter of the illustration, as can be seen, was carved on marble stone with great elegance and detail. A few marble stones have now been grouped together and formed into what looks like a miniature Stupa close to the ground where once stood the great Buddhist Stupa. A stupa, as may be known to several readers, is a funeral mound raised generally over the sacred relics of the Buddha. It consists of a broad base which supports a dome containing the relic. Above this is placed the spire with one or more roofs.

The Amaravati Stupa is situated on the south bank of the Krishna about twenty miles from Bezwada. In 1797 it was broken open by a local Zamindar who wanted to use the material for his building. Col. Mackenzie who came to know of it paid two visits in 1816 and 1819 and made several drawings from the slabs of the railing and from the base of the Stupa. Further excavations were made in 1845 and the remains obtained were sent to the British Museum. In 1881 the Madras Government made more excavations and some of the sculptures found are now to be seen in the Madras Museum.

The Stupa is an old one though not so old as the Stupa, Chaitya and the monastery found at Sankaram which may belong to the Asoka age. A stone slab found on the site is said to contain

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the following important subject matter of an inscription "Hail! In the year.....of the illustrious lord, the king Pulomayi, son of Vāsishti.....the merit of the gift of a Dharma-Chakra on the west door of the Chaitya of the Buddha in the possession of the Chetika School.....". From the discovery of this inscription on the site, one can learn that the Amaravati Stupa was in existence already by the time of Pulomayi who ruled in the latter half of the second century after Christ. Though some of the sculptures and inscriptions belong to the Post-Christian Era, the Stupa itself may be considered to have been built by the early Andhra kings.

The art of the sculpture is purely religious and owes its growth to that of Buddhism. The use of stone for the carving of the pictures must be ascribed to the Buddhistic influence. Generally, the subjects for sculpture are taken from the life of Buddha. But sometimes, representations of processions to holy places, and religious symbols, and contemporary dress etc., are also seen. Over-abundance of detail is the chief feature of this sculpture.

At the top of the illustration, one can see a floral design. Then, the upper part of the illustration is divided by means of five pillars which contain certain highly artistic details, into two divisions each of which is again sub-divided into two compartments by what looks like a pillar.

In the extreme right-hand corner, we can see the figure of a female lying on a cot with a group of four female attendants below and four male figures above-probably Vidyadharas. This may be a scene to depict the dream of Maya Devi, Mother of the Buddha. In the right-hand corner, we see a group of six seated figures engaged in worship. In the extreme left hand corner, we see the standing figure-probably of a Naga receiving worship at the hands of females facing to the left. In the left hand corner, we see four tall male figures and above them another group of four, all facing to the right and marching in a procession.

In the centre of the slab, is seen the figure of a seated Buddha preaching to ten persons, five on either side, of whom three are standing and two are sitting; two lions one on each side, are carved and they face each other with their usual majesty. At the back of the lions are two seated devotees and next to them is seen a miniature Stupa.

The top part of the bottom picture contains two seated lions facing the spectator. To the right of the lions on either side is found a wrestler and to the left two standing female figures. Below we get two beautifully carved out female figures supporting a stand which contains at the top of it a Dharma-Chakra or wheel of law. At the

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corners of the top are seen two small figures probably Devaputras. Below the stand are seen two female figures in a kneeling posture and in a state of respectful adoration, and they are seated on a sculptured perspective of lotus.

On either side of this sculpture, we see a small jar, a vertical row of four Dharma-Chakras and a standing female figure with a pipe in the raised right hand. This structure is supported by massive pillars which are sculptured after the Graeco-Roman model. A grotesque image carrying a basket on the head is seen just by the side of the pillar on either side.

It is really admirable that so many details are carved out on a small white marble stone. The crowd of adoring spirits, the four huge lions seated in their majesty and pomp, the several Dharma-Chakras, the lotuses, the Nagas and other figures, the many pillars which contain minute artistic details and whose capitals remind us of the Corinthian style, the seated Buddha receiving worship and many more scenes from his life, and the large number of representations of sacred objects, all these so skilfully worked out on the hard stone remind us of the greatness and importance of the Andhra art. From the picture we also get an insight into the dress and manners of contemporary people. The dress of men consists of a loin cloth or Dhoti. The upper part of the body is bare. Sometimes a cloth is thrown above the shoulders in a loose way. Head dress is generally found in the form of a turban. The women in all the sculptures are seen clothed only in the loin cloth but their jewels for the wrists and the ankles and their head-dresses are very rich and beautiful. The upper part of the body is uncovered. The females wear an ornamented girdle, head, arm and leg jewels.

We are grateful to the Buddhists for the introduction of stone architecture and for such fine marble sculptures which rival those of Greece and Rome in art and which are incomparable for depicting religious themes.

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THE KORNI COPPER PLATE GRANTS OF ANANTAVARMA CHODAGANGA.

Second Set, Saka Samvat 1034.

By G. V. SITAPATI, B. A., L. T.,
Lecturer in History, Rajah's College, PARLAKIMIDI.

The second set also contains 5 copper plates but these plates are larger in size than those of the first set. Each of these plates measures about 10 ½" by 6". The ring holding them is about 1 ¼" thick and 17" in circumference. The two ends of the ring are soldered into the lower portion of a circular seal about 7 ½" in circumference, on which is fixed an image of the bull, Nandi couchant, about 1 ¼" long and 1 ¼" high. Round the Nandi, there are in the surface of the disc, the usual figures of conch-shell, chowrie etc. I cut the ring and detached the plates in order to take copies of them. The edges of the plates are very slightly raised into rims to protect the inscription. The inscription contains 138 lines. It has suffered at several places from corrosion and consequently, several 'aksharas' connot be read with certainty.

The *Alphabet* employed belongs to the Old Canarese type and the characters are exactly like those used in the Vizag copper plate grant of *Anantavarma Chodaganga*, Saka 1010, edited and published by Dr. Fleet in Vol. 18 of the Indian Antiquary. The points that call for notice in respect of Orthography are as follows:—

1. û, ṛ, ṛ, ḷ, ḷ, ai, au—these vowels do not occur in this inscription.
2. chh, jh—these do not occur separately; they are found in combination with other consonants.
3. i, ga, ḍa, ṭha, ya, ra, la, m, h,—these are exactly like the corresponding Telugu characters of the present day; the mark representing 'a' is, however, different as noted in point 7 below.
4. a, â, î, u, ê, ô, kha, gha, ga, cha, ja, na, ṇa, ta, na, pa, ba, bha, ma, Ra, va, sha, sa—these are almost like the corresponding Telugu characters of the present day. 'â' is distinguished from 'a' by a small curved line at the top of the right corner of the symbol denoting 'a' (vide ll 84, 89, 119). It is not possible to say definitely whether ô and ê in "ômbravêlli" are really long or short. This is the name of a Telugu village which is still in existence and is known as "omaravilli".
5. ka, ṭa, śa—these are almost like the corresponding Canarese characters.

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6. ṭa, tha, da, dha—these are slightly different from the corresponding Telugu characters of the present day.

7. The mark denoting 'a' attached to a consonant is shaped in the form of a crescent. 'u' attached to a consonant is represented in three different ways. In many cases, the mark resembling a horn as in "bhu" (l. 2) is attached to the proper right of the consonant. In some cases, as in "du" (l. 1) the same mark is attached to the lower part of the letter. In a few cases, as in "ssu" (l. 2) the mark resembling the Telugu figure ం is attached to the proper right of the consonant. "mu" is represented in the first two ways (of. ll 102 and 1). "tsu" is represented in the first and third ways (of. ll 2 and 25). "ô" is represented in two ways; generally by the mark used now in Telugu and rarely by a combination of marks denoting 'ê' and 'û'. 'ô' and 'au' are not clearly distinguished; cf. "sô" (l. 66) and "sau" (l. 49).

8. The nasal sound, except before the cerebral consonants, is generally represented by the anusvâra. 'n' is combined with "ta" only in "antarhita" (L. 53). The anusvâra is used before a cerebral only in "kamḍikâ" (l. 49),—but this word ought to be "kaṇṭhikâ"—and in "kamṭham" in the same line.

9. Consonants other than "sh" and "h" coming after "r" are always doubled.

The *Language* of the plates is throughout Samskrit. The use of "niyatya" for "nihatya" (l. 47) and "abhram liyam" for "abhram liham" (l. 61) are probably due to the influence of Prakrit. The absolute construction of the past participle noted in my previous article occurs in this inscription also, (Vide ll. 120, 122–123, 127–128).

There are 40 slokâs:— 12 Sardûlavikrîḍitas, 11 Anushṭubhs, 5 Sragdharas, 3 Upajâtis, 2 Vasantatilakas, 2 Vamsasthas, 1 Mandâkrânta, 1 Sikhiriṇi, 1 Manjubhâshini, 1 Viyôgini and 1 Svâgata. Some of the Anushṭubhs are not composed according to the rule laid down in "श्लोके षष्ठंगुरु, जेयं etc.

(Vide the 3rd quarter of जित्व बाह, etc. ll 37 38 and the first quarter of अनुरागेण गुणिनो ll. 84–85.)

The *Sandhi* rules are observed in the slokas but not always in the prose portion. Examples are not given because they are the same as those that occur in the first set.

There are many evidences to show that the language of the people in the Kalinga country was about the time of Anantavarma Chodaganga, Telugu. The Telugu verse, (Sîsa padyam) in the

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Dîrghâsi inscription edited and published by my father in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. iv., is the most conclusive evidence. That inscription refers to the time of Râjarâja, the father of Anantavarma. The absolute construction of the past participle referred to, in connection with the language of the plates, is probably due to the influence of Telugu idiom,

"Râshṭra kûṭa pramukhân" (L. 107) is translated as the elders of the taluks. In some of the South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. iv., we find "râshṭrakûṭa" in the Samskrit portion and "raṭṭadam" in the Telugu portion. From the context, I think that these words refer to a smaller division of a region of the kingdom.

The inscription records the *grant* of a piece of land to the Brâhmans residing in Khônna and a reference is made to the grant recorded in the first set. There is one discrepancy in this inscription. Anantavarma says "The village, Khônna was in Saka 1003, granted to 300 Brâhmans by my grand-father, Vajrahastadêva." In the first set, we find that the grant was made by Anantavarma himself. In both the inscriptions, it is mentioned that Anantavarma was annointed king in Saka 999. The grantor could not, therefore, have been Vajrahasta if the grant was made in Saka 1003. Probably Vajrahasta made an oral grant and Anantvarma recorded it in Saka 1003. The grant referred to in this inscription was made in Saka 1034 at the time of winter solstice. This date corresponds to the 1st January 1113. I am indebted to Sriman Nilamani Panigrahi Mahasayo (Parlakimidi) for this calculation.

The *Genealogy* of the *Ganga Kings* is traced from the Creator. The genealogical list agrees with what is given in the Vizag-grant of Saka 1040 but this grant contains more details than are given in the grant of 1040 regarding the exploits of some of the kings.

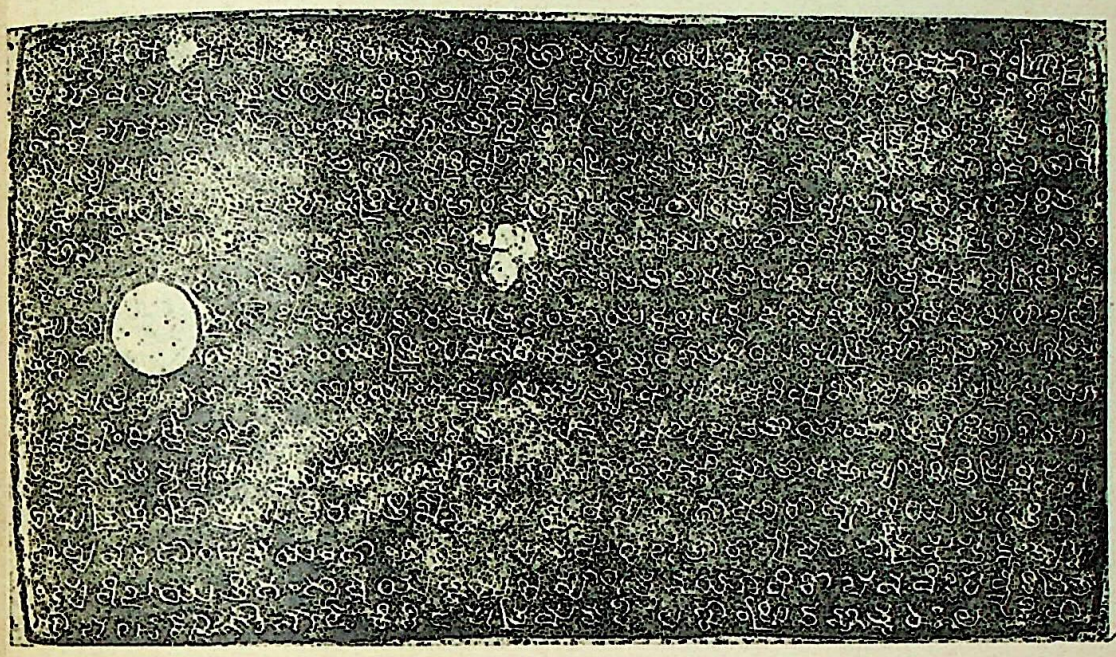
In this grant it is mentioned that Kâmârnava I killed *Sabarâditya* (l. 47) and that *Dantâvuram* was his capital (l. 48) while the grant of 1040, says that Kâmârnava killed *Bâlâditya* and that *Jantâvuram* was his capital. As the facsimile was not published along with his article, it was not possible to verify his reading. But I have looked into the plates; Dr. Fleet's reading is incorrect. I found in it "samara śirasi śabalâdityan-nirjjitya ... ... dantâvuran-nâma" but Dr. Fleet read it by mistake as "samarantrasikam bâlâdityan-nirjjitya ... ... jantâvuran-nâma". It is not possible to say whether "sabarâditya" or "sabalâditya" is the correct name of the person killed by Kâmârnava I. In my next article I shall refer to this and some other points of historical interest.

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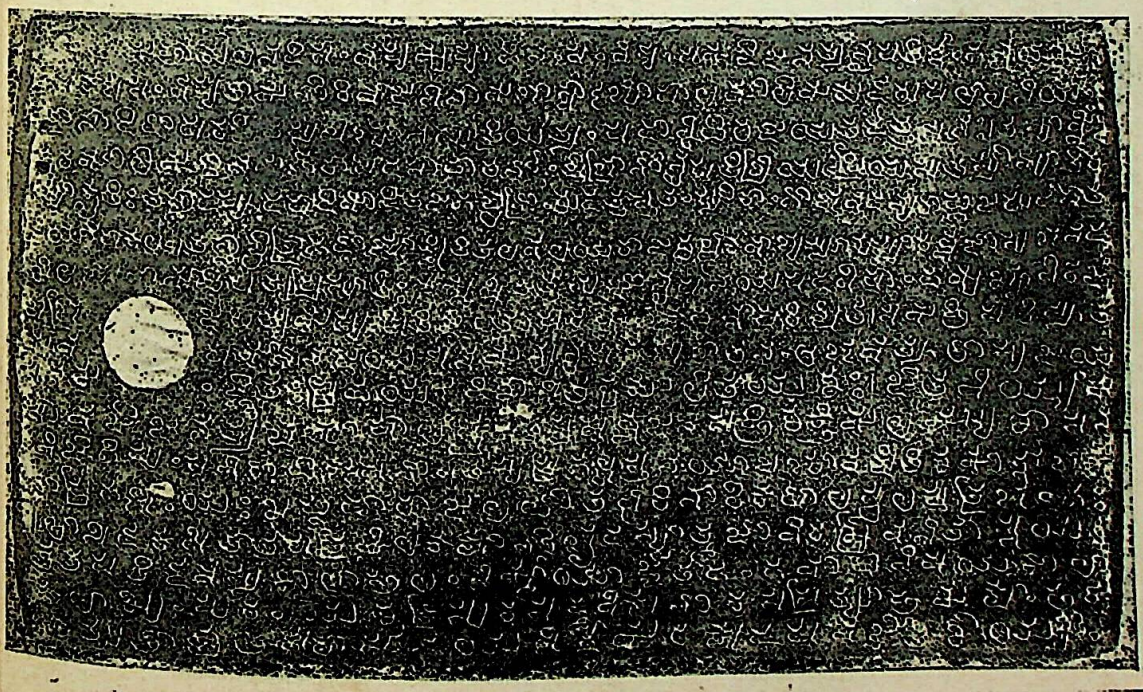
Korni Plates of Anantavarma Chodagangadeva.

Second Set.

I b.

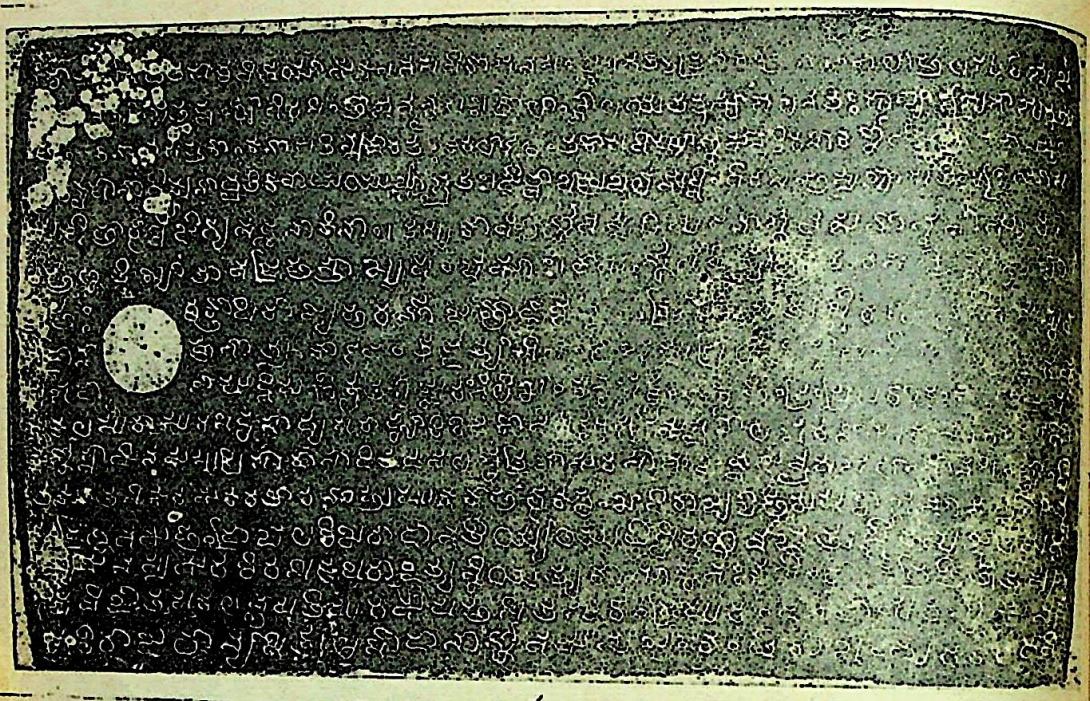


II a.

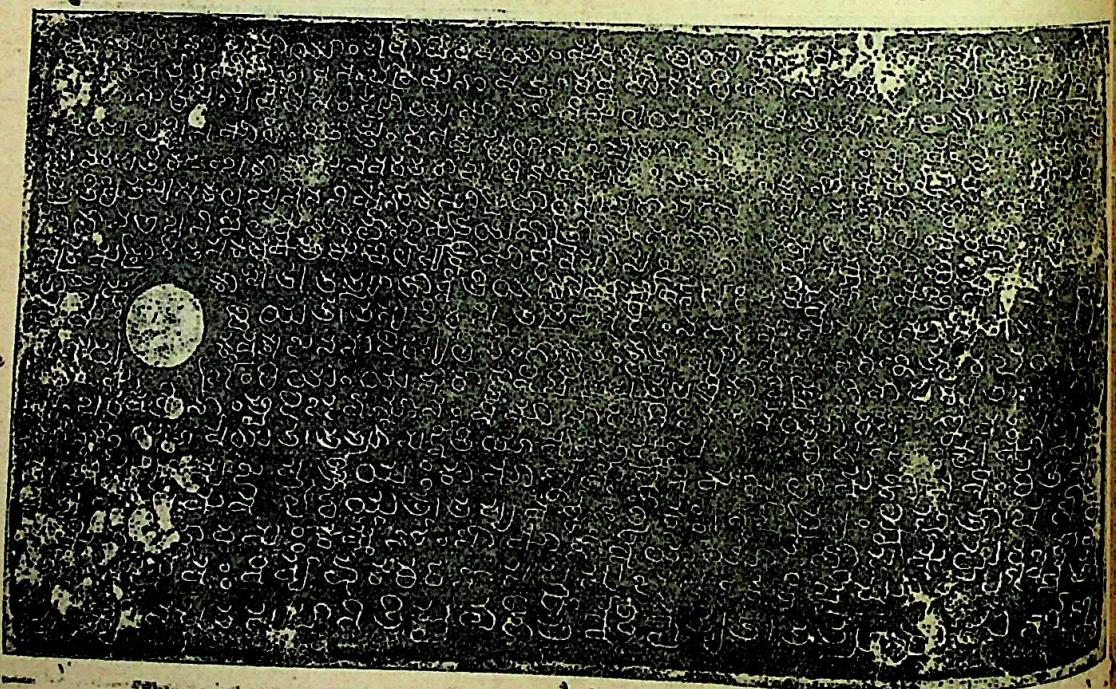


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II b.

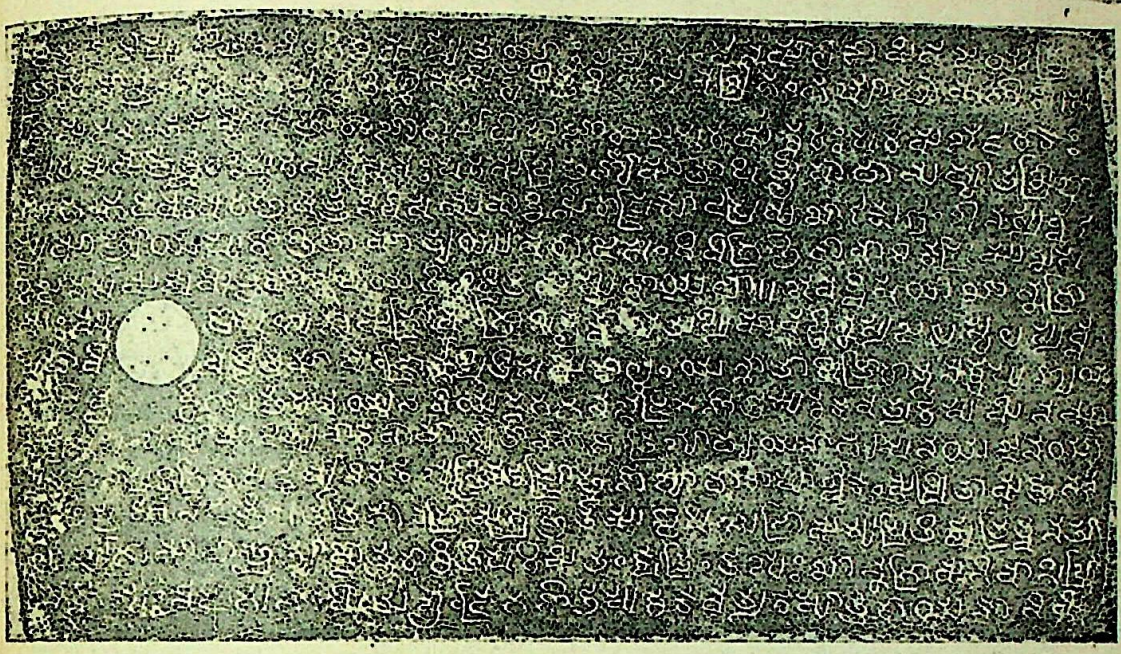


IV a.

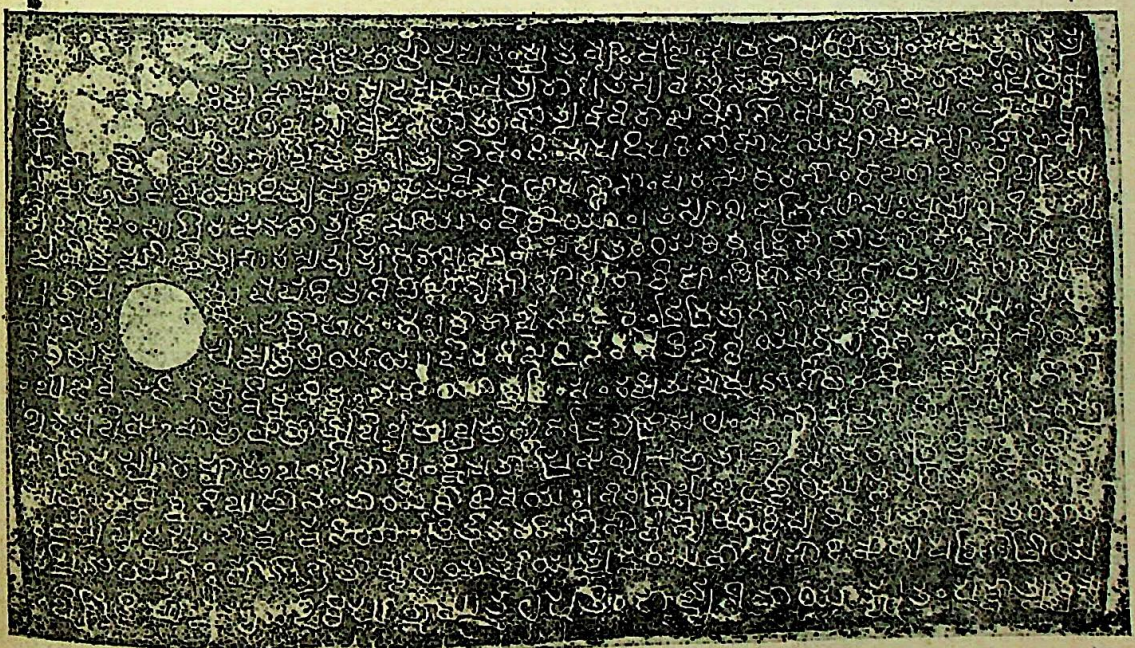


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III b.

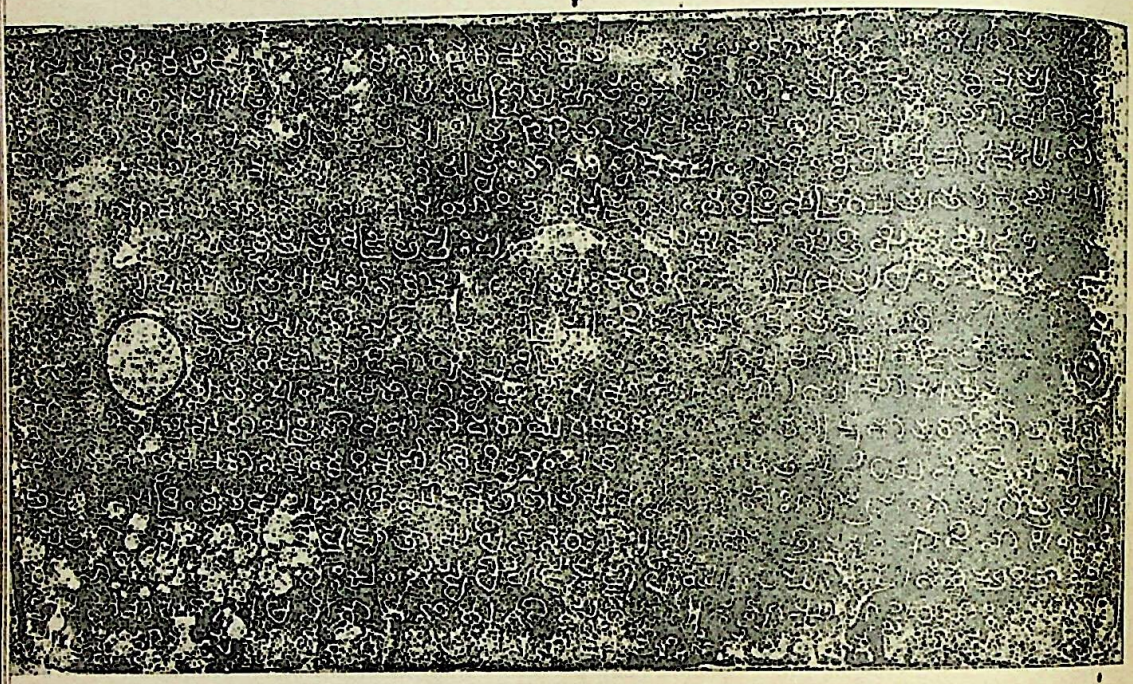


IV a.

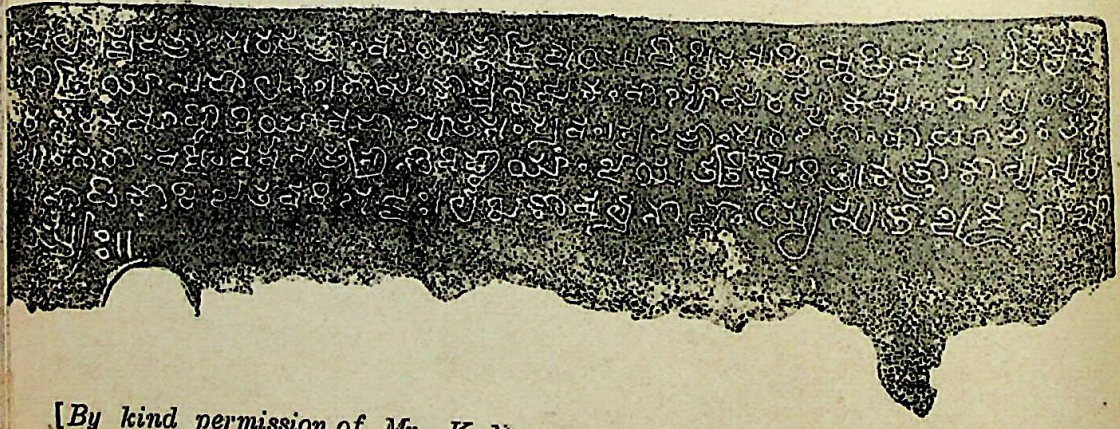


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V b.



b.



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TEXT[1]

First plate, second side.

1. óṁ[2] lakshmī nishê (vya)m-uḍurâjakalmkak âṁti bâhâchatushṭaya-
2. chaṇam vapur-âdadhânah prâdu-
3. r-bbabhúva bhuvanatritayam vidhitsur-vvisvaprasútijaṭharô[3]
4. bhagavân-anamtah *(a)* tan-nâbhînali-
5. nâd-babhùva bhuvanaprârambhadîkshâratô brahmâ vêdaparam-
6. parâ[4] paridadhadvaktraiś-chaturbbhis-tatah prâ-
7. jâpatyadhurâdhiruḍhamahasâm-atrir-munînâṁ prabhur-jjâtas-
8. sarvvajanêna[5] nitya tapasâm vrâtô va-
9. pushmân-iva *(b)* atrêḥ putrô babhuva tripuraharajaṭha[6]jûṭânêpath-
10. yaratnam nêtravyâpâradêsasmaracharita-
11. mahânâṭikâ sutradhârah dṛshṭâmtô dâ(kshinâ) tyâ mukhamukura
12. ruchâm śarvvarî jîvîtêśas-trailôkyânam-
13. dakamdô gaganatalamahâmbhô lhiśam(kha)ś-śaśâkah[7] *(c)* tatô jagat-
14. tâpabhishajyita[8]-tvashaś-śubhagrahô bhû-
15. d-vibudhâgraṇîr-bbudhah purôravas[9]-tattanayô yad-ullasad-bhujê
16. bhuji-shyârṇnavamêkhalâ babhau *(d)*
17. tasmâd-âyuś-śubhamyus-tribhuvanavinutô janma lêbhê tadîyah
18. putrô bhúj-jaitrabâhur-nnahu
19. shanarapatir-bbhúbhṛtâm-agraganyah yah pṛthvyâm-êkapatnyâm-
20. anubhavavimukhô bhûrijâtaprjâyâ-
21. m svarvvêśyâm khaṇḍitêmdrâm praṇayaparavaśah paurushêṇânva-
22. bhuṁta[10] *(e)* tatô yayâtir-vvijitâbhiya-
23. tir-jjajñê tatas-thurvvasur[11]-urvvarêśah sa púrvvagîrvvâṇagurôr-
24. ggarimṇâ mâtâmahasy-ôrasi hi pravṛddhah *(f)*
25. aputratvam prâptas-suchiram-atikhinnô nṛpavṛshas-sa gamgâm-
26. arâdhyân-niyatagatir-â-
27. râdhya varadâm ajêyam gâmgêyam sutam-alabhat-ârabhya cha
28. tadâ kramas-tadvamsyânâ-

1. From the original plates.
2. denoted by a symbol.
3. In the Vizag. Copper plate grant of S. 1040 also it is 'jatharô' not 'jarathô' as read by Dr. Fleet.
4. Read "paramparàm".
5. Read "janina".
6. Read "jatâ".
7. Read "sasâmkah"
8. Read "bhishajjitatvisha".
9. Read "purûrava".
10. Read "bhuñkta".
11. Read "tatasturvasu".

(a). Vasantatilaka.
(b). sârdûlavikrîdita.
(c). sragdhara.
(d). vamsastha
(e). sragdhara.
(f). upajâti.

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15. m bhuvi jayati gamgânvaya iti*(g)* asyâsît-tanayô virôchanavibhur vvairigrahâ–

16. stâchalah kshôṇînâthakirîṭapatramakarîlagnâmghrirêṇù tkarah lakshmîvâ

Second plate, first side.

17. gvanitâ mahâkulanadî samvêdyam-udyôginam samvêdyam samajîjanat-sa nṛpatir-ggamga[1]nvayôtta–

18. msakan[2]*(a)* samvêdyatô maṇir-ivâjani nâma bhâsvân bhûpâlamaulimakuṭair-upapâlanîyah

19. trâsâdidôsharahitas–sa babhúva putrî yat–sampadân–nidhirajayata[3] datta-senah*(b)* tasyôrvvî

20. śvaramaulimaṇḍanamanêr – âsîd – asâdhâraṇâm bibhrânô nṛpati śriyam priyasutas-saumyôti ra–

21. myâkṛtih tasmâd–apy–udapâdi môditajagach–chakrômśudattastatah saurâmgô-bhavad-anyarâḍgajaghaṭâpâta–

22. kriyâpâkalah*(c)* tasmâch-chitrâgadô[4] bhût-kshititalavalayê râjaśabdaikava-chyas-súnus-sâradhvajôsya[5]-bhavad-a–

23. khilabhuvâm-âdhipatyaprasûtih dharmmasî tat-tanújô[6] nṛpanayapadavî pâmthamukhyô virêjê

24. babhrâjâpatyam-asya kshitijayaparavân-êkadhanvā parîkshit *d* 1 sa mahîpatis-suta

25. m-avapa[7] mânêna jayasênam-anyanṛpadarppaśâtanam abhavatsutôsya jaya

26. sênasamjṇitah prathayan diśâ sitadukûlitam yaśah *e* jitavîryyam-a-

27. sâv-ajîjanat-sa cha bhupâlavṛsham vṛshadhvajam sahaśaktimalamghya śâsana

28. m vijigîshum suvirôdhibhîshaṇam*(f)* tasya pragalbhas – tanayô babhuva kshitîśamârggâchara–

29. ṇapragalbhah yah khaḍgadhârâjaladhautavairinârîkapôlasthalapatrabhamgah*(g)*

30. âsîd – êkasitâtapatratilakakshôṇîbhṛd – asyâtmajô vîraśrî vanitâ svayam

31 vṛtapatir–ddêvas-sa kôlâhalam nirmmâyôrjjitagamgavâḍivishayê kôlâ–

1. Read "gamga".
2. Read "msakam".
3. Read "ajâyata".
4. Read "chitramgado".
5. Read "dhvajôsya".
6. Probably "dharmmakhyas-tat-tanûjo".
7. Read "avapa maninam".

(g). sikhiriñî.
(a) sardûlavikrîditam.
(b) vasantatilaka.
(c) sardûlavikrîditam.
(d) sragdhara.
e) manjubhashini.
(f) viyôgini.
(g) upajati.

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32 halâkhyâm[1] puram yaś-chakrê surasadmavîkshaṇarasapratyuham-akshâm[2] harê

33 h *(a)* tat—sutô dhṛtaśarâsanayashṭir—ggâm-arakshad-apavarjjita śauryyam[3]

Second plate, second side.

34. śâsa (napra) thitapâśavidhêyâm—êka êva sa virôchanasamjnah *(b)* gatê tatra narêmdrâṇâm kôlâhalapurîbhujâm

35. (êkâsî) tyâm cha tad—vamśyô vîrasimhô—bhavan—nṛpah *(c)* chôlâmś—châlayataś—chamu chalantah pâṇḍyân bhruvâ bhugnayâ

36. humkarêṇa[4] cha saptakômkaṇapatîn—nyakkâratah kêralân amtakôpa[5]vighurṇnamâna—śirasâ karṇnâṭalâṭêśvarân—asyô—

37. (nmatta?) kṛpâṇavîkshanadhṛti[6] kê vâ yayur bbhubhṛtah *(d)* jitvâ bâhubalênôrvvîm vîrasimhas-sa bhupatis-satkriyâsa-

38. mabhihârair—vvijigyê sadma nâkinâm *(e)* tasya kâmârṇnavas—sûnur—dânârṇnava—guṇârṇnavau mârasi—

39. mha iti khyâtâ vajrahastâkhyapamchamah *(f)* kâmârṇnavah pitṛbhrâtur—asahishṇô[7] kulô—

40. dvahah śaktôpi râjyaharaṇê jahau dêsan—na tu kramam *(g)* chaturbhir—anujair—bbhimdan—narê—

41. mdrân—âhavôtsukân damtair—ddaityân—ivêmdrêbhas—sa prayâd[8]—vâsavîm diśam *(h)* a (tha) va—

42. nyêbhadâ(nau)ghadviguṇîkṛtani(rjjha)[9]ram vilikhamtan—nabhaś-śṛmgair - mahêmdram prarurôha sah *(i)* tatra cha

43. sakalasurâsurasiddhasâdhyaparârddhyakirîṭakôṭinighṛshṭaṃasṛṇal acharaṇapî - ṭham - ârâdhya gô—

44. karṇnasvâminam - asya prasâdâsâditadhavalachchhatrachâmara-sâmajadhvajavṛshabhalâmchchhâ[10]napimchchhâmchi—

45. takumtanikaramakaratôraṇahuḍukkakâhalaika śamkhâdirâjyôchi-tair - upaśôbhamânas - sâkshân - ma—

46. hêmdra iva mahêmdrâchalasikharâd - avatîryya yudhishṭhira iva chaturbbhiranujair - anuga—

47. myamanas[11] - samaraśirasi śabarâdityan - niyatya[12] kâmârṇnavah kalimgân - agṛahît tasya

48. cha vijitasakalanṛpatipuram - apahasitasurêmdrapuram damṭâvu-ran - nama na—

49. garî râjadhâny - âsît | asau dânârṇnavam - anujam kamḍikā-[13] bamdhurakamṭham vi—

1. Read "kôlahalah" 2. Read "akshnam" 3. Read "chauryyam"
4. " "humkarena" 5. Read "amtahkôpa" 6. Read "dhrtim"
7. " "hishnôh" 8. " "praya" 9. "rjjha" is not very clear
10. " "lamchhana" 11. " "mana" 12. Read "nihatya"
13. " "kamthika"

(a) sardûlavikrîditam. (b) svagata. (c) slôka.
(d) sardulavikrîdita. (e—i) slôkas.

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Third plate. First side.

50. dhāya guṇārṇnavāyāmbavāḍivishayam mārasimhāya sô (dā) ma
(ṛḍa) lam vajrahastāya
51. ka (mṭa) kavarttanîm - adāt | êvam cha karmêṇa shaṭṭṛmśa[1]dvar-
shān kalimgān apālayat | tasya cha śrî—
52. (ma) tām - asêshabhuvanasamstûyamânavimalayaśasām - atula-
bhujakṛpāṇākrshṭavi
53. jayalakshmîsamālimgitôttumgavakshasthalānām charaṇatalakāmti
samdhyāvad - antarhitasama
54. stanarapatikadambakānām - anavaratarājyavinôdāpahasitamahêm-
drānām - mahêmdrā - chalasikhara—
55. pratishṭhitasya sakalabhuvananirmmāṇaikasutradhārasya charā-
charagurôr – bbhagavatô gokarṇnasvāminah samā—
56. rālhāṇa[2]labdhanikhilamanôrathānām - âtrêyagôtrāṇām gamgānām
kulamalamkari - shnôr - vvishnôr - iva
57. vikramākrāmtasakalamahîmaṇḍalasya kāmārṇnvasyānujô dānārṇ-
navaś - chatvārim - śatam - abdakān
58. rājyam - akārshît | tat - sutô dvitîyakāmārṇnavah panchāśad[3]var-
shān mahî (maṇḍala)
59. m - amaṇḍayat | tasya tiraskṛtatrivishṭapam nagaran-nāma puram
āsît tasmin sô—
60. pi madhukavṛkshajananāl - îśasya limgākṛtêh kṛtvākhyām madhu
kêśa ity - aracha yat - prā—
61. sādam - abhram liyam[4] yad - dvārôrddhvavichitrapatralatikāś-
chitrāṇi vā pasyatām saudhā—
62. ny - ambaravarttinām hṛdi bhavên - nyunam vimānāruchih (*a*)
tat - tanayô raṇārṇnavah pamchava—
63. rshān - mahîm - aharshayat | tat - sunur - dvitîyô vajrahastah
pamchadaśasamāh kshamām ara—
64. kshat tasyānujas - trtîyah kāmārṇnavôrṇnavamêkhalām - êkôna-
vimsatisam—
65. vatsarān (sa)m-avarddhayat | tasya varṇnanê slôkah vaichitryam
dṛḍhatā cha saushṭha—
66. vam - iti (trê) thā dhanuhkarmaṇān sômārkkānvayayôr - ddadhau
samadhuram kāma
67. rṇnavô (rā)ghavah vivyâdhaikaśarêṇa saptasubhaṭān kaśchij-
jighāmsun vanê[5]ta
68. t - samkhyān - aparas - tarun - iti pṛthak - kîrttir - vvarî vṛtya-
tê (*b*) tatstutô guṇārṇna—

1. Read "shattrimsa" 2. Read "samaradhana" 3. Read "pamoha"
4. Read "liham." 5. "nè" is not clear.

(a) and (b)—sardulavikrîditaṣ.

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Third plate, Second side.

69. vas - saptavimsatim - abdān - abdir - aśanām vaśam - anaishīt | tad - ātmajah pōtāmkusah pamchadaśava—

70. tsarān mahīn - nissapatnām - akārshīt | tatas - tad - bhrātus-sutah kalimgalām - kusō dvādaśavatsarān

71. kalimgān - alam chakāra | tatas - tasya pitṛbhrātā saptavarshān guṇḍamarājō mahīma—

72. ṇḍalamaṇḍanō babhūva | tasyānujaś - chaturtthah kāmārṇṇavah pamchavimśatim varshān vasumdharā—

73. m - anubabhūva | tayōh kanīyān - vinayādityō varshatrayam dharitrīm - atrāyata | tatas - taj - jēshṭhasya[1]

74. kāmārṇṇavasya sutaś - chaturtthō vajrahastah pamchatrimśatam - abdakān mahīm - ibhamadajaladhā

75. rābhir - abhyashimchat tasya varṇṇanē slōkah | artthibhyah kariṇām sahasram - atulam kāli(m)ga(kāmtāra)[2]

76. jam yad - dattam surabhīchakāra karaṭaprasyamdidānair - diśah tad-damtair-iva pāṇḍur - āma

77. laruchā dānair - ivā mōdinā vyāptāni trijagamti divyayaśasā śrīvajrahasta(prabhōh) |

78. tatas - tat - sutah panıchakāmārṇṇavōrddhasamām - ilām pālayāmāsa | tatas - tad - anujō

79. dvitīyō guṇḍamarājas-trīṇi varshāṇi dharādhuramdharō babhūva | tasya dvaimātarō bhrāta shashṭhō

80. madhukāmārṇṇava ēkōnavimśativarshāṇi visāmpatir - abhūt | tatas - tadīyanamdanō vajra—

81. hastas-trayatrimśatam-abdakān-mahīm-udavahat tasya varṇṇanē slōkāh 1 vyāptē gamgakulōttamasya

82. yaśasā dikchakravālē śaśipradyōtāmalinēna yasya bhuvanaprahlā-dasampādinā simdūrai—

83. r - atisāmdrapamkapaṭalaih kumbhasthalīpaṭṭakēshv - ālimpamti punah punaś - cha haritām - ā

84. dhōraṇā varaṇān *(b)* anurāgēṇa guṇinō yasya vaksḥō mukhābjayōh āsīnē śrī

85. sarasvatyāv - anukūlē virājatah*(c)* nanāmatah kēvalam-artthatōpi sa vajra-hasta—

1. read "jyēshṭha". 2. These letters are not clear.

(a) and (b) sardulavikrīditas. (c) slōka.

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Fourth plate, first side.

86. s-tri (kalimganâ) thah kô vajrahastâd-aparam pṛthivyâm[1] vajram patad-vârayitum samartthah (*a*) tatsu

87. tô (râjarâja)h kshamâm - arakshad - ashṭasamvatsarân | tasya varṇnanê slôkâ | sa râjarâjah prathama—

88. m jayaśriyah patir-bbabhûva dravilâhavôtsavê virâjamânâmatha râjasumdarîm-udû—

89. ḍhavâ(n)ś-chô (ḍa) mahîbhujâtmajân (*b*) tyaktvâ vêmgim sapadi pariṇâmôdayê dyâm-ivânyâm chôḍavyâ—

90. jê mahati vijayâdityam-abdhau mimakshu[2] âpannânam paramaśaraṇam râjarâjô vichitram la-

91. kshmîbhâjam suchiram-akarôt-paśchimâyâm diśâyâm (*c*) tasyâsidagrasûnuh pṛthulanijabhu—

92. jâ vikram - aurjjityasâras - satyatyâgaikasîma vimalatarayaśaśchamdrikadhau - talôkah vâgullamghi—

93. pratâpaś - śubhacharitanidhir - bbhâgyê[3]saubhagyarasih kshôṇiprâṇâdhinâthas - sakalaripuma—

94. nô bhamgadas - chôḍagamgah (*d*) śâkâbdê namdaramdhragrahagaṇagaṇitê kumbha samsthê di—

95. nêśê suklê pakshê trtîyâyuji ravijadinê rêvatîbhê nṛyugmê lagnê gamgânvavâyâ—

96. mbhujavanadinakṛd - viśvavisvambharâyâśchakram samrakshitum sadguṇanidhir - adhipas - chôḍagamgô bhi—

97. shiktah (*e*) bhîmam vâhamahôrmibhir - bbahubṛhannâgêmdrachakrâkulam[4] nânâśa - straphaṇîmdrabrmdagaha—

98. nam krôdhasphuradbâdabam sênâbdhim dvishatâm pramathya mahatâdôrmmam - darêṇâgrahîl - lakshmîm kîrtti—

99. sudhâm cha visvavibudhânamdâya sârṇgîva yah (*f*) vîrasrir-bbhujadaṇḍâyu - gmakalitâ yasyâ—

100. ridarppachchhidas stambhadvamdvaniyamtritaikakariṇîsâdṛśyamâślishyatê yat - pâdadvitayâmti—

101. kapranayinah kshôṇibhṛtâm - maulayatpâyat[5]padmayugânusârimadhupaśrêniśriya-

102. m bibhrati 1 purvvasyâm disi purvvam - utkalapatim rajyê nidhâyâdbhutam[6] paśchât - paśchima-

1. Read "parahprthivyâm" 2. Read "mimamkshum" 3. Read "bhagya"
4. Probably "nakara" instead of "chakra" 5. Read "ssphaya"
6. Read "nîdhya chyutam.

(a)—upajati. (b)—vamsastha. (c)—mandakranta (d) and (e)—sragdharas.
(f) and (g)—sardulavikriditas.

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Fourth plate second side.

103. diktaṭa vighaṭiam vêmgiśam-apy-êtayôh lakshmi bhamlanamâ-likâm-ivajayaśrî—

104. tôraṇastambhayôr-bbadhnâti sma samiddhakîrttivibhava śrîgam-gachuḍâmaṇih *(a)* sa—

105. śrîmad-anamtavarmmâ mahârâjô râjâdhirâjô râjaparamêśvara-paramabhaṭṭârakah

106. paramamahêśvarah paramavaishnavah paramabrahmanyô mâtâ-pitṛpâdânudhyâtaśrîchô—

107. ḍagamgadêvah varaha[2] varttanivishayê vâsinô[3] râshṭrakuṭa-pramukhân kuṭumbinas-sarvvân

108. ssamâhûya purôhitâmâtyayuvarâjasamdhivigrahidauvârikapra-mukhapa—

109. rijanasamaksham - ittham - âjnâpayati viditam - astu vô yathâ 1 bhavad - vishayê khônnagrâ—

110. mah muṇḍapaRunâmagrâmam grâsîkṛtvâ chatussîmâvach chhinnas - sajalasthalas - sarvva—

111. pîḍâvivarjjitam - âchamdrârkkakshitisamakâlam yan-mâtâpitrôr-âtmanaś - cha puṇyaya—

112. sôbhivṛddhayê haranayanaviyadgaganachamdraganitêshu śaka - vatsarêshu mînamâ—

113. sakṛshnapamchamyâm-âdityavârê sâmânyatô nânâgôtrêbhyôdhya-yanâdhyâpana-yajanayâ—

114. janadânapratigrahashaṭkarmmaniratêbhyas - triśatad[4] - brâhma - nêbhyô dhârâpûr-vvakam mat-pritâmahêna[5] va—

115. jrahastadêvêna dattam | tatra gâragrâmagṛhîtamuṇḍapaRugrâ-masya pratikshêtratvêna tû—

116. luvugrâmâd - âhṛtyâshṭôttarâśitiparimitam kshêtram têbhyah khônnagrâma-nivâsibrâ—

117. hmaṇêbhyah vêdaguṇaviyachchamdraganitêshu sakavatsarêsh-uttarâyaṇanimi—

Fifth plate, first side.

118. ttê dhārāpurvvakam - asmābhir - ddattam - iti | asya kshêtrasya pratikshêtrêṇa sārddham sīmālimgāni

119. purvvatah khônna ômbaravêlli tônemgi grāmānām trikuṭê tônêmgigrāma - vakragarttā | āgnê

1. Read "lakshmîm".
2. Read "varaha".
3. Read "vasinô".
4. Read "trisatabrahmana".
5. Read "matpitamahena"

(a) sardulavikrîdita.

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120. yatah vālmīka[1]sahitamarichavṛkshah | tat - paśchimatah ṭshad-
vakra[2]gatvā marichavṛkshapantih [3]
121. tatah khônna tônêmgi khôllira grāmānām trikuṭê vālmīkaśahita-
maricha vṛkshah | da-
122. kshinasyām diśi bṛhadvalmīkah | tat - paśchimatah vanarāji-
kāh | tatô garttām - ullamghya
123. sthāpitaśilā | tatah kramêna sthāpitam silātryam | nairṛtyāmdiśi
sthāpitaśilā
124. tad - uttaratah sthāpitaśilâ | tata ṭ'ṇidalasêtôr - adhas - timtrinī-
vṛksha samīpê
125. sthāpitaśilā | tatas - taṭākapravishṭagarttāmukham | tatô garttā-
tirê sthāpitaśilā
126. tatô garttaiva | vāyavyadiśāyām garttādvayasamdhau timtriṇī-
vṛksha-
127. samīpê sthāpitaśilā | tatô garttānusārêṇo prāchîm diśam kimchid-
vakram gatvā
128. tām garrtām - ullamghyôttaratô gatvā khênna tuluvu gāra grā-
mānām trikuṭê garttādva-
129. yamadhyasthāpitaśila | uttarasyām diśi taṭākadvayasêtusamdhih
| ṭśānadisā-
130. yām khônna gāra ômbaravêlli grāmānām tônêmgigarttātiratri-
kah | a-
131. syôpari na kêna chid-bādhah karttavyah tathā hi vyāsêna bhaga-
vatoktam | bahubhir - vvasu-
132. dhā dattā rājabhis - saga rādibhir - yyasyayasya yadā bhumis-
tasya tasya tadā

Fifth plate, second side.

133. phalam*(a)* svadattâm paradattâm vâ yatnād-raksha yudhishṭhira[4]
mahîm-mahîmatām śrêshṭhadā
134. nāch - chhrêyônupālanam *(b)* gām - êkām[5] svarnnam[6] - êkam vā
bhumêr-apy-êkam-amgulam ha—
135. ran - narakam - āpnôti yāvad - ābhutasamplavam*(c)* svadattam
paradattām vā y ô harêta va—
136. sumdharām shashṭhim varshasahasrāṇi vishṭhāyām jāyatê
krimir*(d)*-iti karttā kāvyasya śā
137. sanādhikārī jātavédibhaṭṭah | lêkhakô vallênāchāryyasutô
baṭṭênāchā—
138. ryyah 1.

1. Read "valmîka"
2. Read "vakram"
3. Read "parktih"
4. It is not very clear whether this letter is "ṭ" or "r a."
5. Read "gamekam".
6. Read "svarnna".

(a) to (d) slôkas.

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ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

(1-12) The divine Lord *Ananta* (Vishnu) became manifest with the desire of creating the three worlds. From the lotus that grew from his navel there arose *Brahma* reciting the Vedas with his four mouths. From him was born *Atri*, the lord of the sages. He begat *Sasânka* (the Moon). His son was *Budha*, the best of the gods. His son was *Purûravas*. His son was *Ayus*. From him was born *Nahusha* who had many children and leaving the earth in disgust ruled over the kingdom of Indra.

(12-15) From Nahusha was born *Yayâti*. His son was *Turvasu* who grew on the breast through the power of his maternal grandfather (Sukra), the preceptor of Râkshasas (purvagîrvâna). Being without sons and in consequence, much distressed for a long time, Turvasu propitiated (the river) Gangâ and obtained a son, *Gângêya*. Since then, his descendents have been victorious in the world under the name, Gangânvaya.

(15-29) Turvasu's son was *Virôchana* who received the submission of many kings. His son was *Sumvédya* the best of Gangânvaya His son was *Bhâsvân*. From him was born *Dattasêna*. His son was *Saumya*. His son was *Amsudatta*. From him was born *Saurânga*. His son was *Chitrângada* who alone in the whole world deserved the title of king. From him was born *Sâradhvaja*, His son was *Dharma*, the best of those that walked on the path of duty. His son was *Parikshit*. His son was *Jayasena* who destroyed the pride of the rival kings. His son was also known by the name of *Jayasena*. He begot *Jitavîrya*. His son was *Vrshadhvaja* who caused terror to his foes. From him was born *Pragalbha*.

(30-34) Pragalbha's son was *Kôlâhala* who built the city of Kôlâhala(Kolhâpur)in the Gângavâdi vishaya. His son was *Virôchana*.

(34-39) When there had gone by 81 kings who enjoyed the city of Kôlâhala, there arose in his lineage, *Vîrasimha*. Among the kings (of his time) who had the courage (even) to look at the maddened sword of this (Vîrasimha) who terrified the Chôlâs by the march of his armies, the Pândyâs by his brow-beating, the seven Kônkana kings by a menacing roar, the Kêralâs by a cry of contempt, the kings of Karnâta and Lâta by a threatening movement of his head. He had five sons, Kâmârnava, Dânârnava, Guṇârnava, Mârasimha and Vajrahasta.

(39-51) *Kâmârnava* though he could have recovered his kingdom usurped by his father's brother left the country (to him) but not dharma. He set out with his four brothers and destroying the

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foes that attacked him (on the way) marched eastwards. He got up the mountain Mahêndra and worshipped the god Gôkarṇasvâmi. With all the insignia of universal sovranty which he obtained through his (Gokarnasvâmi's) favour shone like Mahêndra. He descended from the summit of the moutain. Mahêndra and accompanied like Yudhishṭhira by his brothers killed *Sabaraditya* on the battlefield and took possession of the kingdom of Kalinga. The city of *Dantavura* which excelled all the cities of all the kings and (even) the city of Surêndra, was his capital. Having decorated his younger brother, Dānārṇava with the necklace (of royalty–thus nominating him as his successor) he gave Ambavāḍi vishaya to Guṇārṇava Sôlāmaṇḍala to Mārasimha, Kaṇṭakavartani to Vajrahasta and himself ruled the Kalinga kingdom for 36 years.

(51–62) Of Kāmārṇava who adorned the family of the Gangās that obtained the fulfilment of all their desires by propitiating the divine Gôkarṇasvāmi, established on the summit of the mountain, Mahêndra and that belonged to Atrêya gôtra,—the younger brother *Danarnava* reigned for 40 years. His son, *Kamarnava* II reigned for 50 years. He had for his capital the city named *Nagara* which excelled the city of Indra. In that city he built a lofty temple for an emblem of the god, Iśa (śiva) in the form of a linga to which he gave the name of Madhukêsa because it came out of a Madhuka tree.

(62–68) His son *Ranarnava* made the Earth happy for 5 years. His son, *Vajrahasta* II protected the earth for 15 years. His younger brother *Kamarnava* III made the earth prosperous for 19 years. His unique fame spread wide thus:—Kāmārnava the descendent of Sôma (the Moon) and Rāghava the descendent of Surya (the Sun) had equal prowess in the three—fold use of the bow, displaying surprise, steadiness, and grace but while one of them (Kāmārṇava) struck down with one arrow seven warriors that came with the desire of killing him, the other (Rāghava) struck down seven trees.

(69–80) His son, *Gunarnava* held the earth in subjection for 27 years. His son *Potamkusa* kept the earth without a rival wife in his affection for 15 years. Then his brother's son, *Kalingalankusa* adorned the kingdom of Kalinga for 12 years. Then his father's brother, *Gundana* was the ornament of the earth for 7 years. His youger brother, *Kamarnava IV* enjoyed the earth for 25 years. Their younger brother, *Vinayaditya* protected the earth for 3 years. Then his eldest brother, Kāmārṇava's son, *Vajrahasta IV* reigned for 35 years. He made the Earth wet with the rut of the elephants. He gave to those that asked a thousand elephants of the Kalinga forest and his fame as white as the tusks of those elephants and as odoriferous as their rut spread to the three worlds. Then his son, *Kamarnava V* reigned for half a year. Then his younger brother, *Gundama II*

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reigned for 3 years. Then his maternal half-brother, *Madhukamarnava VI* reigned for 19 years.

(80-91) Then his son, *Vajrahasta* reigned for 33 years. The fame of (Vajrahasta) the best of the Gangas,as pure as the moon-light spread in all directions bringing joy to the world. Who is able to ward off the thunderbolt (of Indra) except Vajrahasta (i. e. he who holds a thunderbolt in his hand), the lord of Tri-Kalinga, on whose breast resides Lakhmi, (the goddes of wealth) and in whose mouth resides Sarasvati (the goddess of Learning). His son, *Rajaraja* reigned for 8 years. He first became the husband of the goddess of Victory in the festival of battle with the Dravilas and next married Rājasundari the daughter of the Chôḍa king. When Vijayāditya grew old like the setting sun, left Vengi which was like the west and was about to sink in the ocean of troubles caused by the Chôlas, Rājarāja the refuge of the distressed caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the western region itself.

(91–104) His eldest son, *Chôdaganga* who was (like the sun to the collection of the lotus flowers of the Ganga family and who was endowed with many good qualities was for the purpose of protecting the world, annointed king in the Saka year 999 denoted by the (9) Nandas, (9) apertures, (9) planets when the sun was in the Kumbha (Aquarius) on Saturday, the third lunar day of the bright fortnight under the Rêvati star and during the Mithuna (Gemini) lagna. He the ornament of the Gangas first replaced the fallen lord of Utkala in the eastern region and then the waning lord of Vengi in the western region and restored their fortunes.

(104–108) The prosperous Mahārāja Anantavarma, the Rājādhirāja, the Paramabhattāraka,—etc., he, the glorious Chôdagangadêva who medidates on the feet of his parents, having called together the elders of the several taluks residing in the Varāhavartani Vishaya issues a command in the presence of the priest, minister, heir—apparent—and other officials of the state, thus:—"Be it known to you all—

(109–115) "that my grandfather, Vajrahasta, for the advancement of the religious merit and fame of (his) mother, father and himself, granted in the saka year, 1003, denoted by the Moon (1), sky (O), sky (O), Siva's eyes (3), in the Solar month of Mina (Pisces), on Sunday, the fifth lunar day of the dark fortnight, the village of Khônna with the right of using the lands of the village of MuṇḍapaRu, situated in Varâhavartani, enclosed by the four boundaries, with all the waters (within the enclosed land) to 300 brāhmans of several gôtras, devoted to the six religious rites, viz., performing and conduc-

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ting sacrifices, studying and teaching the Vêdas and giving and accepting donations.

(115–118) "There a land measuring 88 taken from the village of Tuluvu, as the pratikshêtram of MuṇḍapaRu taken from Gāra, has been granted by us, in the Saka year. 1034, denoted by the Moon (1) the sky (0) gunas (3), the Vedas (4), at the time of the winter solstice, to the brahmans residing in the village of Khônna."

(118–130) The boundaries of this land with the Pratik, shêtram:—To the east, the winding watercourse of the village Tônêngi at the meeting place of the (three) villages, Khônna, Ombara, vêlli and Tônêngi. To the south-east, a Marîcha tree with an ant-hill to the west of which (there is) after turning round a small curve a row of Marîcha trees, (there lying) by the side of this a Marîcha tree with an ant-hill at the meeting place of the (three) villages Khônna, Tônêngi, and Khôllira. To the south, a big ant-hill, to the west of which (there are) rows of forests and by the side of this after crossing a watercourse, a boundary stone, fixed, and next, three boundary stones, fixed in order. To the south-west, a boundary stone to the north of which (there is another) boundary stone and after this, a boundary stone near a tamarind tree below the causeway of î(ra ?)ṇidala and after this, the mouth of the watercourse joining a tank and by the side of this, a boundary stone fixed on the bank of the watercourse. Then the western boundary follows the watercourse and turning a small bend and crossing the same watercourse and again going northwards, meets a boundary stone, fixed between two watercourses at the meeting place of the (three) villages Khônna, Tuluvu, Gâra. To the north, a causeway connecting two tanks. To the north-east, a watercourse of the village, Tônêngi and the meeting place of the (three) villages Khônna, Gâra and Ombaravêlli.

(130–136) There are four, of the usual imprecatory verses.

(136–138) The author of the text is Sâsanâdhikârî jatavêdi bhaṭṭa. The engraver is battênâchârya, son of Vallênâchârya.

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BHAVABHUTI AND HIS IDENTITY.

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Translated from the Original Sanskrit

By M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI, M. A.

Sometimes we wonder that certain persons are known only by surnames or even curiously by their nicknames. Akbar means great and it is a title to Emperor Mahomed Jalâluddîn the Great. The poet, probably Govindarâja, was termed *Vikaṭanitambâ* for the powerful deliniation of the character of a temptress, Vikaṭanitambâ, the heroine of the farce. Bhavabhûti, Bhâravi, perhaps Kâlidâsa and a host of scholars live by their pseudonyms alone. We propose to go into the real name of Bhavabhûti whose scholarship and poetic genius warrant such an inquiry.

In *Mâlatîmâdhava* some praise is bestowed upon the sastric scholarship of Bhavabhûti in prologue and in addition the poet consoles himself in a memorable verse against probable indifference to his work. What his works were in sastras is the common inquiry of our day. A few decades ago the editor of *Gaudavadha* drew the attention of scholars to certain colophons to *Malatîmâdhava* which speak of one Umbêka, a pupil of Kumârila, as the author of that drama. Later on Mr. M. R. Telang in his introduction to *Mahâvidyâvidambana* pointed out that Chitsukha refers the author of *Mâlatîmâdhava* as an *apta* and that the commentator identifies Umbêka as the author cited and he was no other than Bhavabhûti (Vide *Tattvapradîpika*, page 265.) The commentary on *Sâstradipika* called *Yuktisnehaprapûrani* frequently cites Umbêka in criticising Pārthasārathi's opinions on *Chodana* and *autpattica* sûtras. (vide pp 3, 38, 82, 135 &c) Mādhava Saraswati in his *Sarvadarsanakaumudi* expressly states that Umbêka wrote a commentary on *Slôkavartika*. The following verse,

उम्बेकः कास्किां वेत्ति तन्त्रं वेत्ति प्रभाकरः

मण्डनस्तूभयं वेत्ति नोभयं वेत्ति रेवणः

is current among scholars in Malabar though a different reading is given by Haribhadra. This would mean that Umbêka must have written about the *Slôkavartika* of Kumārila. *Tantra* means the portion covered in *Tantravartika*.

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Now comes the difficulty. It is said in *Sankaravijaya* of Sri Vidyāraṇya that Sankara went to Maṇḍana Miśra who was otherwise called Umbêka and Viśvarupa. He defeated him in disputations and Maṇḍana accepted *Sannyasa-asrama*. If this is true Bhavabhûti being Umbêka, the other two names must refer to him Maṇḍana became Surêśvara in *sannyasa-asrama* Maṇḍana seems to be a different person. A number of commentators on Mîmānsa and Vedānta works cited Umbêka's opinions as authoritative and final. Recently Dr. Ganganatha Jha has published Umbêka's commentary on Bhāvanāvivêka of Maṇḍana.

To add to this, Bhavabhuti is known in his dramas as the bearer of the title Srîkaṇṭha. The author of *Saiva bhashya* on the Brahma sutras is known as Srîkaṇtha. We know that a sect of Saivites were known by the name of Srîkaṇṭhas whose seat lay at the Srisaila in Kurnul district. An examination into this amusing identity of names must surely lead us into the untraversed regions of Mîmānsa and Vêdānta. There are works available under the authorship of all these names individually. Maṇḍana's three *vivekas* (Vidhivivêka, Bhāvanāvivêka, Vibhramaivivêka) and two *Siddhis* (Sphoṭa and brahma siddhis) are well known with a train of commentaries thereon. His gloss on Sābara Bhāshya is not seen by me. Bhavabhuti's dramas proclaim that name. Sureśvara's three grand works still hold their day in elucidating Sankara's terse lines. Viśvarupa is a commentator on the Smṛti of Yāgnyavalkya and his voluminous work is now available in print. Umbêka's commentary on *Bhávanaviveka* is already published. Srîkaṇṭha's bhāshya is studied by its followers. Thus an examination of these works is really onerous if not quite amusing.

Kumārila wrote five works of which *Brihattîka* and *Madhyavartika* have perished. They are cited by Pārthasārathi in his works and by Mādhava-sarasvati in his *Sarvadarsana-kaumudi*. Krishṇadêva also mentions these names. Kâmārila's *Slôkavartika* which consists of 33000 slôkas extends over *Tarkapada* of Mimānsa. I have recently obtained a copy of Umbêka's commentary on *Slokavartika* extending over 2000 slokas and the work was continued by Bhaṭṭaputra Jayamiśra. We are tempted by the mode of commenting, to say that jayamiśra must have been the son of Kumārila who is known as Bhaṭṭa. If Jayamiśra was the son of Kumārila, Umbeka being the author of the earlier part of the work must be his contemporary. The colophons of *Malatimadhava* referred to above speak of him as Kumārila's pupil. The work begins with the slôka in *Malatimadhava* declared as memorable.

E nāma kecidiha nah pratbayantyavagnām
Jānantu te kimapi tān prati naisa yatnah,

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Utpatsyate mama tu kopi samānadharmah
Kalo hyayam niravadhir = vipula ca prthvi,

He means perhaps that his commentary should struggle against a host of opponents as Prabhākara, Murāri, and *Advaitins* as Sankara &c. Umbeka left it at *Vanavada* and Jayamiśra continued therefrom perhaps with greater vigour. His exposition is full and invariably points to the opponent against whom the argument was aimed. Why should Umbêka abandon his task in the middle? *Mahavîracharita* is likewise incomplete. The hand of Death sometimes carried away a number of great men as Bāṇa, Daṇḍin, Kalidāsa, Paṇḍitarāya &c., even with the brush in their hands retouching the fairest of their creations. Was Bhavabhûti a victim of the same hand?

Viśvarûpa's commentary on Yāgnyavalkya smriti is again annotated by a scholar who as an auspices to the commencement of his work praises Viśvarupa thus;—

यत्प्रसादायं लोको धर्ममार्गस्थित: सुखी
भवभूतिसुरेशाख्यं विश्वरुपं प्रणाम्यतम्

It evidently means that Bhavabhuti was Viśvarupa and also Sureśvara. A manuscript copy of *Naishkarmya-siddhi* reads in its colophon that the pupil of Govinda-bhagavatpāla, namely, Viśvarupa wrote the work. The former, we know, was the *guru* of Sankara. This means that the name Viśvarupa must signify his sannyāsihood. The name Sureśvarā seems to be a title, as some tradition declares. If this is true we have no difficulty in supposing that Umbêka having entered a new life with a promise to comment upon Sankara's works and to complete *his* mission must have necessarilly abandoned his *kavya* and his labours in *karma-mîmânsa*. Some scholars are led to think that Dêvêśvara, the *guru* of Sarvagnātman was Sureśvara. Neither Sarvagnātman nor his several commentators ever meant Sureśvara as a synonym of Dêvêśvara. The archaeological researches in Travancore give a later date to Manukulāditya, the patron of Sarvagnātman than that of Sureśvara.

So far, it is pointed out that records identify Umbêka with Bhavabhuti, Viśvarupa and Sureśvara. Was Maṇḍana same as Surêswara? The only work which identifies them is *Sankaravijaya* ascribed to Vidyâraṇya. Vyâsagiri whom Vidyaraṇya professes to follow has no mention of Maṇḍana. Neither Govinda, the author of *Achâryavijaya* and a Kerala by birth does, but he says that Viśvarupa was defeated by Sankara and he became Sureśvara. A close examination of the works of Maṇḍana and Sureśvara and a host of commentaries thereon reveal that there are doctrinal differences between them. Umbêka is held as Surêśvara and as a commentator·

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of Maṇḍana's *Bhavanaviveka*, Maṇḍana cannot be indentified with Sureśvara. The chief arguments adduced against the identity of Maṇḍana with Sureśvara are (1) that in a commentary of *Sankshepa-sarîraka*, Maṇḍana's doctrine was condemned and that of Sureśvara was accepted, (2) that Vidyâsâgara in his commentary on *Pancha-padika* called *Tikaratna* contrasts the two schools, one of Maṇḍana-Vâchaspati and another of Vimuktâtman who, we know, generally follows Surêśvara, (3) that a commentator on *Naishkarmyasiddhi* of Surêśvara in dealing with *aparokshagñana* criticises the school of Maṇḍana and Vâchaspati which he considers as dull or worthless, and in support of his argument quotes verse from *Brahmasiddhi* of Maṇḍana, (chapter IV) (4) that Maṇḍana holds the *Gnana-karma-samucchaya* theory wile Sankara and Sureśvara discard *karma* entirely (5) that Maṇḍana upholds the theory of *sphota* along with the school of Bhartṛhari, while Sureśvara with both the Mimansa schools cannot accept it, (6) that Vâchaspati, the strong advocate of Maṇḍana's school has not condescended to comment upon the works of Suresvara, who according to Anandagiri was later than Surêśvara for in *Vartika* 1103 page 7, Vāchaspati was meant as among त्रैय्यन्तनिष्ठिता and that Vāchaspati, as he differed in *sphôta* theory, wrote his own work, instead of amplifying Maṇḍana's *Sphotasiddhi*. Such arguments as these can be easily multiplied by a close comparison of their theories.

On the otherhand, those who maintain their identity are not altogether helpless. For a greater portion of Brahmasiddhi of Maṇḍana was devoted to defeat the theories of Prabhākara and most curiously, the whole of it is reproduced in *Sambandhavartika* by Sureśvara with additional arguments here and there which simply answer the objections of Sālikanātha raised against Brahmasiddhi, in his Rjuvimalā and Prakaraṇapanchikā. There are certain verses which are common to *Brahmasiddhi* and *Vartika* apart from the same order of the arguments, If Surêśvara were different from Maṇḍana, his adaptation of *Brahmasiddhi* would border on plagiarism and cannot be creditable to a poet and scholar, and pupil of Kumārila. The differences in views of Maṇḍana and Surêśvara may be accounted for by the extraordinary influence of Sankara's doctrines upon Surêśvara which secured his spiritual transformation.

Thus the records are favourable to the identity of Bhavabhuti with Umbêka, Sureśvara, Viśvarupa, but with Maṇḍana we have yet to hesitate to accept.

Srîkaṇṭha's Bhāshya presents certain features which induce one to suppose that Sankara improved upon many a theory of that author. The celebrated *pucchabramhavâda* is an instance of that kind.

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Bhavabhuti's title of *Srikantha*[1] is not meaningless. The opinions of Umbêka on the subject of *advaita* are clear even in his Mimansa commentary. We propose to enter fully into this phase of question when we deal with Prabhākara in our introduction to *Brhati*. Chitsukha calls Umbeka as an *Apta* which, as a sastric term must mean a *bhashyakara*.

The dates of these writers fall between 680 and 750 A. D.

1 It has been held recently that Srîkantha or Nîlakantha was later than Ramanuja, Kshemaraja in his commentary on Abhinavagupta's Pratyabhijñavimarsika quotes Srîkantha's lines. Srîkara, who is frequently mentioned by Srîdhara, the author of Nyayakundali and Kaumudī, quotes from Srîkantha-bhashya. Srîkantha once belonged to a separate Saiva sect whose seat lay at Srisaila. Hence Srîkantha-bhashya cannot be later than A. D. 900. (Translator.)

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WHO WERE THE SULIKAS.

By. Rev. H. HERAS, S. J., M. A.

In the Haraha inscription of Iśânavarman it is said that this king vanquished in battle the Sûlikas (1) Pandit Hirananda Sastri, M. A., who first published the inscription, made the following remarks about this name: "Sûlika appears to be a new name, and I am not aware of any other epigraphic reference to it. Possibly it is identical with the Saulika of the *Brhatsamhitâ* and the *Mârkandêyapurâna* and is to be located in the south-east along with Kaliṅga, Vidharba, Chedi, etc." (2) Mr. Nanigôpal Majumdar had previously written about this word of the inscription as follows: "Who the Sûlikas were is also not known. According to Fleet, they are identifiable with the Mûlikas" (3) Indeed, Fleet says that perhaps the correct reading of Maulika and Mûlika is Saulika and Sûlika (4). But when his list reaches Saulika and Sûlika he repeats that perhaps their correct reading is Maulika and Mûlika (5) This shows that Fleet's opinion was a mere conjecture not well founded. Anyhow he says that they are a people in the north-western division'. These Mûlikas have also been called Mulakas. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury suggests that the Sulikas were perhaps the Chalukyas, Sulikas being only a variant like Chalikya, Solaki and Solaṅki (6) But Mr. Aravamuthan rightly objects that 'we know of no Chalukyan king who could have been worsted by the Maukharis' (7) The people I am going to suggest could have been defeated by the Maukharis.

The same Mr. Aravamuthan has in a masterly way disclosed the unknown fact of several Dravidian expeditions into the Aryan kingdoms of the North. One of the kings who led such expeditions was the greatest Chola king Karikâlaṇ. He is said to have invaded North India as far as the Himâlays and conquered the kingdom of Magadha (8) Prescinding from the date of this invasion, it is certainly true that Karikâlaṇ considered the Maukhari king as one of his feudatory princes, though the latter was not willing to obey his

(1) Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 120, v. 13.
(2) H. Satri, Haraha Inscription of the reign of Isanavarman, Ibid. p. 112.
(3) Majumdar, A Haraha Stone-Inscription, I. A; XLVI, p. 127.
(4) Fleet, The Topographical List of the Brihat-Samhita, I. A., XXII, p. 185 and 186 J. A. S. B (N. S.) XVII, p. 319 note 6.
(5) Ibid., p. 189 and 190.
(6) Raychaudhury
(7) Aravamuthan, The Kaveri, the Maukharis and the Sangam Age, p. 98.
(8) Aravamuthan, o. c., p. 4.

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commands (1) This intercourse between the Cholas and the Maukharis, so long forgotten, seems to give a solution to the doubts which have risen as regards the meaning of the word Sûlikas. Chola, a purely Tamilian name, csuld not appeal to the Aryan mind of the northeners, and was slowly but naturally converted into Sûlika, a thoroughly Sanskrit name (A pike bearer), which, moreover depicted the invaders with their long pikes ready to enter the battle. This circumstance, and the detail mentioned in the inscription (*viz*, that they had an army of countless galloping horses') seem to agree with the descriptions of battles between the Cholas and their enemies both in the *Mahâvamsa* (2) and in the *Kalingattuparani*. (3) This last poem mentions the soldiers of the Chola Emperor Kulottunga bearing spears or pikes. The Chola inscriptions speak also of the great and well equipped armies of these rulers. In one of them, for instance, the Tirukkalukkunram inscription of Kulottunga I, the campaigns of this prince are described in detail. (4) In these inscriptions we find often mentioned the city of Kollipakkai, one of the most important cities of the Chola kingdom, the walls of which are said to be surrounded by *sûlli*(5)

The change of the name Chola into Sûlika is not philologically improbable. The Parsis are similarly called Parasîkas in Sanskrit inscriptions. Moreover the Cholas are called Cholians in the *Mahâvamsa;* and the च is often changed into श in the inscriptions (6).

The identification of the Sûlikas with the Cholas is of the utmost importance as far as history is concerned. The defeat inflicted on the Sûlikas by Iśânavarman might probably mark the end of the Tamilian domination over the kingdom of Magadha. We know moreover that Iśânavarman is the first Maukhari to whom the title of Mahârâjadhirâja is applied (7) To free his kingdom from the Chola sway was evidently the first step to attain this overlordship over the North of India.

(1) Ibid., p. 14. Cf. JA., XIX, p. 331.
(2) Mahavamsa. (Wijesinha's translatiôn) p. 74-5 82-3. 206, etc.
(3) Kanakasabhai Pillai, Tamil Historical Texts, J. A., XIX, p. 332-6
(4) S. I. I., III, p. 147.
(5) Ibid., II, p. 108, 221, 403, III, p. 432.
(6) S. I. I., III, p. 134, 135, 136, 140, 142, 154, 158, 162, 186, 190, 200, etc.
(7) Asirgadh Seal inscription of Sarvavarman, Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 221.

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ANCIENT SOUTH INDIAN GOLD COINAGE.

By R. SRINIVASA RAGHAVA IYENGAR, M. A.

When we examine the system of Coinage of Ancient India we find that the South Indian System presents a peculiar feature. From the coins that have been discovered as Treasure-Trove we find that the South Indian coins are entirely different from those of the north and gold coins of the smallest denomination appeared to have been issued to a large extent by kings of old. Gold coins of the weight of 5 to 6 grains, 2½, 1¼, and ¾ grains were issued having some design or other on both sides in some cases and on one side only in others. They are so small that it is very dfficult to handle them. Generally coins were used in order to get the necessaries of life, to obtain things that we had not on had, for fines levied by kings, for free gifts, for *dakshinas* in religious ceremonies and for various other purposes. If these small coins had been intended for purchasing household articles etc., the then people would have found it very difficult to preserve and handle them. They would have chosen bigger coins in baser metals, such as, silver or copper. When we read the law codes composed by Manu and Yâgnavalkya we learn that the fines imposed by kings were paid by Karshapanams which were coins in copper. So these small coins should have been issued for a different purpose. We shall now find what was their object in issuing such small coins.

In all Aryan household, religious ceremonies played a very important part and every ceremony could not be conducted without paying *Dakshinas* to those who had officiated in them. It was also enjoined that such *dakshinas* should be given in gold as silver was considered inauspicious. In all vedic ceremonies dakshinas were given by means of gold pellets known by the name of SVARNA. When coinage was introduced these SVARNAS were replaced by coins. The authority for this was taken from the Vedas. There is a passage in the *Krishna Yajurveda* I *Kanda* 5th *Prapataka* I *Anuvaka* from which we gather that it is very inauspicious to give away silver as *dakshina*.

The story runs thus. "There was a battle between the Devas and the Asuras. Devas became victorious and deposited with Agni (God of Fire) for safety the treasures and precious stones which they got from Asuras. They did so in the hope of using them when they were in need. But Agni wanted to appropriate the whole lot for himself and so ran away with them. The Devas coming to know of this, pursued and caught hold of him and beat him severely. Agni wept

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when he could not bear the beating of the Devas. The tears that fell from his eyes became silver. As silver was the outcome of tears it was considered inauspicious to give it as *Dakshina* on auspicious occasions. If anyone were to give silver as *dakshina* in any sacrifice his house will be visited by an inauspicious event within a period of one year".

As Vedas forbid giving away silver it became a matter of necessity to give away gold in all religious ceremonies. Thus religion played a great part in determining the coinage of the country. The kings of old had in their ministers very profound sanskrit scholars. Instances may be cited of Hêmâdri and Vidyâranya. The former was the minister of the Yâdava kings of Devagiri and the latter was the minister of the Vijayanagara kings. They were all profound scholars and they should have influenced the kings to issue gold coins for the benefit of the people. Kings had minting places and there was a separate establishment for minting coins. In order that gold might be accessible both to the rich and the poor, coins of small denominations of ⅛, ¼, ½ fanams were minted and made available for people to enable them to use them in religious ceremonials.

My father had four gold pellets called Sakkaraipanams and used to give them as dakshinas on Sradiha occasions. Before the guests departed they were given the contemplated amounts and these pellets got back. Unfortunately these have been lost now.

The coins that have been discovered are described below:—

1. *GANGA FANAMS.* These were issued by the kings of Kalinganagara.

Obverse. Caparisoned bull standing facing the proper left with a crescent of the moon above.

Reverse. Sam. 14.

W. 5.25; S. 0.3.

do. One-eighth fanams.

Obverse. Same.

Reverse. Same.

W. 0.75; S. 0.2.

2. *MATSYA FANAMS.* These were issued by the chiefs of that name who were ruling the country comprising the district of Vizagapatam (during the XIV and XV centuries.)

Obverse. Two fishes.

Reverse. Sam, 12.

W. 5.5; S. 0.35.

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do. (Quarter fanams).

Obverse. Two fishes.

Reverse. Sam. 5.

W. 1.25; S, 0.25.

3. *OLD FANAMS.* Found as Treasure Trove in Trichinopoly and Tinnevelly districts.

Obverse. Figure like the letter U with a dot inside and with the sun and moon on either side. Some peculiar design made up of lines and dots. The whole may be taken to represent a crude form of Kali.

Reverse. 12 dots arranged in 3 rows of 4 each and straight lines; one straight line at right angles to the other. The sun and moon on either side,

W. 5.5; S. 0,4.

4. *VIRARAYA FANAMS.* There are 16 varieties of these and they were found as Treasure Trove in the districts of Coimbatore, North Kanara, Kistna, Chingelput, Cuddappah, Tanjore, Godavari, Madura, North Arcot, South Arcot, Malabar, Salem, Nellore, and Coorg.

Obverse. The letter U with some other symbols.

Reverse. I2 dots with some other figure.

W. 5.6; S. 0.3 to 0.4.

5. *GARUDA FANAMS.*

Obverse. A flying Garuda.

Reverse. A figure resembling the Vaishnavite caste-mark.

W. 5.6; S. 0.3 to 0.4.

6. *NAMAM FANAMS.*

Observe. Vaishnavite castemark.

Reverse. In some cases it is blank; in some a legend not read.

W. 5. 25; S. 0.2 to 0.4.

7. *CHOLA FANAMS.* Issued by Kulottunga Chola I.

Obverse. "SUNG" in Tamil script and Regnal year.

Reverse. Tiger, bow, and other indistinct marks.

W. 5.5; S. 0.4.

8. *REDDI FANAMS.*

Obverse. Bull couchant with the sun and the moon above with a few dots.

Reverse. Elephant goad, coiled whip, and the sun and the moon.

W. 5.25; S. 0.25.

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do. (Quarter fanams.)

Obverse. do.

Reverse. do.

W. 2.5; S.

9 *SOUTH INDIAN FANAMS.*

Obverse. Devanagari legend "PATA" "PRADHANA".

Reverse. Blank.

W. 2.25; S. 0.2.

10. do. *Obverse.* Vishnu standing.

Reverse. Man and a lamp.

W. 5.5; S. 0.27.

do. (Quarter fanams,)

Obverse. Peculiar fiigure made up of lines.

Reverse. A circle and an angle made up of lines and dots.

W. 1.5; S. 0.2.

11. *ANANTARAMAN FANAMS.* Issued by the kings of Travencore.

Obverse. A floral design.

Reverse. 12 dots representing the signs of the zodiac with some lines.

W. 5.25; S. 0.3.

ANANTARAMAN HALF FANAMS.

Obverse. do.

Reverse. do.

W. 2.5; S. 0.22.

12. *DAGGER FANAMS.*

Obverse. Dagger.

Reverse. Heart-shaped device, 12 dots, the sun and the moon.

W. 5 to 5.25; S. 0.25 to 0.4.

13. *SIVAJI FANAMS.* Issued by Sivaji the Great.

Obverse. "CHATRA" / "PATI" } In Devanagiri.

Reverse. "VI" / "RAJA" } In Devanagiri.

W. 5.25; S. 0.2.

14. *RAMARAYAN FANAMS.* Issued by Rama Raja the second son of Sivaji the Great.

Obverse. Rude figure of the king.

Reverse. "RAMA" / "RAU" } In Devanagiri.

W. 5.25; S. 0.25 to 0.3.

From all these cases quoted above it is clear that the kings of old did issue gold coins even in the lowest denomination. While the

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fanams were weighed 5 grains which would have then have cost 4 annas ¼ and ⅛ of these would have cost one anna and half an anna respectively.

Even the Moghul Emperors Aurangazeb, Jahander Shah, Farruksiyar, Muhammad Shah, Ahmed Shah, Alangir II and Shah Alam II struck *varahas* and half *varahas* and half *fanams* in the mints established at Gutti *IMTIYAZGARH,* [1]*TADPATRI,* and *CUDDAPAH.* These issues are peculiar to South India and were not struck for use in Northen India. These should evidently have been struck to satisfy the needs of the Indian people.

HALF FANAMS. Obverse. Name of the Emperor.

Reverse. The name of the Mint town and year (A.H.)
W. 2.5; S. 0.2.

[1] A paper on this new mint will appear in the numismatic supplement to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

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COINS OF KAVALIYADAVALLI TREASURE TROVE CASE

By R. SRINIVASA RAGHAVA IYENGAR, M. A.

In September 1921, while some men were grazing their cattle on a hillock near the village or Kavaliyadavalli, Atmakur taluk, Nellore District, they were attracted by the glitter of metal and on close examination discovered some coins on a slab in a potshred. They are sixteen in number, four big and twelve small ones. These have been discovered for the first time and are of some interest and a closer study of them is likely to give valuable information to the history of Numismatics.

By the size, shape and weight and the legend and other marks found on them they group themselves under different heads.

Class I. These consist of three big gold coins, which are nearly of the same diameter only varying from 0.78 to 0.82 of an inch and are of the same weight 55 grains each. The metal is 13 carats fine. They are roundshaped and are of the well-known Padmatanka type. They are somewhat cupshaped and bear various punchmarks on the surface, the most prominent of which is the symbol 'Sri in old Telu-gannada script on either side of the periphery at the ends of the horizontal diameter. At the top of the vertical diameter is found in old Telugu script a legend which reads as (Ra)yasa' and a portion of 'ma' in coin No. 1, as 'yasamu' in coin No. 2, and as 'sama' in coin No. 3. Putting these three together, we get a fairly intelligible and complete legend 'Rayasamu.' At the bottom of the vertical diameter is found a symbol which may be taken to represent a crown. Besides, there are a few indistinct impressions in the interspaces which perhaps were intended to represent lions. The reverse is blank.

The term 'Rāyasamu' ordinarily indicates clerkship[1]. Of course the legend cannot be supposed to mean only clerkship. So it should have a more appropriate meaning. We find that during the Vijayanagar period the viceroys enjoyed the title of 'Rāyasam.' After the conquest of Udayagiri by Sri Krishna Dêva Raya, it was made a seat of a provincial Government. Rāyasam Timmarasayya

1 Rayasamu in Telugu, means ordinarily an order-and it originally meant an office of writer or Secretaryship under a King or Viceroy. Rayasam, also meant the officer who wrote down orders under orders from the King. Rayasam survives to-day in Anomamantry as a surname or a family name, which clearly indicates that the present families are the descendants of Rayasam of old: Rayasamu is also found in canarese language and means the same thing.—Ed.

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and Rāyasam Kondamarusayya were viceroys there. Venkatappa was a viceroy during the reign of Achyuta Deva Mahārāya. Rāyasam Tirumalayya was a Governor under Sri Virapratāpa Dēva Rāya in śaka 1496. [1]Rāyasam Ayyappa was a Governor at Koṇḍavidu in saka 1453. Though all these viceroys enjoyed the title of Rāyasam, Kondamarusayya was the most powerful of them, so powerful that [2]he was even addressed as Maharaja. [3]He planted the Vijayanagara colours on the Simhadri and Srikurmam hills during Krishna Deva Raya's famous campaign in the north. [4]He conquered the Reddis who ruled at Chundi and annexed their territory. He was so powerful and enjoyed such great independence that in his own name he made several grants for the salvation of his master. If only the legend 'Rāyasamu' is to be our guide we may be tempted to conclude that these coins were issued by this powerful viceroy. But on paleographical grounds we have to assign these coins to an earlier date.

Again the shape and size are so dissimilar to the extent Vijayanagar type and are more like those issued by the later Chaulukyas of Kalyani and the Telugu Chola chiefs who ruled in parts of the districts of Cuddappah and Nellore. Further these coins bear a mark which is exactly the same as those found on coins of group X of the [5]Kodur Treasure Trove case which were ascribed to the Western Chalukya king Jagadikamalla. This mark was then thought to represent a temple, but on closer and more careful examination they seem to me to represent a crown. So far as our present knowledge goes there is no western Chalukyan king or any Telugu Chola chief who enjoyed the title of or had the name 'Rayasamu.' So unless and until we get further evidence from inscriptions or records which may be discovered in future we cannot ascribe these coins either to the Chalukya kings or to the Chola chiefs.

[6]Ambadeva of the Kayastha family was a feudatory of the Kākatiyas. He defeated several Telugu chiefs and overthrew Sripati Ganapati. Ambadeva usurped the Kākatiya throne in the interval between the reigns of Rudrāmba and Pratāpa Rudra Deva. After the overthrow of Sripati Ganapati, Ambadeva assumed the title of Rāyasahasramalla. It will be too far-fetched to suppose that our legend 'Rāyasamu' was a contraction of Rāyasahasramalla (rāya, for rāya, Sa for Sahasra, and Mu for Malla) and we know of no instances in which there have been such contractions in the case of legends. Upon

1. Mackenzie Mss. Book XVIII p. 104 & Local records Vol. 57, pp. 255–256.
2. Nellore Inscriptions, page 1264.
3. Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, pp. 7 & 8.
4. Nellore Inscriptions, pp. 478 & 479.
5. Madras G. O. No. 1106 (Home Dt. Misc.) dated 11—10—1917.
6. Madras Epigraphy Report for 1912, pages 76 & 77.

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paleographical grounds we have to ascribe these coins to about the same period as that during which Ambadeva flourished. In shape size, weight and in the quality of the metal used these are very much the same as the one under Class II which, as will be seen later on, is identified as a Kākatiya coin which was current some fifty or sixty years before the period of Ambadeva Mahārāja. Hence it may be possible to hold that these coins were issued by Ambadeva who had for his model the earlier coins of the western Chalukyas of Kalyani or it may be that these legends were a second time impressed on the Western Chalukyan coins that existed before.

These are some of the possible theories which may be advanced as to the date and origin of these coins. But nothing definite can be said about them until as I said before, fresh and more assuring evidence is obtained.

Class II. There is but one gold coin in this class. It is almost round and has a diameter of 0.81 inch and weighs 56.25 grains. The metal is 13 or 14 carats fine. The symbol 'Sri' is found on either end of the horizontal diameter. At the top of the vertical diameter there is a legend (Ka)ti' and at the bottom 'gaṇa' in old Telugu script. The interspaces are filled by the figures of what may either be a lion or a tiger, with open mouth, raised paw, twisted tail, all these very crudely represented by dots and lines. The other side is blank.

There was a dynasty of Kākatiya kings which was short-lived though very powerful during that short period. It had its rise in the beginning of the 12th century. Gaṇapati was the greatest of the kings of this dynasty. We read from [1]'Ganapesvaram' inscription that he conquered the entire country of Velanaṇdu which extended from the borders of Guntur district to the modern Nellore. After subjugating the north he turned to the south and [2] extended his empire far into the interior of the Tamil country. This is evidenced by the [3]fact that one of his viceroys Sāmanta Bhoja at Kānchi granted the village of Kalattur to Ekambranatha temple at Kānchi for the salvation of his master. [4]From Motupalli inscription it appears that he extended his conquests as far as the Eastern coast. Inscriptions of this king are found in the Podili and Darsi taluks of the Nellore district and Ongole taluk of the Guntur district. Inscriptions of Pratapa Rudra Deva, another of Kākatiya kings are found in plenty in the taluks of Atmakur, Kandukur and Nellore, all which abundantly prove that the Kâkatiya empire embraced almost the

1. Ephigraphia Indica Vol. III, page 82
2. Madras Epigraphy Report for 1910, page 106.
3. Indian Antiquary Vol. 21, page 197
4. Madras Epigraphy Report 1910, page 107

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whole of the modern Nellore district. Therefore the village of Kâvaliyadavalli in which this coin was discovered was presumably within the Kâkatîya kingdom.

It seems to be clear therefore that 'Kati' of our legend is a contraction of Kakati and represents Kakatiya. and Gaṇa. Gaṇapati the most powerful of the Kâkatîya kings. The name Kâkatiya is derived from Kâkati the name of the goddess whom they worshipped. This coin ought to be identified as the coin issued by Gaṇapati of the Kâkatîya dynasty and between the years of 1199 and 1260 A, D. as from inscriptions 181, 196, 213, 220, 194 and 196 of 1905 noted in Madras report on Epigraphy, we infer that Gaṇapati reigned during that period.

Sir Walter Elliot in his History of South Indian Coins says that in many of the seals of the grants and some coins of the Kâkatîya dynasty he found a bull couchant between two candelebra with an umbrella above and a chowrie on each side. Unfortunately he does not mention the names of the kings whose seals and coins he had examined, Nor are there anywhere any coins of the Kâkatîya dynasty answering to this description, In the seals of grants of Gaṇapati we do not find any bull, candelebra or umbrella. Instead, in the seal attached to the grant of Kolavennu by Gaṇapati we find a boar with the sun and moon. In the copper plate grant of the time of Gaṇapati noticed in page 123 of the Annual report on Epigraphy (Madras) for 1917, there is a seal which bears the emblems of a boar and a cow. [2] Verse 13 in the Ekambranatha inscription states that the Mudra (seal) of Gaṇapati was a boar. The [3] Mudra (seal) of Pratapa Rudra Deva was a boar. On the east face of the pillar on which the [4] Anumakonda inscription of Prola, grandfather of Gaṇapati, is engraved we find a jaina figure flanked by a cow and a calf on one side and a dagger and shield on the other. Thus the Mudra of Prola too contains a cow and we nowhere find a bull among the seals of grants or inscriptions of any of these kings. It is not therefore easy to understand how Sir Walter Eliot came to make the statement that the emblem of the Kâkatîyas was a bull.

However this may be, in the coin under investigation we find lions in and around the centre. From the foregoing discussion I have come to the conclusion that Gaṇapati's emblem was a boar. We usually find kings using on their coins the same emblems as they use for their seals in their grants and therefore it is a matter for con-

1. Catalogue of copper plate grants in the Madras Museum p. 26.
2. Indian Antiquary Vol. 21, page 200.
3. Prataparudriya by Vidyanatha, Kavyaprakarna, verse 10.
4. Epigraphia Indica Vo, IX page 256.

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sideration how lions came to be in Gaṇapati's coins. It is very likely that he accepted coins that were current before his time and had his own name punched on them to indicate that he recognised them as legal tender. The formation of punch marks on the coins and the fact that a portion of the legend overlaps a portion of the lion show that the legends 'Kati' and 'Gana' were punched on old coins of kings who had lions for their emblem.

Class III. There are twelve gold coins in this class. They are all round with diameters varying from 0.4 to 0.45 of an inch weighing all alike 5.75 grains each. The metal is 13 carats fine. All these have the legend 'Sung' in old Tamil script on the obverse side. Just below the legend there is also a number in the same old Tamil script which very likely denotes the regnal year in which each was issued. On the reverse there is a bow, a tiger in sitting posture and some other symbols which are indistinct and are incapable of exact identification. In the case of one coin there is a legend 'Kāṅchi' and some other have 'Ne' in old Tamil Script- In some 'ne' is in an inverted form. Therefore these coins have to be subdivided into five different classes as under:—

(1) Variety No. 1. *Obverse.* 'Sung'
27
Reverse. Tiger, bow, and indistinct marks 'Kāṅchi'

(2) Variety No. 2. *Obverse.* 'Sung'
31
Reverse. Tiger, bow and some indistinct 'Ne'

(3) Variety No. 3. *Obverse.* 'Sung'
31
Reverse. Tiger, bow, some indistinct marks, 'Ne' inverted.

(4) Variety No. 4. *Obverse.* 'Sung'
31
Reverse. Tiger, bow, some indistinct marks.

(5) Variety No. 5. *Obverse.* 'Sung'
34
Reverse. Tiger, bow, some indistinct marks dots.

In the case of coins in which the numeral 31 appears there is also some mark which may be a simple line or portion of the Tamil letter 'r.' In either case it appears to be something distinct from the numeral and was perhaps intended to represent some symbol which is unfortunately indistinct and cannot be identified.

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The emblems tiger bow and something else indistinct and the legend 'Sung' appear in all the coins. It is evident therefore that these coins have been issued by some king or kings of a dynasty which had for its emblem among other things the tiger and bow. The legend 'Sung' was very probably intended to denote the particular king who issued them. There can be no doubt that 'Kānchi' denotes the place from where or from whose mint that coins was issued. Kanchi was the popular name of the modern Conjeevaram which for many centuries was the seat of a king or viceroys. Hence the legend 'Ne' must also represent the contraction of the name of another place from which also coins were issued.

From the inscriptions and records we already possess, we know that the tiger was emblem of the Chôḷa dynasty, the bow the emblem of the Cheras and the fishes the emblem of the Pāṇḍyas. In the seal attached to the [1]Tiruvelangādu plates of Rajendra Chôla I we find the combination of all three emblems. During the reign of Rajendra Chola we know that all the three kingdoms Chera, Chola and Paṇḍya were brought under one sway. It is perfectly reasonable therefore to suppose that the Cholas have added the emblems of the Cheras and the Paṇḍyans, to their own tiger, to proclaim the fact that they had conquered and annexed to their own the territories of the Cheras and the Pôṇḍyans.

Chalukya Rajendra was from 1070 A.D. the ruler of the Eastern Chalukyan Kingdom Vengi which had for its capital Rājahmundry. He was adopted by Rajendra Chola as heir to his throne. Thus Chalukya Rājendra who assumed the title of Kulottunga Chôḷa Deva I became in 1070 A.D. the virtual ruler of the whole of the Chalukya and Chola empires extending from Vengi in the north to the extreme south. He conquered the kingdoms of Kerala, [2]Pāṇḍya, and Kuntala and extended his conquest as far north as Kalinga (modern Ganjam). He had his headquarters at Gangaikondacholapuram (Trichinopoly district) and continued to rule for at least fifty years.

Kâvaliyadavalli whence this find was discovered was once under the sway of Kulôttunga Chola I. During his reign he found that his subjects were groaning under heavy taxation and in order to give them relief abolished all *sungam*. *'Sungam'* in Tamil indicates taxes or tolls. His subjects were so very much overjoyed by this measure of relief, that they acclaimed their sovereign as [3]Sungamtavirtta Kulôttunga Chola Deva. From that time forward he was

1 South Indian Inscriptions Vol III, Part III p 413, See plate attached.
2 Nellore Inscription page 826.
3. Inscription No. 377 of 1907. Madras Epigraphy Report.

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known by the name of Sungamtavirtta Kulottunga Chola I. The legend 'Sung' must be a contraction of Sungamtavirtta (who has abolished tolls). It can only indicate that these coins were issued by this Sungamtavirtta Kulôttunga Chôla, otherwise the legend will be absolutely inexplicable.

I have already said that 'Kânchi' represents Conjeevaram, the place from which the coins were issued. 'Ne' must indicate Nellore. From inscriptions found in the district of Nellore we find there are frequent references made to a coin called MĀDAI. Mention is made of [1]Mâḍai from the interest of which a lamp was maintained in a temple during the 35th year of the reign of Kulôttunga I. From another [2]inscription we learn that there existed coins called 'Nellore Mâḍai', for we find that in the 3rd year of Allam Tirukkalâtti Gaṇḍa Gôpala Dêva, grants of Nellore mâḍai were made to a temple. From the above, it is clear that at one time or other, there was a mint at Nellore. So the legend 'Ne' must represent Nellore. The numerical figures 27, 31, and 34 are evidently the Regnal years of the King Kulottunga who issued them, for, we know that coins of the Ganga dynasty of Kalinganagara bear the impress of the regnal year in which they were issued.

We can therefore safely conclude that the coins in this class were all issued between the years 1070 and 1120 A. D. by Kulôttunga Chôḍa I and that they were minted some at Kânchi and others at Nellore.

In weight, they are very much equal to other South Indian fanams that we know of. Only these are a bit larger but thinner. Probably these were also called fanams in those days.

1. Nellore Inscription Page 835.
2. Inscription No. 300 of 1921, Madras Epigraphy Report.

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DATE OF TENKANADITYA.

By VEMPARALA SUBRAHMANYAM, M.A., L. T.

Notwithstanding the controversial nature of Nannaya-bhattaraka's claim to be called the first Telugu poet, a correct determination of the age of Tenkanâditya, the author of *Kumârasambhava* in Telugu naturally leads one to tread that questionable ground. Nannaya is believed to be the first Telugu poet for the following reasons:—

(i). He alludes to no Telugu poet specifically in his *Mahâbhârata*.

(ii). Tikkana mentions that Nannaya was the author of the first three *parvas* in Mahabharata, but he alludes to no other Telugu poet.

(iii). All the subsequent Telugu poets speak of Nannaya as the first Telugu poet, and

(IV). Literary tradition also supports this view.

In all languages *Lakshanagranthas* are as a rule preceded by *Lakshya-granthas i. e.*, works of literary art are the forerunners of works of Grammar and language. The fact that Nannaya was the author of *Andhrasabdachintâmani*, the first known Telugu Grammar suggests the pre-existence of Telugu literature. His title *Andhrasabdasâsana* is, however, significant because he has sprung up as a literary dictator, who, out of the myriads of dialectical and other differences existing in his age, has successfully standardised the literary Telugu Dialect.

An examination of the longer inscription of the Amaravati stupa, now in the British Museum, proves that the Telugu alphabet was perfect even by that date. Though the text of that inscription is Sanskrit, the script in which it stands is Telugn with this difference, that those letters were of a square style with the vowel inflections by the left side of the letters as in Sanskrit, while our Modern Telugu characters are circular in style with the vowel inflcetions mostly at the head of the letter. Although historians differ as to the date of the inscription, all of them agree in holding that it belongs to a period three centuries before Nannaya.

The smaller inscription of the Amaravati stupa, which is now probably in the Calcutta Museum, helps us at least to conjecture the connection of the stupa with the Andhra kings, because of its probable reference to Yagnasri. The coins discovered in the excavations

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of the Amaravati stupa throw also much light upon the history of the above dynasty. The identification of Amaravati or Amareswaram on the Krishna with Dhanakataka or Dharaṇikôta, the capital of the Andhra also strengthens our view that the stupa was a construction of the third century by Yagnasrî, the last Andhra king of renown who in all probabitity was a Budhist. He ruled from 184 to 213 A. D.

The application of the two terms Andhra and Telugu to the same language in modern times helps us to conjecture the absurdity of of holding that the historical Andhra Dynasty and the Andhra country between the Godavari and the Krishna which they were inhabiting were totally isolated from the present Telugu language. The use of the two terms '*Mârga*' and '*Dêsi*' in verse 23 of Telugu *Kumârasambhavam* by Tenkanaditya are explained as Sanskrit and Vernaculars by some scholars; but these terms are borrowed from Bharata's *Nâtyasastrâ;* the first implies the indication of *bhâva* by *abhinaya* or facial or other gestures; while the second indicates the expression of *bhava* in clear terms. These two expressions when applied to literature signify the ballad literature and works of poetic art respectively. There is therefore no reason to attribute *marga* to Sanskrit. So the verse means that while Telugu ballad literature including music was in existence before, the Chalukya kings from Satyasraya witnessed the birth of Telugu poesy. For reasons to be indicated elsewhere, Satyasraya is Pulakesa 1, Who ruled at Vātāpipurā from 550 A, D.

The Pallavas who were ruling before the Chalukyas were of the classical school and revived the Sanscrit language and Brahmanic religion. So during the Pallava predominance Telugu might have beed stagnant. The reference to the pre-existence of Telugu ballad literature must have been to the age of the Andhras who were ruling before the Pallavas. The fact that the Amaravati inscription is in the Telugu script strengthens this possibility. We may therefore conclude:—

(i) That Telugu or Andhram was the language of the Andhras the people of Andhradesa.

(ii) That during the rule of the Andhra Kings Telugu ballad literature and Telugu script were in use.

(iii) That both the language and literature were stagnant during the Pallava rule.

(iv) That during the Chalukyan period the birth of Telugu poesy was witnessed, and

(v) That Nannaya was the first to mould the modern Telugu literary and linguistic art.

Some telugu Scholars are of opinion that Nannechoda, the author of *Kumarasambhava* belongs to a time subsequent to that of

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Nannaya and Tikkana. One of the reasons for this view is that Nannaya composes his *mangalaslôka* in Sanskrit while Nannechoda following Tikkana composed his *mangalaslôka* in Telugu. The conflicting nature of the evidence of the copper plate grants relating to Chodaballi, Father of Nannechoda is another reason for this misconception. Both Nannechoda and Tikkana belong to Nellore. So they might probably have followed the same Pâkanâti custom of commencing their *mangalaslôkâs* in Telugu while Nannaya being a literary critic might have begun his work with a sloka in the classical Sanskrit language. Later poets might have followed Tikkana from proximity, or on account of their love for the Vernacular. Others have placed Nannechoda between Nannaya and Tikkana.

Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi correctly holds that Nannechoda's time is prior to that of Nannaya, though he errs in the following respects:-

(i) In trying to bring in a battle between a Chola King and a Chalukeya King which has never been alluded to in the original text, and

(ii) In holding that that the epithet Tênkaṇâditya is a title of Nannechoda.

The prime cause of these misconceptions is the fact that instead of trying to concentrate their attention on the points alluded to in the main text, and to effect a compromise, our Scholars began to base their views on pure conjecture and created new problems instead of solving the existing ones.

The author of *Kumârasambhavam* enumerates many Sanskrit poets but does not mention even a single Telugu poet, though he states generally in his verse 23 that while Telugu balled literature *(Desikavita)* was in existence before, the Chalukya Kings from Satyâśraya downwards witnessed the birth of Telugu poesy. Satyâśraya as explained by some of oûr scholars is a title of Râjarâjanarêndra, the Eastern Chalukya King of Rajahmundry. This is certainly in agreement with the view that Rājarājanarendra, to whom the Telugu Mahabharata was dedicated, was the first patron of Telugu learning. But Satyâśraya was not at all mentioned in the Mahabharata as a title of Râjarâjanarêndra, though his other titles were alluded to. The rulers of the Imperial Western Chaluklya line namely Pulakeśi 1. and Pulakesin 11. were alone called Satyāsraya Pulakesa Chakravartins. Pulakesin 1. ruled at Vatapi from 550 A. D. The phrase *'Satyasrayuni thotti Chalukya nrpul'* when translated means 'the Chalukya rulers beginning with Satyâśraya'. So Satyâsraya must be the first monarch of the dynasty. Râjarâjanarèndra was not the first of his line, and there is no indication for the application of

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the title to Kubja vishṇuvardhana, the first of the Eastern Cholukya line. Even in the alternate reading suggested according to the Tanjore manuscript 'Châlukyarâju modaluga paluvur' the word 'Mothaluga, means 'beginning with'. This can in no way be inconsistent with the view taken above.

In verse 52, the poet describes that he belongs to the solar race of Kshatriyas, and alludes to (1). The sons of Sagara that dug a deep ditch from the earth's centre, (ii). Bhagîratha that brought the waters from the Heaven to the Earth and filled the Seas (iii). Râmachandra that bridged the sea between Râmeswara and Simhala, and (iv). Karikala Chola the great Chola ruler of the early years of the Christan era. He states that he equals in prowess either of them, whose power was only limited by the Seas, and styles himself Nannechoda. In verse 53 he states that he is the son of Chodaballi a lord of 21000 in Pakanadu, the present Nellore District and Srisati of the Haihaya dynasty. In verse 54 he states that Uṛaiyur was his capital and that he was Tênkaṇâditya.

A reference to the geneologies of the Cholas, prepared by Dr. S, Krishnaswamy Iyengar, M. A., in his South Indian History, clearly shows that there were only two rulers by name Aditya. (i). Aditya the founder of the new Chola dynasty in 880 A. D., and (ii). Rajaditya who was defeated and slain on the field by the Rāshṭrakùṭa King. Evidently, Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi identifies the atuhor of Kumârasambhava with the latter; this cannot be correct because his father was not Chodaballi but Parāntaka. Moreover his view cannot explain the situation because our authors' capital was Uṛaiyur while his father was a Pakanati chief. The mention of Karikalichola alone and the absence of any other name in the work indicates that there was no great ruler between Karikalan and our author. Had the founder of the new Chola dynasty, or Rājarāja the great, the Chola ruler who ruled from 985 to 1027 A. D., intervened between Karikalan and our author, there would certainly have been a reference to either of them in our work. A few generations after Karikala, the ancient Chola dynasty became extinct and its place was taken up by the Pallavas, Sivaskanthavarman, the Pallava ruler was predominant in South India from the Krishna to the Kaveri even as early as 150 A. D. When the Pallavas were totally weakened by the external attacks of the Rāshṭrakûṭas and by the internal struggles of the local dynasties, our author Aditya, the son of Chodaballi, a Pakanati chief, led his forces against Aparājita Pallava the last of the line, defeated him and overthrew his power. Then he re-established the new Chola dynasty at Uṛaiyur, the ancient Chola capital. This piece of historical information conclusively shows that Tênkaṇāditya cannot be taken as a title. It is the name of the conqueror. Literary tradition in the

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Telugu country, and Andhra *lâkshanikas* speak of Tênkaṇāditya's *Kumârasambhava* and not of Nannechoda's *Kumarasambhava*. So Tênkaṇāditya must be taken as a name, in addition to his other name Chodadeva which the author is pleased to quote in the prose pieces or *gadyas* at the close of each canto or Asvasa.

Our author says that Uṛaiyur was his capital. The capital of the Imperial Chola dynasty under Karikala waa Uṛaiyur. But under the successors of Parāntaka, Tanjore seems to have been the capital. So our author might have ruled before this move to Tanjore. This move was made most probably in the later years of Parantaka's rule and so our author must have been a predecessor of Parantaka.

As there is a reference to Udhbhaṭa, the Sanskrit poet of Kashmir at the court of Jayâpida in the work, *Kumârasambhava* cannot be the composition of a date earlier than 880 A. D., the date of *Udhbhata*. Since Āditya, the reviver of the Chola dynasty ruled from 880 to 900 A. D., it must have been composed during that age. Thus *Kumârasambhava* is of a very great historical and linguistic value as it throws much light upon the early history of Telugu language and literature, and as it indicates the direction from which the founder of the new Chola dynasty sprang forth, a point on which our University Prefessor of Indian History is silent.

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SCOPE OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE AGENCY DIVISION.

By. R. SUBBRAO, M. A., L. T.,

PART II. *Chenchus.*

Huxley in his Anatomy of vertebrate animals divides the races of mankind into two divisions.

1. Ulotrichi or Woolly-haired.
2. Leiotrichi or Smooth-haired.

To the second division belong the Austroloid group in which the Dravidians and Pre-Dravidians of South India are included. Their features are described as follows:—dark skined, black haired. long prognathous skull, well developed brow ridges and dark eyes.

The Gonds, the Khonds, the Yanadies, the Koyas and the Chenchus all belong to the black strata.

It is now a matter of common historical knowledge that the aboriginal period was long prior to the Dravidian age. The jungle tribes still found in the Agency parts are clearly a Pre-Dravidian or aboriginal race.

Of all the wild tribes living in the Godavari Agency, the Chenchus are by far the most forward. They are a primitive tribe, of short stature, and of a high nasal index. The nose is thick and broad. They resemble the Yânâdis and may be said to belong to the same stock. They are a black detestable tribe and of idle, drunken, peevish, and blood-thirsty habits. Unlike the Khonds of Ganjam and the Koyas of Godavari Agency, they have few virtues to atone their vices. They have no liking for work and by nature are born lazy, wanting in intelligence. They are notorious for their stupid actions. Being drunken they are always addicted to thieving and to murdering. They are irritable and suspicious. They are a semi-wild, ignorant, plundering hill-tribe.

Their abode.

The Chenchus are mostly found in the Rampa Agency and occasionally one can see them in the plains to which they resort for trading purposes; but their stronghold is in the Nallamalai hills (Kurnool Dt.) where the wild and almost uncivilised and naked Chenchus can be found. The Chenchus are also found in small numbers in the coastal districts. These are semi-civilised people but

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the wild Chenchus who live to the west of Ahobilam are averse to being civilised. They live in the woods and the wilds and in the caves and under trees. They live in huts made of rough bamboo wattle-work They carry like the Kôyas bows and arrows and are quick in getting up and down the hill slopes. It is proverbially told that it is far easier to catch a spotted deer than a wild Chenchu. But the tame Chenchus who are found living in the Godavari Agency paths and even in the plains are free from most of these vices and are accustomed to some honest work.

Their dress, habits and mode of life.

The wild Chenchus are simpletons. They are mostly "Naturals". Living in forests, they shun day light and the company of outsiders. They live in small hamlets or *gûdems* scattered here and there in wild forests of the Nallamalais or the Agency tracts. Their dress is very simple, for, wild Chenchus clothe themselves with leaves or rags and live on sago or bamboo rice. The Chenchus who live in the plains are tame and semicivilised and wear a loin cloth. The Chenchu women in the coastal districts are generally found to be wearing an under and upper wear. The chenchus as a class present a very ugly appearance. Being idle and lazy by nature, they do not like to cultivate land even to the extent to which the Köyas and other aboriginal tribes of the Agency parts do. They take to plunder when they fail to get sufficient food in the forests. The Wild Chenchus live on roots, honey, wild fruits, game and all eatable forest produce. When these are not found in plenty they levy black-mail on the villages close by and in cases of opposition, they do not hesitate to loot or even kill the people. Very often, they spoil crops by cutting or burning them, Dacoity and murders are too often caused by their wanton cruelty. Wild Chenchus living in the Nallamalai hills are often reported to burn the forests, poison the streams and commit assault and even murder in cases where the forest or police officers would attempt to interfere with their natural freedom. With a view to pacify the wild Chenchus, the Government are said to have granted certain rights to them; for instance, the right to use the forest produce for home consumption is granted. The forest produce comprises of several items:- Timber, bamboos, fiber, grass, roots, fruits, honey, wax and game. They are also allowed to fish and hunt in the forest and to graze their cattle and goats in the forests freely and even to barter minor forest produce but these rights which are granted by Government to pacify their wild nature are generally abused. The Chenchus as already described above are an admittedly ambitious, greedy and fickle-minded people who hate all outside interference with their natural rights. They know not of any outside control and hence look upon the government with suspicion and dislike, They

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sell away valuable timber or otherwise commit breaches of discipline and when punished attempt to revolt. Hence, of late, attempts are made by government to civilise the Chenchus. Schools are established for imparting primary education and the Chenchus are employed as *Talayaries* to prevent dacoities. Further, they are employed as forest servants to guard forest produce, but it is admitted that the task of taming the Chenchus is almost an impossible feat. Attempts to teach the Chenchus settle down to cultivate the lands have proved futile. The Chenchu is naturally fond of drink and likes to thieve because a single night's theft makes him rich and luxurious for several days. The Chenchus living in the coastal districts are in some cases subject to police vigilance just like the Yânâdies. Sometimes, some of the wild clans migrate to the plains and attempt to commit theft.

Village life:—

The Chenchus live in hamlets or *gûdems* which are built within short distances of a mile or two. In a gûdem, the huts are built in the shape of a bee-hive. The *gùdems* are built close to a grove and near to some mountain stream. Several clans or families live in a village and often it is the people of the same clan that live together. Both the men and women also work for their food. In the day time they resort to the forest to collect food materials. By the evening they all return and the gudem would look very active. Life in a gudem is not one of unbroken peace, for, on account of their idleness and drunken habits they take to quarrelling, Some of these quarrels arise suddenly and result in bloodshed and often even in loss of life. Under the influence of arrack prepared out of *ippa* or *mowha* leaf and in evil company they often go out and indulge in drunken boasts and wild talks which result in danger to life. Very often in the night they go out in small parties and commit dacoities and even murders. Another cause of the quarrel is supplied by women. Cases of immorality are general and these lead to brawls which, too, end in bloodshed. The least provocation is enough to cause suspicion which leads to assault. The Chenchu like the Kôya is strong in his bow and arrow and when he shoots he does so very succussfully.

Their Marriage Customs:—

The Chenchus like the Kôyas are accustomed to two ways of marriage. The first is by consent, i.e., where the parents agree to the match, the marriage takes place in the bride-groom's house. A circular space of ground is cleaned with cow-dung. The bow and arrow are placed there-in, and the couple march round to the accompaniment of a drum three times. The assembled relatives throw rice on the head of the couple and the marriage is said to be complete. A feast and a dance give the finish. The Bride-groom gives new

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clothes to the bride and arrack to the assembled relatives. A marriage ceremony generally costs about 7 or 8 rupees. In some cases, a priest is engaged and an auspicious day fixed, when a raised ground is formed and cleaned with cow-dung; and then the couple would be seated thereon. A *tali* is tied by the bride-groom round the neck of the bride. The relatives sprinkle rice on the heads of the couple and this would complete the marriage. As usual, a feast and a dance follow in the night. In some cases, as where the bride-groom and the bride fall in love with each other, they retire from the *gûdem* for one night and return next day when the parents of the bride-groom invite the relatives, give a feast and complete the marriage by throwing rice on the heads of the couple.

The second form, is marriage by force. Sometimes, a girl who may or may not be betrothed to another is carried off and then the offender will have to pay a heavy price for his offence. The elders of the *gûdem* meet and settle the amount of fine which is often spent for their common drink and revelry. Some times the fine is paid to the party that has suffered. Where the fine is not paid or where the parties do not come to an amicable settlement, the matter becomes a blood-feud between the two classes. The feuds often end in the murder of the weaker party. Where the feud is settled amicably, as a proof of sincere settlement, a blaze of fire is caused on a tree to denote extinction of the previous bitter feelings. Where the complainant does not agree to the terms, the matter becomes a matter of blood-feud between the two clans.

There is divorce among the Chencus. If the wife refuses to live with her husband but if the husband desires to have her, he will try to take her by force even by shedding the blood of her parents. In such cases, as far as possible, the woman's parents may ask for divorce on payment of betrothal expenses. Then the matter is referred to a *panchayat* i.e., a body of five elderly Chenchus who should act as arbitrators. The members of the Panchâyat receive a small fee for their drink and their decision is generally final. The Panchâyatdars assemble the members of the rival parties, listen to all the acrimonious charges and the replies given there to by the accused, and pronounce an oral judgment, which would generally be respected and obeyed.

Widow re-marriage is allowed and generally the younger brother of the deceased has a prior claim to marry the widowed sister-in-law. As usual, the tying of *tali* and wristlet made of leaves, the worshipping of bow and arrow and finally the sprinkling of the rice on the heads of the married couple by the assembled relatives form the essential parts of the marriage ceremony. A feast consisting of raw flesh, nuts, fruits, and arrack is held in the night and is followed by a dance which consists of a series of step dances with claps of hands.

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The feast and dance are the necessary final touches for a happy marriage.

Their Religion.

The Chenchus worship a God called *Chenchu-dêvata* to whom honey and fruits are given on all festive occasions and whenever the people of a *gûdem* suffer from a fell disease or famine. The Chenchus also worship God Narasimha Swami of Ahobilam whom they call *obelesu*. They believe till this day that this God is the incarnation of Sri Krishna who is said to have married a Chenchu girl called "Chen chîta", and who gave to the Chenchus as dowry or girl-price *'veduru-pidiyam'* or bamboo-forest, For this reason, the Chenchus claim to live by 'veduru-jîvanam, i. e., they depend upon the bamboo for their livelihood, and claim an exclusive right to cut and sell the same. At present, this is the main occupation of the Chenchus of Rampa and Polavaram Agencies. One can see even now dozens of these Chenchu families floating the bamboo down the Godavari, and finally settling on its banks at Rajahmundry, and disposing of it either wholesale or in retail, to the local merchants. The Chenchus also worship Râma and Lakshmaṇa whom they adore on all festive occasions. From this account, it is clear that the Chenchus follow the Vishnu cult. As further proof of this, we get the Chenchus putting their caste mark in a vertical line or lines like the Vaishnavites. The Chenchus, in addition, also worship several forest gods and goddesses like Pôtaraju, Gurappa, Sunkâlamma etc.

Castes among Chenchus.

The Chenchus believe that Krishna himself divided their whole *Chenchu-kulam* into seven classes. These are the wild Chenchus; the *Gaita* Chenchus or casteless Chenchus who are now called *Gadapalu* who follow cultivation as their main profession; the *Dâsari* Chenchus who live by selling wigs made of the hair of peacocks, deer and other forest animals; the Puṭṭa Chenchus who live by selling honey, wax and other forest produce; the *Ata* Chenchus who live by performing street plays, which are in the nature of pantomimes; the *Veta* Chenchus who live by hunting and fishing; and lastly the *Muturasus* who live by selling seeds, beads etc. There is neither inter-marriage nor inter-dining among these seven classes of Chenchus. A rigid system of caste has sprung up and this may be due to the different professions followed by the several classes of Chenchus.

Birth Customs.

The Chenchu birth customs are closely akin to those of the other forest tribes like the Kôyas[1]. The newly born baby is washed

1. See ante page 33 ff.

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on alternate days and on the eleventh day the whole clan will assemble to witness the naming ceremony. The child receives the name of an ancestor or a forest God. A feast and dance are the natural accompaniments of such occassions. A few Chenchu names are *Atchigadu, Bodigadu, Vanamulgadu, Nagalutigadu, Pôlugadu* etc.

Death Customs:—

The Chenchus believe that all diseases are due to evil spirits. Hence they take special care to propitiate them. Any death that is caused is atributed to the wrath of some God or Devil. The dead are not burnt but are buried. The Chenchus observe pollution for eleven days just like the Hindus and on the eleventh day, they pour some milk and rice on the burial mound. The Chenchus celebrate *Peddadinam* by giving a feast to all the assembled relatives.

Language:—

The Chenchus of Vizagapatam and Godavari Agencies speak both Oriya and Telugu languages. But very few of them know how to write. The Chenchus who live in Nallamalai hills speak only Telugu. In recent years the Government opened Elementary schools for the spread of education among these Chenchus. As a result of such efforts, a few Chenchu boys are now able to read and write. But their knowledge is elementary. The forest and the agriculturual departments are also trying to teach them how to cultivate land so that by leading a settled life, the Chenchus may become more peaceful.

Conclusion:—

The Chenchus enjoy a popularity which is unknown to the other jungle tribes and this is due to several reasons. Firstly, the Chenchus who live in the Coastal districts follow a peaceful profession. Secondly, they are not notorious like the Yânâdis for any thieving or other wicked propensities. The wild Chenchus of Kurnool are, of course, an exception. Thirdly, the Chenchus are familiar to the people for the reason that they claim a notable connection with Sree Krishna In memory of this event, till this day, what are called *Chenchunatakams* are enacted in all parts of Andhra desa. Such street dramas which are enacted to engage the minds of the masses, remind us through Krishna's alleged marrying the *Chenchita* or *Chenchu Lakshmi* of the hoary antiquity and fortunate position of these Chenchus.

(To be continued)

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TAPASAVATSARAJA.

By M. RAMAKRISHNAKAVI, M. A.

It was about four decades ago that Dr. E. Hultzsch had the fortune to discover the presence of this rare drama in Sanskrit somewhere in the Punjab, and the manuscript was according to the article of late Bhaṭṭanâthaswâmin in the Indian antiquary was offered to the Bodleian Library but was refused as the work was apparently wanting in beginning and end. Two photograph copies of the work are preserved in the University Library of Bonn and in the Imperial Library of Prussia. We do not know the fate of the original. In my tour in Malabar and South India for manuscripts I had the fortune to meet an old lady in Malabar, who studied this work in her youth and was able to repeat many of its best verses. Though this made me conduct a more vigourous search for a copy of it in that country, I could not find any trace of the work. Study of great rhetorical works as *Sringaraprakasa* of Bhôja, *Vakrôktijîvita* of Kuntalaka, *Kâvyânusasana* of Hêmachandra, *Dhvanyaloka* with Lôcana and a train of commentaries on the latter, and the commentary on the *Nâtyasâstra* by Abhinavagupta where this work has been given high place in the dramatic literature, prompted me to secure a copy of this drama at any cost. At the kind suggestion of Dr. S. K. De, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Dacca, I applied to Dr. John Noble of Berlin to favour me with a copy of it. The learned Doctor, to whom we should be very grateful, has been kind to send me photographs for the whole work. Had it not been for his noble compliance I and my friends would not have studied a dramatic piece wherein every word and sentence reveal true poetry according to the opinion of Kuntalaka.

The work extends over 32 plates in photograph each representing two pages in the original reduced by half its size. It is in old Kashmirian script and a man of South India cannot easily read it unless he possesses some epigraphical experience. The work wants about ten lines in the beginning and half a sloka in the final *Bharatavâkya* or benedictory verse. Two pages in the middle of the fifth act appear to have been stuck together and their separation was probably found to be dangerous to the adjoining two other pages and hence that portion forms a lacuna. If the original is available for examination some scientific means may be devised to read out the two pages now missing in the photo-copy. Otherwise the work may be said to be complete and the manuscript is remarkably faultless. Its recension closely agrees with the quotations given by Abhinavagupta, Kuntalaka, Hêmachandra and Râmachandra, but slightly differs from those

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quoted by Bhôja in his *Srngaraprakasa*, where, to adduce an instance, the exit of Padmâvati at the end of the third act from the stage occurs earliar in our manuscript than in the qoutation of Bhoja. Many of the Prakrit passages have been rendered in Sanskrit, some times even in the middle of a prakrit speech. This was due to the lazy scribe who copied only the Sanskrit equivilent noted above each Prakrit word in his original. For he has copied both the forms in several cases and the rules of the dramaturgy strictly require Prakrit there. The quotations of Bhoja contain pure prakrit form in such places.

It is matter for curiosity to find that this drama was not quoted by any of the known writers after 1200 A. D. It was well studied in Northern India and Kashmir for four centuries beginning from 800 A. D. The earliest writers who mentioned the drama, were two contemporaries in the court of Jayâpîḍa of Kashmir, *viz.*, Dâmôdaragupta in his *Kuttanimata* and Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyaloka*. Though the work was apparently neglected by scholars after the 12th century, it is to the credit of the European research that the fine production has been at last recovered.

The author of the drama is *Matraraja* otherwise known as Anangaharsha, son of Narendravardhana. He wrote his work to his learned audience, who obtained scholarship in Vyâkaraṇa Mîmânsa, Nyâya, languages and kindred arts. He himself studied other's works without envy and was always ready to sacrifice even his life to his friends if necessary. Who is this Matraraja? It is irony of fate regarding every great poet that a mystery enshrouds his history and when any meagre information is available it is generally open to a number of interpretations. We are tempted to advance a dogma that the more unknown a poet is the greater lives he in the man's memory. In the history of the Sanskrit literature in none of the known works Mâtrarâja occurs as an author of a drama. The author of *Kuttinimata* mentions his another name, Anangaharsh [1] as a patron of actors and actresses who after he reached Heaven had to seek the patronage of temples to display their histrionic talents during divine processions. But the work is quoted by name by Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Kuntalaka, Hema and others.

1 पुनरारब्धविश्रान्ते रसस्याङ्गिनोऽ नुसन्धिश्च यथा तापसवत्सराजे (ध्वन्या--

2 शृङ्गारानन्तरं नियमेन करुणे व्याप्रियते। तज्जन्मनि यथा तापसवत्सराजे (अभिनवभारती)

1 वयमापि देवनिकेतनमनङ्गहर्षे गते त्रिदिवलोकम्
आश्रितवन्ते गत्या तीर्थस्थानानुरोधेन॥

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3 यथातापसवत्सराजे विलास सर्वस्व निधान भूतत्वोदाहरणं करुणः प्रत्यङ्गमभि नवभङ्गीभि रुद्भासते (वक्रोक्तिजीवितम्)

4 यथा तापसवत्सरजे षष्ठेऽङ्के.... (नाट्यदर्पणः

There is a poet called Māyurāja familiar to writers on *Alaṅkara* and anthologies who is according to Dhanika the author of *Udâttaraghava*. यथ छम्दना वालिवधो मायुराजेनोदत्तराघवे परित्यक्तः *(Dasarûpaka III 24.)* The word Māyurāja does not readily suggest us any etymological sense and one is even tempted to doubt whether it is a Prakrit word. This belief is strengthened when we meet with the form माउराज the *second* letter being a vowel. Vide *Udayasundari*, page 150 line 21,

सामन्तैश्च वाक्पतिराजमाउराजविशारवदेवप्रभृतिभिः समन्तादलंकृतं क़वीनांवृन्दं....

Can माउ which becomes माय in later Prākrit by vowel changing into a semi-vowel to be a Prākrit form of *matra* itself? In that case Mātrarāja can be read as Māyurāja. To support this derivation the word *mavali* in southern vernaculars is derived from *matra* both meaning controller of an elephant. The term *mahamatra* is commented upon in this sense in the commentary on Vâtsyāyana's *Kamasùtras*:— महामात्रेति। महमात्रा येषामिति महासामन्ता वा हस्तिशिक्षायां वा तल्लक्षणमनुसर्तव्यम् There is an alternative suggestion not more plausible for the identity of the two words. In old Kashmirian script *ta tra* and *u* resemble each other so closely that one may be easily read for another. Even in the photo-copy of the present transcript there is not much difference between *ta* and *u*. and *tra* is known only by an addition of a stroke underneath which in an injured manuscript may be read with the next line. The scribe might easily prefer *mâtrarâja* for *mâyurâja* or *mâu-raja* as the last two forms do not readily give him any sense. Even the editors of *Udayasundari* had this difficulty and put a question mark beside the word माउराज to doubt its correct form. But between these two suggestions Mâyurâja may be taken as a derivative of Mâtrarâja. The author belongs to the family of *sâmantas* or *mahamatras* according to the quotation cited above.

Why should there be all this trouble of identifying Mâtrarâja with Mâyuraja? Sarvânanda in his commentary on *Nâmaliṅganusasana* explaining the word *kanduti* (कण्डूति) quotes a line from our drama as Mâyurajâs. (Dr, Ganapati Sâstri read the letter wrongly as *madhuraja*; for *yu* and *thu* resemble very much in the Grandha script) But our manuscript has clearly Mâyurāja. Verses from

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Udattaraghava quoted by Bhôja and Râmachandra in his *Natyadarpana* bear strong resemblance in diction to the verses in *Tapasavatsaraja*. Bhôja quotes a verse probably from *Udattaraghava* whose latter half coincides with the latter portion of a verse at the end of the first act in our drama. This shows that even if *Udattaraghava* is not his work there must be another yet not available to us.

सन्ध्याक्रान्तिकषायितेन नभसा प्रत्यक्षसन्नं शनै—
लीलावेश्मनि दीपरश्मिजटिलं नीलं तमो जृम्भते।
वेल्लद्बाहु लताविलोलवलयस्वानैरितः सूचित—
व्यापाराः प्रनियोजयान्ति विविधा वाराङ्गना वर्णकान्॥ (Uduttarâghava)

प्रारब्धो मणिदीपयष्टिषु समं पातः पतङ्गैरितो
गन्धान्धैराभितोमधुव्रतकुलैरुत्पद्मभिः स्थीयते।
वेल्लद्बाहुलताविलोलवलयस्वानैरितः सूचित—
व्यापाराः प्रतियोजयान्ति विविधावाराङ्गना वर्णकान्॥ (Tapasavatsaraja)

Under these circumstances on the strength of Sarvânanda alone *Tapasavatsaraja* may be ascribed to Mâyurâj, the author of *Udattaraghava*.

Then follows the question, may we know anything about Mayuraja? Râjasêkhra calls him a *Kalachûri* prince and Sodhala, the author of *Udayasundari*, calls him a *Samanta* king and ranks him with Viśâkhadeva and Vakpatirâja.

मायुराजसमो जाते नान्यः कलचुरिः कविः।
उदन्वतः समुत्तस्युः कति वा तुह्निनांशवः॥ (Rajasekhara)

"सामन्तैश्च वावतिजमाउराजविशारवदेवप्रभृतिभिः (Udayasundarikatha page 150)

From this it may be understood that he was a Kalachuri king ruling probably at Mâhishmati an older capital. Murâri when he describes Mâhishmati has a fling at it in which he uses the *ananga*. Murari belongs to 1100 A. D. and probably he would not have meant the author of *Tapasavatsaraja*. a pious king to be the subject of his description. No inscription so far as I know is forthcoming to fix the date of Mâyurâja or Anangaharsha even if they are two different poets. Syâmilaka in his *Padataditaka* locates his hero in "Sârvabhauma-narêndra-nagarî" in Saurashtradesa. Whether Narendravardhana, the father of our author had anything to do with that city is still doubtful.

When did Mâtraraja or Mâyuraja flourish? He is of course older than 800 A. D. The author of *Kuttinimata* throws a hint that Anangaharsha having gone to Heaven that the actress had to take up

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Ratnavali lest she would forget her histrionic profession, Does this seriously suggest that Mâtrarâja lived earlier than Sri Harsha? Unhappily we differ with the generality of the present day scholars in attributing the three dramas, *Ratnavali* etc., to Harshavardhana and I have joined the minority who consider that the dramas were written by Srî Harshadeva, the King of Ujjain two centuries earlier than Harshavardhana. Sri Harsha was also the commentator on the *Natyasastra* of Bharata, which is called *Vartika* and he is certainly older than Rahulaka, who is known as *Vartikakara* on the same, who is assigned to 400 A. D.

To strengthen the suggestion that *Tapasavatsaraja* might be an older work than *Ratnavali* arguments are not wanting. Before Sri Harsha, the themes of the marriages of Vâsavadatta and Padmâvati were exhausted by Subandhu, Sûdraka, Bhâsa, and probably Mâyurâja and hence Ratnâvali. who takes the place of Padmâvati in the original story of Udayana has been newly invented while the marriage of Padmâvati, the central theme of this work exists even in Bṛhatkatha. If the Kashmerian version is thought as an improvement upon later dramas in Sanskrit, the Nepalese version also contains it.

महावरोधनस्यापि भार्याबद्धिर्व्दये स्थिता (?)

तस्यवासवदत्तायां पद्मावत्यां च भूपतेः॥

Udayana is the hero of a cycle of dramas and *kavyas* in early centuries of the Christian era both before and after, for Subandhu a contemporary of Bindusâra, introduced in his Vâsavadatta a series of inter-dramas, one in another. Bhâsa used the same theme in his *Svapnavasavadatta* If the printed edition does not represent the real work of Bhâsa in entirety the story is the same and the author of *Natyadarapana* quotes from it as भासकृते स्वप्नवासवदत्ते and Bhoja gives the explanation of the word Svapnavâsavadatta as

स्वप्नवासवदत्ते पद्मावतीमस्वस्थांदृष्ठ्वा राजा समुद्रगृहकं गत....वासवदत्तां च स्वप्नवदस्वप्ने ददर्श। स्वप्नायमानश्च वासवदत्तामाबभाषे....

There is a drama called *Manoramavatsaraja* written by Bhîmaṭa who according to Râjaśêkhara was the author of five dramas in which *Svapanadasanana* is mentioned by Bhôja. We know that Manôrama was the handmaid of Priyadarśika who was set to put on the character of Udayana in the inter drama in it. Viśâkhadêva, now assigned to the court of Chandragupta II, wrote three dramas (*Mudrarakshasa*, *Devîchandragupta* and *Abhisarikavanchitaka*) and in the last of these Padmâvatî is characterised as murderess of Udayana's son. This terrible characterisation of Padmâvati was probably borrowed from the Buddhist *Jataka* stories where Mâkandika or Anupama, an envious creature dupes Udayana.

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There is also a drama called *Padmavatiparinaya* in which, however, the hero is a brahman and hence it has no connection with our Padmâvatî.

Of these dramas where Padmâvati comes in Subandhu's and Bhâsa's are older and Bhîmâṭa's *Manòramavatsaraja* is later than *Tapasavatsaraja* for in it Rumaṇvan's character is a latter development upon that in the *Tapasavatsaraja*. The Pânchâla occupation of Kauśâmbî is common to both, but in Bhîmaṭa's work Rumaṇvan is made to be a traitor who took the side of Panchâla and sets fire to Lâvaṇaka, the autumnal residence of Udayana, which in *Tapasavtsaraja* is set fire to by Yaugandharâyaṇa himself as in the original story of *Brhatkatha*. Rumaṇvan says:-

कौशाम्बी मम हस्त एव परयाशक्त्या मया स्वीकृतः

पञ्चालाधिपतिः प्रभुः समनतां न च्चायते क्राधुना।

नन्वादीपित एष मोहितपरानीकेन लावाणकः

देवी संप्रति रच्यतामयमहं प्राप्तो रुमण्वान्स्वयम्॥

The question of priority of Viśâkhadeva to Anangaharsha is still therefore at issue.

Regarding the date of mâtrarâja another piece of evidence probably of internal and supporting nature, may be adduced to place him about 600 A. D. The rules of Bharata in using various metres suitable to the prevailing *rasa* and *bhava* and to the five forms of *Dhruvas*, *Praveśiki*, *naishkramikî etc.*, are entirely ignored after Kâlidâsa. In Sûdraka, Kâlidasa, and in some of the dramas attributed to Bhâsa, Bharata's dictum is carried to perfection. But in the later dramas the selection of the metre depended upon the poet's mastery of language irrespective of the propriety of the scene. The depiction of pathos to a high degree in this drama induces us to place its author contemporaneous with Bhavabhûti, "the master of pathos" or even half a century earlier if diction and other dramatic devices in the plot can ever determine the age of the poet.

Another ground though not very sure to place the author in the sixth or early seventh century is the device in the plot that the hero becomes a Buddhist *tapasa*. Buddhist monks were of two types- one of permanent set who could not once more enter into his family and the other of a temporary type where after the purpose was over he becomes a grihasta once more. Udayana and his clown became monks of the latter class. Bhagavadajjuka, a drama by Mahendravikrama, of 7th Century also has an example of this type in the pupil there.

Our poet has developed such perfect individuality in both styles and thought as any good critic can easily identify his verses quoted in any anthology or in a work on poetics. Verses quoted from a drama

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called *Visranta-Sûdraka* leave the stamp of his genius and there also Haragaṇa to show his loyalty to his lord Súdraka burns his wife Harimati and finds when he failed in his object to save his master, that he burnt his spouse needlessly. Then he repents for his masterly folly and gruesome sin and throws himself into fire like Udayana in our drama. But his master being watchful of him like Yaugandharâyaṇa in our drama saves him and hands over Harimatî whom he alreaby saved. It is already said that the verses from *Udâttarâghava* reveal the same tendency.

The general theme in this drama can easily be guessed if we know to what class of dramas it belongs. In Sanskrit, dramas are either of entirely amorous sentiments or based upon any political plots or combination of both. *Mudrarâkshasa* is purely political, while *Sâkuntala, Vikramorvasi, Malatimadhava, etc.*, belong to purely amorous class. This drama though apparently amorous in its theme and the hero being a king, is subject to cruel separation from his wife, the central plot thrown to backgroud reveals the preponderence of political strategem. Most of the dramas in Sanskrit relate the adventures of minister to glorify his sovereign's power or to reconquer the lost territories from the hands of an enemy while the monarch almost blind to his political conditions which he generally leaves in the hands of his ministers, is otherwise engaged in winning the favour of a maid thrown across him by mere accident. Thus both political and amorous adventures respectively of the minister and the sovereign are combined to make up a theme and poetic devices are introduced from the canons of Kauṭilya and Vâtsyâyana for the respective departments. In amorous themes *Vipralrmbha* or separation before marriage is generally adopted, Poets like Bhavabhuti, Bâṇa and our Anangaharsha possess a rare genius for the elaboration of *Vipralambha-karuna* bordering on *Karuna* itself. This has immortalised their fame. As Bhôja and Abhinavagupta would have it the *mana-sringara* is most powerful in intensifying the amourous pleasure but *karuna-vipralambha* has a masterly effect on the minds of the audience. The hero who kneels before his angry lover is more pitied for his tactless folly with few cheers, and the moment, after it passes off as a piece of social humour. But *karunavipralambha* appeals to the heart of the audience, and makes them feel the cruel power of omnipotence and to condone with the hero. The impression is lasting in our minds. In this drama the theme is so finely developed as to increase pathos steadily till it ends almost in ecstasy.

Tapasavatsaraja belongs to that class of dramas whose theme is a combination of politics and amours. And the latter is of *karuna-vipralambha* type, powerful enough to melt down the heart of a sage.

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Ratnavali, Priyadarsika, Malavika, Kaumudimahôtsava, Svapnavasava-datta, Pratigna-yaugandharagana and *Dêvichandragupta, Vikranta-sudraka* are all similar in maitaining a politico-amorous theme, where one or the other is predominant. In *Ratnavali, Malavika* and *Priya-darsika* love adventure is brought to relief, but in Sudraka's *Vatsaraja-charita, Pratignayaugandharayana, Devibhandragupta,* love episede is enveloped by deep political necessities.

In *Kaumudimahestara* the hero whose father lost his kingdom and life in a battle, was driven to run for his life and grow up in a disguise. Mantragupta, the minister of his father, by a series of strate-gems recovers the lost kingdom from the hands of the Liechavis his conquerors. Hero's advance of love to Kirtimati. the daughter of the king of Saurashtra excite no interest or sympathy.

In *Devichandrgaupta* the heroine Dhruvadevi when she was in her husband's camp with a small retinue who enjoyed their summer in the cool abodes of the Himalayan frontier, was carried away by an unprincipled foreigner a Saka by birth and was much tormented to accept his hand. A brother of Chandragupta II who was her husband in the disguise of a courtesan formed a dramatic company and appro-ached the licentious Saka. By a series of political strategems Kumara-chandragupta makes Dhruvadevi escape and take her place in a female garb. When the Saka prince almost became mad of his love to Dhruvadevi and self-sufficiency blinded him to the probable dangers from an offended enemy, he allowed himself to meet in a secret chamber the enemy in the disguise of his favourite object which he sought for. He had his emoluments for his accumulated follies. He is no more pitied than Kîchaka repaid by Bhîma. In this the amorous adven-ture is entirely subsidiary.

In *Tapasavatsaraja,* Udayana's extreme attentions to his amiable Vâsavadattâ made him purely confined to the harem where he was engrossed in all incidental pleasures. Khe King of Pânchâla invaded his country and when he encamped with his wife and retinue in a distant autumnal abode, his capital fell into the hands of the enemy. Two chief ministers saw the folly and believed that the king would not heed to anything in the world as long as Vāsavadattā was with him. Vāsavadattā, though young, was noble and quite capable of realising and maintaining her position. She was the daughter of Pradyôta of Ujjain, famous for his heroism and able administration. Wise ministers also surrounded him. Vâsavadattā had her lessons of politics from her father and his ministers. Yaugandharāyaṇa and Rumanvan confer together on their helpless condition and all their attempts to recover their kingdom from the hands of the Pānchala did not promise any success owing to Udayana's reckless neglect of his political affairs. Yaugandharāyaṇa desired to present a united front

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to the conqueror to which Pradyôta and his sons joined. Yet their combined effort was too feeble and the assistance of one more sovereign was absolutely necessary. Darśaka, the King of Magadha had a sister of maraiageable age. No match suitable to her still came forward. He was a powerful King whose assistance would be substantially adding strength to Udayana. Yaugandharāyaṇa made bold to obtain the hand of the sister of Darsaka for his master to gain him to his side, for the latter also would be so glad as not to miss the offer. But Vāsavadattā stood in the way. Neither she nor Udayana would accept another being, though she might be as bright as a nymph to share their pleasures. Mahāsena (Pradyota) who saw the situation yielded to admit a rival to his daughter; for to him, love finds no place when glory is at stake. He addressed an epistle to his daughter which made her realise her situation. Yaugandharāyaṇa to whom she showed a godly reverence prevailed upon her and a plot was devised for her separation from the husband. Their autumnal residence was set fire to during the King's absence on a hunting expedition. He returned half way to see everything reduced to ashes. He is informed that Vāsavadatta along with Yaugandharāyaṇa was burnt. He becomes almost mad and runs after her to perish in the very flames. He accuses the God of Fire of his dire ingratitude for it was his great ancestor, Arjuna, who cured him of his mortal ailments by using the herbs of the Khâṇḍava forest. He loathes to approach the ungrateful fire. On the advice of Rumaṇvan he becomes a Buddhist *tapasa* and goes to various holy places. Meanwhile Darśaka learns the fate of Vāsavadattā which removed the only barrier to his offering of his sister, Padmāvati, to Udayana. Yaugandharāyaṇa sends Udayana's picture through a nun to Padmāvati. Her love deepens into such reverence that she worships him every day herself becoming a nun. Yaugandharâyaṇa brings Vāsavadattā to the hermitage of a nun where Padmāvatī stayed and requested the latter to give shelter to his sister till he brings back her husband who abandoned her. Padmâvatī was much pleased with the amiable nature of Vasavadattā and treated her very soon as her bosom friend. She reveals her heart to Vāsavadattā who after all admires the young maiden for her nobility of mind. Udayana and his clown both being monks visit several sacred places and reach the banks of Yamunā where the hermitage of the nun was situated. He hears of Padmāvatī's devotion and as if by accident sees her. Padmāvatī recieves the Royal guest as becoming of a nun and princess. During his wanderings a *siddha* prophesied that he would recover his Vāsavadattā when he marries a royal maiden. What a curious ordinance of God is that? Can a dead person whose body was burnt to ashes present himself once more in the same old mortal body? If he marries a girl once more what would Vāsavadatta think of him who said to her that he would not live a moment without her? But

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he should get her back at any cost. The hand of Padmâvati was accepted but he was mad after a dead woman; and madness too was incurable. He was of course very kind to her but she was miserable and intent upon suicide. Udayana and his clown were on the spot and saved her. This tormented the poor king more of his unfaithfulness to a devoted princess. Meanwhile his ministers formed an alliance with Darśaka and Mahāsêna and their combined armies encountered Pānchāla who was in possession of Kauśāmbî and took him a captive.

But Udayana had still no news of these proceedings. He was mad after Vāsavadattā. He married even Padmāvatî, yet the prophecy was not fulfilled. The *siddha* might be wrong and for him it was ingratitude to survive her. He must commit himself to flames. The confluence of the Jamna and the Ganges is the sacred spot where the death of a person brings him in the next birth to the realisation of his intense desires. Udayana resolves to die there. He asks his servants to kindle fire while he bathes in the holy flood. Meanwhile Vāsavadattā impatient of weary paths of Yaugandharāyaṇa in spite of his admonition goes to the same spot to commit the same forlorn crime. The mad man is seen with disshevelled hair sprinkling water. Padmāvatî follows him like a shade. Yaugandharâyaṇa sees him at a distance and repents for his folly or policy which torments the king so cruelly. It was a dark night. The King goes round the fire when his jester companion draws his attention to some woman falling into the fire. His chivalry quickened and he ran to save her who was none but Vāsavadatta. Yaugandharāyaṇa presented himself to the King when Rumaṇvan brought the tidings of their conquest of Pânchāla. All meet together and every thing ends well.

The plot is similar to that in *Svapnavâsavadatta* but in depth of pathos Māyurāja excells Bhāsa. In their attempts Rumaṇvan and Yaugandharāyaṇa faltered twice at the pitiable condition of the king and were about to put an end to the torments of the King. But a moment's thought taught them to pursue their grave and piteous course. In this plot Udayana and Padmāvatî alone were kept away from the truth and they were mere puppets in the secret guidance of the King's wise ministers who like Fates in the Grecian Mythology did whatever they pleased. All the other characters knowing the truth pretend to sympathise the King—a position really difficult to maintain on a stage. Our sympathies are with Vāsavadattā, for her magnanimity rises to the occasion even at great mental torture. She trusted in the wisest counsel of the great minister but as a woman was afraid of the mental tension of her husband.

Unlike in Bhāsa's drama every character here exhibits some deep individual trait though under the guidance of a superior will.

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The plot extends over six acts and pathos has an even developement throughout. The language is polished unlike in *Vatsarâjacharita* of Sûdraka and fine strokes of original thought sufficiently compensate his ruggedness of style.

To illustrate his poetic genius a few verses are given below from the drama:-

फुल्लेन्दीवरकाननानि नयने पाणी सरोजाकरा
स्तन्वीयं जघनस्थलोरुपुलिना रोमावलीनिम्नगाः।
प्रत्यङ्गेषु नवेव संप्रति शरल्लक्ष्मीरियं दृश्यते
तच्छिद्रैरधुनाप्रसाधनविधौ बद्धो वृथैवादरः ॥
उत्सर्पद्धमलेरवात्विषि तमसि मनाग्विस्फुलिङ्गायमानै—
रुद्भेदैस्तारकाणां वियति परिगते पश्चिमाशामुपेतैः।
स्वेदेनेवानतासु स्खलदलिरशना स्वङ्गिजनीप्रेयसीषु
प्रायः सन्ध्यातपाग्नौ विशति दिनपतौ दह्यते वासरश्रीः।
संक्रान्ताङ्गुलिपर्वसूचितकरस्वापाकपोलस्थली
नेत्रे निर्जनमुक्तवाप्पकलुषे निश्वास तान्तो ऽधरः।
बन्धस्रस्तविसंस्थुलालकलता निर्वेदशून्यं मनः
कष्टं दुर्णयवेदिभिः कुसचिवैर्वत्सा दृढं खेद्यते ॥
किञ्चित्कुञ्चितचञ्चुचुम्बनसुखी स्फारीभवल्लोचना
स्वप्नामोचितचारुचाटुकरणैश्चित्तोऽपयन्ती मुहुः।
कूजन्ती विततैकपक्षतिपुटेनालिङ्ग्य्यलीलालसं
धन्यं कान्तमुपान्तवर्तिनमियं पारावतं (चुम्बते)॥
संक्रुद्धस्य ललाटलोचनभुवा सप्तार्चिषा धूर्जटे—
र्निर्दग्धे मकरध्वजे रतिरसौ किं स्याद्गृहीतव्रता।
संवासाद्वनदेवतामुनिवधूवेषप्रपञ्चे गतः
कुत्वेत्थं रमतेऽत्वविग्रहवती किंवापतःश्री रियम् ॥

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आदौमानपरिग्रहेण गुरुणा दूरं समारोपितां
पश्चात्तापभरेण तानवकृता नीतां परा लाघवम् ।
उत्सङ्गान्तरवर्तिनीमनुगतामास्तंपिण्डिसाङ्गीमिमां
सर्वाङ्गप्रणयां प्रियामिव तरुश्छायां समालम्बते ॥
देवीस्वीकृतमानसस्य निभृतं स्वप्नायमानस्यमे
तद्गोत्रग्रहणादियं सुवदना यायात्कथं न व्यथाम् ।
इत्थं यन्त्रणया कथं कथमपि क्षीणा निशा जाग्रतो
दाक्षिण्योपहतेन सा प्रियतमा स्वप्नेऽपि नासादिता ॥
दिशि प्राच्यां भूत्वा प्रथममथमात्मार्पणपरो
विनतस्यास्तापं परुषतरमासाद्य सुचिरम् ।
प्रतीचीमारक्ता द्रुतमनुसरन्संप्रति सखे
विवस्वान्मे सर्वं वद यदि विडम्बं नकुरुते ॥
वहसि सहसा दृष्टग दृष्टिं वृताशूलवाकुलां
विधूतविषमोद्भिन्नैः श्वासैर्विकम्पितपयोधरा
वदसि न चिरं ध्यानक्षामा मयि स्थिरकौतुके
पुनरपि गता किं त्वं मुदेव वधूव्रतम् ॥
धूमौघान्निर्गताभिः कवलितककुभः कालवक्त्रातिभाभिः
ज्वालाजिह्वालताभिर्दिवमखिलजगदग्रासलोलं लिहानः ।
हाहाकारैर्जनानामनुसृतविषमोद्गारगम्भीरनादः
कल्पान्तभ्रान्तचामीकरशिखरनिभो यातिनिस्तारमग्निः ॥

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NOTES.

We regret that, owing to the changes in the editorial staff during the quarter the issue of this part of the journal has been unduly delayed.

By the death of Dr. E. Hultzsch passes away one of the most prominent figures in the field of South Indian Epigraphy. He rendered strenuous continuous service for over forty years in the department of Archaeology, Madras and is mainly responsible for the discovery and publication of the most important inscriptions published by it. Besides being a mere epigraphist he is an oriental scholar of vast learning and insight and he continued his study and investigation even after his retirement. The results of his work in the various fields is too well known to need repetition and we place on record our sincere sorrow for his death and our heartfelt gratitude for his services.

We are glad to note that Mr. Hirananda Sastry and his assistant of the Archaeological department have unearthed a number of Brahmi inscriptions resembling those of Amaravathi at Nagarjunakonda and Ramireddipalem in the Guntur District Madras Presidency. It is said that they throw light on the Ikshvaku dynasty of which very little is known till now. It is well known that the second and third centuries of the Christian era are the darkest period in History especially Indian, and we welcome any light about the obscure period. We eagerly await the publication of the inscriptions found.

Mr. Bhavaraju. V. Krishnarao a member of our society points out the existence of the remains of a Chaitya and a Vihara in Yerrampalem a village twenty miles north of Rajahmundry and two miles from the trunk road. The remains are on a hill not far from the village and consist of five stupas in more or less ruined condition and four caves near them two of them covering Dagobas and one of them unfinished. From the name Pandavula Metta given to it by the villagers and from general appearance they appear to be very old Buddhist Stupas. Finds of old coins also are reported from time to time. The villagers report the existence of bigger caves in the neighbourhood. It is expected that a regular excavation may bring to light important material for the construction of a connected history and the attention of the archaeological department is drawn to it.

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REVIEWS.

Administration report of the Madras Government Museum And Connemara Library for 1925-1926.

F. H. GRAVELY, D. Sc.

The report tells us that the scientific staff of the Museum devoted much time to investigation and collected large and useful finds. Mr. R. Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar M. A., who is a specialist in numismatics has, we are glad to note, begun to catalogue the coins in which some gold coins of the sub-ordinates of the Kakatiyas have been discovered.

During the year, three copper images and one stone image have been acquired. Two inscriptions from Dharanikota have been obtained. Also two sets of copperplate records of the Salankayana kings, Vijayaskanda-Varma and Nandivarma respectively and two sets of copperplate records, bearing along with the usual Chalukyan emblems, the legend "Sree Tribhuvanamkusa" of the Eastern Chalukyan king Sarvalokasraya Sree Vishnuvardhana Maharaja Vijayaditya VII have been purchased. In the two latter grants, the Eastern Chalukyan king gives away the villages of Mavenderu and Krumduru, free from all taxes, to two different Vedic Scholars who however belong to the same gotra-Parasara for the merit, prosperity and the health of the king. The Genealogy of the Eastern Chalukyan kings down to the donor is given in both the grants. Vijayaditya is said to have succeeded to the Eastern Chalukyan throne on the death of his elder step-brother, Rajaraja Narendra. These grants are important inasmuch as it is said therein that Vijayaditya allowed his son Saktivarma to rule, but that after the premature death of that son after one year's rule, he again took the reins of government into his own hands out of regard for Dharma. Both the grants were made in the twelfth regnal year of Vijayaditya which corresponds to 1075. A. D. The language of both the inscriptions is Sanskrit and the alphabet used is old Telugu. One more copperplate of the Eastern Chalukya king Vishnu vardhana Maharaja III dated about 710 A. D. was also purchased. Besides in the form of donations, several useful finds and coins were collected.

It is a very useful and interesting report and our thanks are due to the superintendent for favouring us with a copy of the report and a catalogue of the copperplate grants of the museum and a book of coins of Hyder Ali and Tippu.

R. S. R.

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HYDERABAD ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERIES Nos. 1–7

Published by H. E. H. the Nizams government under
the direction of G. YAZDANI, Esq, M. A.,
Supt. of Archaeology, Hyderabad.

No. 1. New Asokan Edict of Maski

Edited by RAO SAHEB H. KRISHNA SASTRI.

Maski is a village in Raichur District. In this village in 1915 Mr. C. Beadon discovered some old writing on a big boulder of stone at the mouth of a cavern on the slope of a hill and made an eye copy of the same and sent them to Mr. Sastri who went at once to the place to examine it *in situ* and to interpret the writings.

It is an important inscription as it mentions the name of Asoka as its author. The contents are the same as those of Rupnath and the other early edicts and hence it is one of the earliest edicts of Asoka and belongs to the thirteenth year after the coronation. It tells us that Asoka was a lay disciple at first for two years and a half and then joined the Buddhist Sangha. Having found the old gods of Jambudvipa untrue, he laid down that both the small and great men could achieve the result by applying themselves to Dharma.

No. 2. Daulatabad plates of Jagadekamalla 1017. A. D.

Edited by D. R. BHANDARKAR, M. A.,
AND
K. N. DIKSHIT, M. A.,

It is a set of three plates with a seal which contains the Varaha Lanchana and other Chalukyan royal emblems. The language is Sanskrit and the script is old Nagari and a little of Canarese. The record gives the origin and growth of the Chalukyan power and the Geneology of the dynasty down to the donor Jayasimha II (Jagadekamalla) who by this grant gives to a brahmin, a great Vedic scholar, on the occasion of an eclipse the village of Nakavegumalu in 1017. A. D.

No. 3. Palampet and Uparpalli temple inscriptions

Edited by Dr. L. BARNETT, M. A., Litt. D.,

The language of the Palampet inscriptions is sanskrit and the script is Telugu. The subject matter of the record is the pious deeds of Rêcherla Rudra, a general in the service of King Ganapati of

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the Kakatiya Dynasty. His lineage (Brahma, Kataya I, Kama, Kataya II, and Rudra) is given and his exploits are described. He performed the consecration ceremony of God Rudreswara in Orugallu and endowed it with the village Nekkonda. He built a new city in which he constructed a temple to Rudreswara and endowed it with the villages of Uparpalli and Borlapadu. He also endowed other temples with rich gifts. The date of the grant is 1213. A. D.

Both the language and the script of Uparpalli inscription are Telugu. The date of the inscription is given as 1236 A. D. The origin of Recherla Rudra is given. The grant is made by Kataya in the reign of the Kakatiya king, Ganapati Deva, of several estates to the God of the temple.

No. 4. The Pakhal pillar inscription of the reign of Kakatiya Ganapati Deva

Edited by Dr. L. D. BARNET M. A.,

The language is sanskrit and the script Telugu.

The record gives the genealogy of the Kakatiya kings which is traced to Ikshvaku and states that to the same line belongs Kalikala Chola. The donor Ganapati is said to have received homage from the kings of Kasi, Kalinga, Saka, Malava, Kerala, Tummana Hunas, Kurus, Pagan, Magadha, Nepal and Cholas. This looks like an exaggerated account of his conquests. The grant is said to belong to 1245 A. D.

No. 5. Munirabad stone inscription of Vikramaditya VI

Edited by RAO SAHEB H. KRISHNA SASTRI

The record is in old Kanarese language and script

It states that in the thirteenth year of king Vikrama VI and on the occasion of Sankranti–Vyatipata, the brahmin Somanatha and his wife constructed the Siva temple of Someswara at Puligepulge or Vyaghra–grama (modern Munirabad) and conferred on it some lands. The temple was situated on the river Tungabhadra near Gautamasrama on the Citra–sala of Sri–kuta hill. The date of the record is 1088 A. D.

No. 6. The Kotagiri plates of Queen Rudramba

Edited by S. HANUMANTHA RAO

Revised by H. Krishna Sastri

The language is sanskrit and the script is Devanagari

The plates refer to the reign of Rudramamba who is mentioned as the daughter of king Ganapati and not his wife. A new

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line of feudal princes belonging to the Viriyala family is also mentioned and one of them Sura gave the village of Vijjalapuri as a gift to several brahmins. The date of the record is 1273 A. D.

No. 7. Bodhan inscription of the reign of Someswara I

Edited by RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHARYA M. A.

The inscription is in old Kanarese language and script.

The record refers to the reign of Someswara I and states that the Indra Narayana temple built at Bhodhan by the Rashtrakuta Emperor Indra fell into ruins and so Jogapayya, a servant of Ahavamalla renovated it in 1056 A. D. and endowed it with villages.

We have great pleasure in congratulating G. Yazdani Esq, M. A., Superintendent of Archaeology Nizam's Govt., on the excellent way in which he has arranged to publish a series of valuable inscriptions, both copper-plate and stone, which throw a flood of new light on the history of some of the dynasties that once ruled over Andhra Desa.

R. S. R.

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IMPORTANT ARTICLES IN ORIENTAL JOURNALS

1. *The journal of Oriental Research, Madras.* (Vol. I. Part I.)
   Problems of identity in the cultural history of Ancient India. By Prof. S. Kuppuswami sastri.
   The Vyaghras and their identification A. V. Venkarama Iyer.
2. *The Vedic Magazine Lahore* (Vol XXV No. II)
   Evolution and the Vedas. S. P. Vedalankar.
3. *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore* (Vol XVII Nos. I, II)
   Historical carvings at Vijayanagara Rev. H. Heras S. J., M. A.
   The cult of Agastya and the origin of the Indian Colonial art. O. C. Gangoly.
4. *The Mahabodhi Journal, Calcutta*
   Is the Doctrine of the Buddha, Science? Dr. Georg Grimm.
5. *Indian Antiguary, Bombay.* (Vol LVI.)
   Yasodhavala Paramara and his inscription. R. R. Halder.
6. *The Eastern Buddhist.* (Vol IV. No. I.)
   A discussion of the origin of Mahayana Buddhism R. C. Armstrong.
7. *Journal of the Cama Oriental Institute Bombay.* (No. 8.)
   Some new facts and theories relating to Parsi history.
8. *Journal of Indian History, Madras.* (Vol. IV. Parts I, II, III.)
   The Diplomatic theories of ancient India and Arthasastra Dr. K. Nag and Mr. V. R. V. Dikshitar.
   The great civil war of Vizianagaram Rev. H. Heras, S. J., M. A.
   Forgotten episodes in the history of Mediaeval India Dr. S. K. Iyengar.
9. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona.* (Vol. VII, VIII.)
   Date of Kautilya, D. R. Bhandarkar.
   The Geography of Vatsyayana H. C. Chakladar.
   Hindu theories of punishment J. N. C. Ganguly.
   Magadha and Rajgriha in Pali literature, Dr. Bimala Charan Law.
   Parasika dominion in ancient India, D. R. Bhandarkar.
10. *Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society.* (Vol. II no 1.)
    The serpent sacrifice mentioned in Mahabharatha. M. Winternitz.
11. *Journal of Indologie and Iranistik Leipzig.* (Vol. IV parts I & II)
    An enquiry into the age of the Upanishads. Eric Fraauwallner.
    Early history of sanskrit philology. Th. Zachariae.

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18. Rao Saheb G. V. Rama-murti Pantulu	3- 0-0
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43. Ivaturi Kanakachelum	4- 0-0
44. Iyyenki Venkata Ramanayya	3- 0-0
45. K. Rajaratnam	4- 0-0
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57. Jayanti Satyanarayana	2- 0-0
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61. R. Venkatasivudu	3- 0-0
62. N. Rangareddi	3- 2-0
63. K. Sitaramarao	4- 0-0
64. Challa Surya Prakasa Rao,	3- 0-0
65. M. Satyanarayana	2- 0-0
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NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Public Meetings.

A public meeting under the auspices of the Society was held on 4-12-1926, in the Hindn Samaj Hall, when Mr. Varanasi Suryanarayana Sastri, delivered an instructive lecture on "*Andhra-bhâshanusasanam.*" Pundit Prayaga Venkatarama Sastri garu presided.

Another public meeting of the Society was held on 5-12-1926, in the Hindu Samaj Hall, when Mr. S. Bhimasankara Rao, B. A. read an interesting paper on 'The Maha-Bharatha War, and its historic importance.'

Mr, D. S. Reddi, B. A. (Oxon.) Vice-President of the Society presided.

"Andhrabhasha-nusasanam" is a recent work on Telugu Grammar written with great erudition by Pundit M. Suryanarayana Sastri garu, Telugu Pundit, Government Arts College, Rajahmundry

Meetings of the Council.

Proceedings of the Council meeting held on 12-11-26.

Resolution passed by circulation among the members of the Council.

"Resolved that M. R. Ry. Ivaturi Kanakachalam Pantulu garu, M. A., L. T., Headmaster, Rajah's College, Parlakimidi, be requested to be so good as to make all necessary arrangements for the celebration of the Kalinga Day at Mukhalingam, on 26th and 27th Dec. 1926, as was resolved by this council at its meeting held on 27-10-26. and that he be requested to co-opt members for the Reception Committee.

Signed. Bhavaraju V. Krishna Rao.
Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao.
R, Subba Rao.
N. Kameswara Rao.
V. Appa Rao.

Proceedings of the Council meeting held on 20-11-26.

Resolutions passed by circulation among the members of the Council.

"Resolved that Messrs. R. Subba Rao and B. V. Krishna Rao Joint Secretaries of the Society be requested to proceed to Madras and wait on a deputation on the Rajah Saheb of Parlakimidi now in Madras, to request him to help the Society in the matter of the Kalinga Day Celebration at Mukhalingam."

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2. "Resolved that Rs. 30- (Thirty rupees only) be sanctioned as travelling expenses, to the Secretaries.

3. Resolved that the Secretaries may co-opt other members of the Society and any prominent gentlemen at Madras to join in the deputation."

Signed. C. Narayana Rao.
N. Kameswara Rao.
Bhavaraju V. Krishna Rao.
R. Subba Rao.
D. S. Reddi.

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

Proceedings of the Council meeting held on 2-12-1926.

Present. Mr. D. S. Reddi, Vice-President, (in the chair),
,, Ch. Veerabhadra Rao,
,, C. Narayana Rao,
,, N. Kameswara Rao.
,, R. Subba Rao.
,, B. V. Krishna Rao.

I. Resolved that the following gentlemen, having signified their assent to become members, be enrolled as members of the Society.

Messrs. 1. P. Satyanarayana Rao, M. A. (Oxon.), I. C. S.
2. C. Suryaprakasa Rao, B. A.
3. R. Venkatasivudu, M. A.
4. Prof. Devadatta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, M.A.
5. N. Rangaswami, M. A.
6. K. L. Narasimha Rao.
7. G. Gangaraju
8. V. Venkateswara Sastrulu
6. Prof. Henry Heras S. J., M. A.
10. William Bertie Brierly, I. E. S.
11. Ch. Raghava Rao, M. A., B. L.
12. P. Satyanarayana, M. A., M. L.
13. Pandit Hirananda Sastri, M. A.
14. D. Appa Rao, Bar-at-Law.
15. D. Sobhanadri Sastri, M. A., B. Com.
16. P. Somasundaram, B. A., B. L.
17. Prattipati Satyanarayana Rao B. A., B. L.
18. A. Venkatachalam, B. A., B. L.
19. C. Rama Rao, B. A., B. L.
20. K. Rajaratnam, B. A.

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Messrs. 21. N. Venkata Subba Rao
22. T. Ramakrishna Rao, B. A., L. T.
23. B. Satyanarayana, B. A., L. T.

II. Resolved that the following Journals be accepted in Exchange for our Journal.

1. Jaina Gazette
2. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
3. Archaelogical Series published by the Archl. Department H. E. H. The Nizam's Government.
4. Zietschrift fur Indologie (Journal of Indian Phiolological Research) Halle, (Saale.)
5. Mysore Economic Journal.
6. Journale de la Societie de L' Histoire de L'Inde Francaise, Pondicherry.
7. Educational Review, Madras.
8. Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society,
9. Journal of Indian History, Madras.
10. Nagari Pracharini Patrika, Benares.

III. Read letter from Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, Editor, Mysore Economic Journal, Bangalore.
Resolved to supply him with a copy of "Sri Rajaraja Pattabhisheka-Sanchika" for review in the Mysore Economic Journal.

IV. Resolved that the following gentlemen be considered to have resigned their membership of the Society.

Messrs. 1. Adidam Narayanamurthi.
2. Ganala Ramamurty.
3. Bhagavatula Appa Rao.
4. Iyyanki Venkata Ramanayya.
5. Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao.
6. N. Sundaram Pantulu.
7. J. V. Krishna Rao.

V. Resolved that the Sum of Rs. 150 (One hundred and fifty only) advanced by the Treasurer on 7-10-1926, and 19-10-1926 be returned to him with thanks.
(vide Proceedings of the Council dated 27-10-1926.)

VI. Resolved that the sum of Rs. 100 (one Hundred only) advanced by the Treasurer on 8-11-1926, for paying the Printer be approved.

VII. Resolved that two members of the Society be deputed to enlist support for the Society, and that any expenses they might incur be met by the Society.

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VIII. Resolved that the following members do form a Sub-Committee and fix up a programme, and make all necessary arrangements for the Kalinga Day Celebrations, on 26th and 27th December, with power to add to their number.

Messrs. C. Narayana Rao.
R. Subba Rao.
B. V. Krishna Rao.
I. Kanakachalam Pantulu.

IX. Resolved that the Raja of Parlakimidi, Sri Sri Sri Krishna Chandra Gajapati Narayana Deo Bahadur Varu, be elected as a PATRON of the Society.

X. Resolved that M. R. Ry. Dr. S. Krishna Swami Aiyangar Avl., M. A., Ph. D., University Professor of History & Archaeology Madras, be elected as an Honorary Vice-President of the Society.

XI. Resolved that the accounts of the Society from 27-10-1926 to 2-12-1926, be passed,

Proceedings of the Council meeting held on 10-12-1926.

Present:—Mr. C. Narayana Rao (in the chair.)
Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi.
Mr. R. Subba Rao.
B. V. Krishna Rao.
N. Kameswara Rao.

I. Resolved that the Rani of Kolanka and Veeravaram Estates Sri Sri Sri Rani Rao Ramayamma Rao Bahadur Varu be electad as the Vice-Patron of the Society.

II. Resolved that the following gentlemen be admitted as members of the Society.

Messrs. 1 M. Narasimham.
2 S. Kameswara Rao, B.A., B. L.
3 S. Subrahmanyam.
4 Iyyanki Venkata Ramanayya.
5 Vadrevu Bapiraju, B.A., B. L.
6 Sri Raja Vikrama Deva Varma Garu.

III. Resolved that the following Journals be accepted as exchanges for our Journal.

1. Journal of the Academy of Fine Arts, Paris.
2. Journal of the Maha Bodhi Society, Calcutta.
3. Annual Reports of the Epigraphical Department Southern Circle, Madras.
4. Archæological Publications of the Govt. Museum, Madras.

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IV. Read letter from the Editor of the Society's Journal, informing that the present printers of the Journal are not able to do the work satisfactorily,

Resolved that the next part of the Journal be printed in the Diocesan Press, Madras.

V. Resolved that the proposal of M. R. Ry. N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu garu, Treasurer of the Society, to remove the Books and other property of the Society from the Sarada Reading Room to his house be accepted with thanks.

VI. Resolved that a further sum of Rs. 50 (Fifty rupees only) be returned with thanks to M.R.Ry. N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu garu, Treasurer, towards the advance of Rs. 100 paid by him on 8—11—26, and approved on 2-12-26.

Proceedings of the Council meeting held on 6-1-27.

Present:—Mr. Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu, President.
,, Bhavaraju V. Krishnarao.
,, R. Subba Rao.
,, D. S. Reddi.
,, N. Kameswara Rao.

I. Resolved that the accounts from 2-12-26 to 6-1-27 be passed.

II. Resolved that the following gentlemen, having signified their assent to become members, be enrolled as members of the Society.

Messrs. G. Gangadhara Somayajulu, M.A., B.L.
(Retired District and Sessions Judge.)
,, T. Bhujanga Rao Pantulu, B.A., B.L. Sub-Judge,
,, V. Pichayya, B.A., Pleader, Cuddapah.
,, Srimati Y. V. Ranganayakiamma, B.A., L.T., Teacher.
,, G. Lakshmana Reddi, B.A., B.L., Pleader, Gutti.
,, Chandrasekhara Reddi, B. A., Bezwada.
,, N. Ranga Reddi, B.A., B.L,, Vakil, Proddutur.
,, P. Kurma Rao, M.A., L.T., Teacher, Chicacole.

III. Read letter and telegram from Mr. I. Kanakachalam pantulu, M.A., L, T., Parlakimidi, advising postponement of the celebration of the Kalinga day to 10th & 11th April.

Resolved that the suggeston be accepted under the circumstances stated in the letter.

IV. Read letters from the Director General of Archaeology in India and Editor, The Indian Antiquary.

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Resolved that the following exchanges be accepted.

1. The Indian Antiquary.
2. Epigraphia Indica.
3. Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.
4. Journal of the Madras Geographical Association.

V. Resolved that Messrs. C. Atmaram, B.A., B.L., and R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., be requested to serve on the Editorial Committee of the Journal.

—O—

APPEAL.

The Joint Secretaries earnestly appeal to all members of the Society to be so good as to kindly bring into the Society as many new members as possible and thus help to carry out the objects.

TREASURER'S APPEAL.

Members who are in arrears of their subscriptions are earnestly requested to make early remittances, so as to enable the Society to carry on its work without break.

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OUR LIST OF EXCHANGES.

1. The Educational Review, Madras.
2. The Vedic Magazine, Lahore.
3. Zeitschrift Fur Indologie Halle (Saale) Germany.
4. The Jaina Gazette, Madras.
5. Viswa-Bharathi Quarterly, Calcutta.
6. Andhra Sahitya Parishat-Patrika, Cocanda.
7. Maharajah's College Magazine, Vizianagaram.
8. The Philosophical Quarterly, Amalner (East Khandesh).
9. Journal of Indian History, Madras.
10. The Mysore Economic Journal, Mysore.
11. The "Bharathi," Madras.
12. Nagari Pracharini Patrica, Benares.
13. The Maha-Bodhi, Calcutta.
14. Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Banglore.
15. Journal of the K. R. Kama Institute, Bombay.
16. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
17. Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
18. Asia Major.

18. (a) Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

Publications from:—

19. The Indo French Historical Society, Pondichery.
20. Academic des Beaux-Arts, Institute de France, Paris.
21. The Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona.
22. The Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Southern Circle, Madras. (Epigraphia Indica & Epigraphia moslemica)
23. The Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, H.E.H. The Nizam's Government, Hyderbad (Deccan).
24. Assistant Archaeological Superintendant for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras.
25. Librarian, Madras University Library, Madras.
26. Journal of the Madras Geographical Society, Madras.
27. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
28. Indian Journal of Economics, Allahabad.
29. Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, Holland, Kem Institute, Leiden.
30. Publications Gesellschaft Der Wissenschatten Zu Gottingen.

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL.

The Editor invites the members of the society and all scholars, to contribute original articles to the Journal.

All communications regarding this may be addressed to:—

C. Atmaram, B. A., B. L.,

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ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY,

RAJAHMUNDRY.

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(b) To organise meetings for Imparting historical knowledge to the people.

(c) To celebrate historical occasions and hold exhibitions.

(d) To publish a Journal of historical research, and special books if any.

(e) To organise a Research Library at Rajahmundry.

(f) To co operate with other learned Societies engaged in similar works as well as with individual scholars.

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2. Archæology, Epigraphy and Numismatics.
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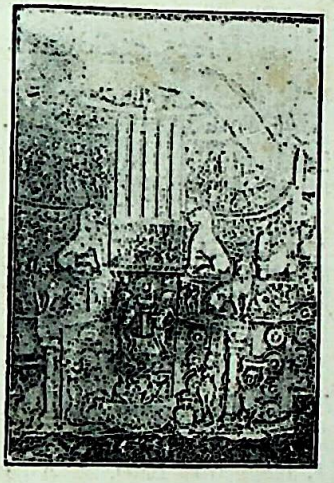
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Vol. II JULY, 1927 Part I



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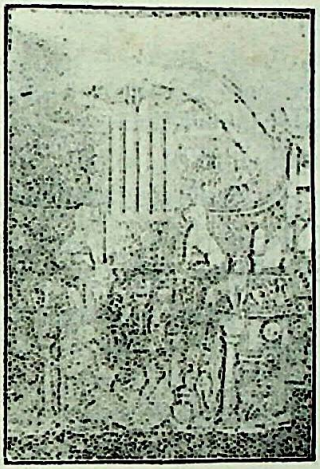
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JULY, 1927



RAJAHMUNDRY.

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Vol. II JUNE 1927. No. 1

KALINGADESA[1]

(Salient features of its History)

By Dr. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., HONY. PH. D.

The modern expression, Orissa is a corruption of Oḍradêśa and takes into it the territories known by the names Kalinga, Utkala, Oḍra or Oḍḍa and even a part of Daśârṇa. It took in the whole territory which at one time in history was included in the name Kôsala, obviously South Kôsala, as distinct from the north. The exact territorial limits of this Kôsala in the eleventh century seem to have corresponded more or less to the present day territorial limits of the tributary states of Orissa[2].

Of these, the territory included in the name Kalinga seems to be the oldest, and by that name the whole may be referred to for any purposes of historical discussion.

I have not so far come upon any reference to Kalinga as such in Vedic literature. But among the kingdoms of the South the rulers of which are described in the Aitarêya Brâhmaṇa generally as assuming the title Bhôja, Kalinga seems capable of inclusion, though there is no explicit statement to the effect. There are specific references, however, in a number of places in the Mahâbhârata to the kingdom of Kalinga. Apart from stray references to Kalinga rulers as such, and

1. Presented for the Kalinga Day to A. H. R. S.
2. See Inscriptions of Râjêndra Chola I.

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the part that the indivudual Kalinga rulers played in the Great War. Kalinga is described as a forest country beginning as soon as the river Vaitaraṇi is reached. The ruling dynasty is referred to as the descendants begotten on the Queen Sushêṇa of Kalinga, wife of Bali by Rishi Dîrghatama,[1] and the five sons born to her are said to have founded the five kingdoms; Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Puṇḍra and Suhma. Of these five, the kingdom of Anga comprised the territory round Bhagalpur (ancient Champa) on the Ganges. Vanga was the region probably on both sides of the Ganges, though the great bulk of its territory seems to have lain to the east of the river, extending from the frontiers of Vanga to the sea. To the west of this seems to have lain Kalinga. Puṇḍra has been known to correspond to North Bengal, that is, the territory on the northern side of the Ganges and perhaps to the east of the kingdom of Kôsala. The location of Suhma is not quite so definite, but it seems to have comprised the territory on the southern side of th Ganges extending from the river southwards to the frontiers of Kalinga east of the territory of Magadha. This description would make Kalinga extend from the Ganges Westwards, at any rate from Rûpnarain arm of the Ganges, at the mouth of which was situated the ancient port of Tâmralipti (the modern Damlok.) Throughout the greater part of history Kalinga seems to have corresponded to the region extending from this river to the river Godavari, and stretching from the sea into the interior marked by a vague line drawn along the course of the river Indravati to its junction with the Godavari and along its course northwards to meet the Ganges near the town of Burdwan.

In the Mahâbhârata itself Kalinga is spoken of as one kingdom and its capital is named Râjapuri. In this particular connection the ruler of Kalinga is given the name Chitrângada, whose daughter the Kaurava Prince Duryôdhana is said to have married. So far, then, as the Mahâbhârata is concerned, Kalinga was a forest kingdom and its ruler is described as one in the Mahâbhârata war. There is mention of Kalinga in the Sûtras of Pâṇini. There are a number of references in the Arthaśâstra to Kalinga, particularly in reference to cotton fabric of a a special kind. This feature of Kalinga is borne out by the Tamil word "Kalingam" for cotton cloth which probably had the original significance of cotton cloth of a particular kind, extended later on as a general name for all cotton stuff. So far, therefore, as Sanskrit literature is concerned, Kalinga was a well-known kingdom occupying the geographical position that it did within later historical times, and, according to one reference in the Great epic, it was the land of virtue where Dharma himself, the God of

1. The Mahâbhârata, Bk XII. Ch 4. (Kum Edn.)

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righteousness, performed a *yajña* in a particular spot which has since borne the name *Yajñapura*, the later, Jajpur.

Passing from the Sanskrit to Buddhist evidence, we find Kalinga mentioned as a kingdom with Dantapura as its capital. The earliest reference we get is in the Kumbhakâra Jâtaka where there is a reference to a Kalinga king by name Karaṇḍu who is spoken of as a contemporary of Nagnajit of Gândhâra and Bhîma of Vidarbha. This is confirmed by the Uttarâdhyayana Sûtra. In the Mahâgovinda Suttanta[1] there is a reference to another king of Kalinga by name Sattabhû as a contemporary of Dattaraṭṭa (Dhritarâshṭra) of Kâśi, who is mentioned in the Satapatha Brâhmaṇa. This Suttanta gives the information that the capital of Kalinga was Dantapura. There is another reference, again from Buddhist sources, which seems to give us an insight into the division of Kalinga into two kingdoms at any rate, while in regard to its general features it seems to support the general description of it found in the Mahâbhârata. The Ceylon Chronicle Mahâvaṁśa giving the history of the migration of Vijaya into Ceylon, describes the adventures of his mother the Bengal princes of Kalinga. When she was sent into exile for her lascivious waywardness by the father, the king, she departed the kingdom in the company of a caravan of merchants going to Magadha. While they were on the way through the territory of Lâḍha the whole party was set upon by a lion. The party scattered, and she fled, as did also the rest of them, to save her life, but accidentally took the path by which the lion came. When the lion returned he found the princess and was so charmed with her beauty that he begot upon her a son and a daughter. The son was called Simhabâhu or Sihabâhu because of the peculiar feature that he had the hands of a lion. When ultimately he returned to the grandfather's kingdom by the achievement of killing the lion, his father, which had grown so troublesome to the frontiers of the kingdom of Bengal, he was given permission by the grandfather, or rather his uncle who married his mother and became subsequently ruler of Bengal, to clear the forest and set up a kingdom of his own. Thus was said to have been founded the kingdom of north Kalinga, at least one part of it with a capital Sîhapura or Simhapura; and this was probably the forest region of Kalinga immediately adjoining the territory of Bengal in the lower reaches of the Ganges. It is very likely that the older kingdom lying farther south did continue, as we find the kingdom of Kalinga described in early Tamil classical literature, as composed of two parts with their respective capitals Kapilapura and Simhapura which may have reference to the centuries immediately preceding the Cristian era.

1. Dialogues of the Buddha, II; 270.

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Scholars that first studied the Mahâvaṁsa interpreted this story as involving the banishment of the Bengal princess from Bengal to Lâṭa or Gujaret as they misequated Lâḍha with Lâṭa. It is now beyond doubt that the Lâḍha, under reference, is eastern Prâkrit form of Râḍha, a division of Vajjabhûmi on the banks of the Sone, or much rather, between the Sone and the Ganges, what might be called in modern language West Bengal.

Kalinga is known to the Purâṇas and one of the Nandas Nandivarman is said to have conquered it. This statement seems to receive some confirmation from the reference in the Hathigumpha inscription to the aqueduct constructed by Nandarâja at a period previous to the accession of Chandragupta to the Magadha throne. It is well known that the only conquest effected by the great Buddhist Emperor Asoka after his accession to the throne of his father was the kingdom of Kalinga. In his inscription the kingdom is spoken of as a single kingdom. The Hathigumpha inscription, already referred to, of Kharavêla speaks of it as a single kingdom as well, but with a capital which is read as Pritûdakadarbha. The Asoka Edicts do not mention the capital of Kalinga as such, but the fact that Asoka's Edicts are found in Dauli (Tosali) and Jaugada seems to lend colour to the inference that the first was the capital of the kingdom in the days of Asoka. Asoka's war was so destructive in character that it brought about a permanent revulsion of feeling in the humane emperor against war. Tamil literature describes a war which is similarly of a gruesome character. This was a fratricidal war between the cousin rulers of the two kingdoms of Kalinga with their respective capitals Kapilapura and Simhapura[1]. As a consequence of this war a famine is said to have supervened. That is as far as we are enabled to go with the means at our disposal till about the early centuries of the Christian era.

In the following centuries Kalinga must have been more or less of a flourishing kingdom, as we find frequent reference to it as supplying brides, heirs, and sometimes even usurpers to Ceylon, the ruling dynasty of which regarded itself as related by blood with the Kalinga rulers. According to traditional history in the early centuries of the Christian Era there was Yavana rule. Great efforts have been made to connect this Yavana rule with the Greeks who are readily taken to have established a kingdom there as a result of the raids carried into the heart of India under the Greek rulers Demetrius and Menandar in which both Madhyamika (Nagar near Chittore) in Rajaputana and Saketa (Oudh) suffered; but there is so far no evidence whatsoever of an irrefutable character of the Greek occupation of

1. Both Silappadhikâram and Manimêkhalai.

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Kalinga and of the perpetuation of a dynasty in that region. The recent reading of the Hathigumpha inscription seems to make this definitely impossible, as Kharavêla the Kalinga ruler claims to have driven the Yavanas (Greeks) then in occupation of Muttra. This indicates that if ever the Greeks reached as far east as Kalinga their invasion was not of a character to warrant the assumption of a permanent occupation. We have no evidence of other Greek invasions so far and the term Yavana does not always mean Greek in Sanskrit literature.

In the century immediately preceding the Christian era, or a little before that, Kalinga was a well formed kingdom set over against the rising kindom of the Sâtavâhanas of the Deccan. The prosperous rule indicated by the Hathigumpha inscription under Kharavêla does not appear to have been of such a character for any length of time. It is just possible that the fratricidal war between the two kingdoms referred to in the Tamil epics Silappadhikâram and Manimêkhalai may have been a historical war that followed soon after the rule of Kharavêla of Kalinga. In the wars in the centuries immediately following the Christian era, Kalinga does not figure as an independent kingdom. The same Tamil epics that refer to the march of Karikâla to the north do not make any mention of the Kalinga kingdom although they do refer to Vajranâḍu, a kingdom on the banks of the Sone, Magadha and Avanti. Among the conquests of Gautamiputra Śâtakarni figure the hills of Mahêndra and Malaya. Mahêndra is the well-known Mahêndragiri, Malaya is the Maleus of Pliny and seems to stand for Mâlyavân, one of the far-eastern peaks of the Vindhya mountains, quite on the borderland of Kalinga. That probably means that Kalinga was among his conquests. When the Āndhra power declined, Kalinga seems to have fallen to the share of the usurper from Ayodhya Śrî Vîra Purusha Datta of the Ikshvâku race. Under the Guptas, Kalinga seems to have formed an integral part of the empire, although it is just possible that their Vâkâṭaka contemporaries might have possessed a part of it. During all this period Kalinga was in pretty much the same religious condition as most other Indian states but in Jain religious history Kalinga figures as one the influential Jain centres, and the Kharavêla inscription lends colour to this claim. Similar claims were made by the Buddhists, and if the Ceylon Buddhist history is to be believed, there were Buddhist settlements of importance as well in Kalinga. When the Buddhists speak of Kalinga, Dantapura figures always as the capital. There is occasional mention of Simhapura, apparently the capital of northern Kalinga, the foundation of Simhabâhu with which Ceylon kept itself in communication.

The Kalinga invasion of Samudragupta, of the region comprised within the limits of Kalinga, seems to have left the territory

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somewhat disorganised as there is record of a Yavana rule again and some of the ruling family emigrating to Ceylon. The possibility of a Yavana rule here could only be that of the Kshatrapas of the west. This possibility, however, proves very unlikely having regard to the existence of the Vâkâṭaka power in the middle. The Yavana invasion of Kalinga therefore of this period probably has some vague reference to the invasion of Samudragupta himself as this must have proved rather thoroughgoing in character and destructive. Therefore, the possibility of a Kalinga princess Hêmamâlâ fleeing for safety from Dantapura with the 'tooth-relic' of the Buddha ultimately to Ceylon may be possible. But Raktabâhu the Yavana who was really the author of the invasion would be rather difficult to identify with the facts at our disposal. Later in the age of the Guptas the region round the Mêkhala, that is, the territory round the Maikal range, which is just the modern modification of Mêkhala passed into the possession of the Vâkâṭakas and had to be brought under the control of the Guptas under Skandagupta and his successors, When the Gupta Empire went into dismemberment at the end of the fifth century Kalinga must have regained somewhat of its powers, but in the period of struggle that immediately followed under the Guptas of Malva and Maukharis of Kanauj and the rulers of Thaneswar, Kalinga seems to have enjoyed a respite, so far at any rate as the northern powers were concerned. It was about that time that the Western Châlukyas were rising into importance and possibly Kîrtivarman, the first great ruler, made an effort to include it in his territory. But the troubles in the succession to the family that followed immediately gave some little respite till under Pulikêsin II, the Chalukyas made a systematic conquest of the northern half of the coast region in the East. The formation of the viceroyalty of the Eastern Châlukyas must have brought them into direct contact with Kalinga which in this age formed an integral part of Bengal and passed ultimately under the rule of Harsha whose conquest of the region as far south as Ganjam is on record in Hiuen T'sang's itinerary. When Harsha died and his empire broke up into the constituent kingdoms, Assam seems to have taken a turn for expansion and Kalinga again formed part of Bengal which again formed part and parcel of the extended kingdom of Assam under Bhâskaravarman and his successors. When a revolution upset this dynasty in Assam, Kalinga fell to its own devices and that period seems to synchronise with the coming into importance of the Ganga dynasty of Kalinga called Eastern Gangas. Kalinga history thereafter takes its own course till about the middle of the sixteenth century up to which period it has a distinct history of its own.

With the fall of the Gupta empire the kingdom of Kalinga seems to have emerged into some importance. The foundation of

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the Kêsari dynasty ascribed to the fifth century seems to have had its capital first of all in the interior in a place called Yayâtinagar, from the first important ruler of this dynasty. This came to be known later as Âdinagar and as Śâdinagar, in both of which forms it figures in the inscriptions of Rajêndra Chola as we shall see later on. This place has been identified recently with a place called Sonepur on the river Mahânadi. There are several references to the conquest of Kalinga by the southern kings, the earliest of which was the invasion of Kîrtivarman, the Western Châḷukhya; Kalinga is referred to in his inscription of the year A. D. 567, but figures in this record in a more or less conventional list. There is a similar reference under Pulikêśin but in a much less conventional fashion, as his Aihole inscription states more clearly that both Kôsala and Kalinga submitted to him. The next in order would be its conquest by Dantidurga, the first Râshṭrakûṭa. In this case again Kalinga figures among a conventional list of his conquests. In a record of A. D. 877 Krishna II, Râshṭrakûṭa is said to have subdued Kalinga among other kingdoms. These various references lead us to the inference that Kalinga retained its historical existence as an independent kingdom, and came into touch with the neighbouring powers occasionally. It must be remembered that, from the character of the information accessible to us now, it is only when it comes into hostile contact with its neighbours, that it is likely to be mentioned at all. In the course of these centuries Kalinga seems to have passed under the rule of a new dynasty, that of the Eastern Gangas, the traditional date of foundation of which is in the earlier half of the eighth century A. D. With the advent of this dynasty Kalinga comes more prominently into view, as was stated already.

With the rise of the Western Châḷukyas the territory extending from the Godavari southwards along the East Coast passed into their hands, probably from those of the Pallavas of Kânchî, Early in the seventh century this new acquisition was constituted into a separate viceroyalty with its head quarters first at Vêngi, which was probably later on transferred to Rajahmandri early in the eleventh century. This Viceroyalty became almost independent as the kingdom of the Eastern Châḷukyas in the seventh century A. D. and as such, it was in constant contact with the kingdom of Kalinga on its northern frontier. The wars under the Râṣṭrakûṭas, already noted against Kalinga must have been the side-issues in their constant wars with the Eastern Châḷukyas The definite political subordination of the Eastern Châḷukyas to the Cholas throws Kalinga into relief and brings it into contact with the Cholas themselves almost with the beginning of the eleventh century. During all this period anterior to the advent of the Cholas, Kalinga occupied a place of some importance

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in history, but the features of that history are not quite clear. It is from this region that one set of colonists went over to Sumatra and Java, according to Javanese tradition. The region from which their traditional founder Āji Śaka came in the first century A. D. seems indicated in the direction of Kalinga. Ptolemy mentions Pâlûr (On the Ganjan or Rishi Kulya river) as the starting point for overseas communication of Kalinga. Whether the Kalinga objective in overseas navigation was the country set over against it on the other side of the Bay of Bengal, or whether it went so far down as the islands, is open to doubt; but the constant references to Kalinga and arrivals therefrom in the history of Ceylon seem to lend historical colour to this far-off emigration to the eastern islands. Kâlidâsa's Raghuvaṁśa, referring to the kingdom of Kalinga, speaks of its capital being on the sea-shore, but does not give the name. It describes a king under the name Hêmângada and makes him the lord of Mahendragiri and Mahôdadhi, the great sea. He does not give any further information in regard to Kalinga. According to certain inscriptions, the Kêsari dynasty began in the eighth century A. D., and counts four or five kings among them, According to one calculation, Yayâtikêsari gets referred to the beginning of the ninth century A. D. The eastern Gangas who were one of the most influential dynasty of rulers of Orissa came into great importance in the eleventh century, and they carry their genealogy back to a little more than 300 years from the accession of their greatest ruler, Anantavarman Choḍa Ganga, whose accession took place in A. D. 1078. So, apparently, this dynasty would carry back its origin to almost the commencement of the ninth century. With this dynasty the country of Kalinga comes into full historical view.

Just about the period A. D. 1000 the rising power of the Cholas under Râja Râja, the Great, made itself felt in the north. He made an effective intervention in the somewhat disturbed affairs of the Eastern Châḷukyas, and achieved by a stroke of policy the permanent alliance of the eastern Châlukyas with the Cholas, confirmed by a marriage alliance which was further cemented by a further marriage alliance under his son and successor Râjêndra I, Gangaikonḍa Chola. Râja Râja claims conquest of Kalinga which probably meant no more than the attempt to bring the state of Kalinga under the suzerainty of the Cholas as was done in the case of the Eastern Châlukyas. Perhaps the war did not go much further; but the understanding seems to have been established more permanently when the Kalinga, Râja Râja, married a daughter of Râjêndra, as did the eastern Châlukya Râja Râja. The son of the latter became the great Chola emperor under the name Kulottunga about the time when the other grandson of Râjêndra, Anantavarman Choḍa Ganga, ascended the throne of Kalinga. It was

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Râjêndra I that carried on a regular war of conquest against the country of Kalinga. The Cholas and the Châlukyas were for almost a century face to face on the frontier separating them, and this frontier extended from near the Western Ghats almost at the source of the Krishna along the river till its junction with the Tungabhadra, and then in an irregular line northwards to the Vindhya mountains. Râjêndra's effort was to reduce the whole of Kalinga to submission to him in order to carry on his overseas enterprise of bringing the Tamil colonies of Sumatra and the neighbourhood under his control as against the rising kingdom of Śrî Bhôja in Sumatra. It is in the course of all this war that the various divisions of Kalinga came prominently into view. Having set the north-west frontier at peace his army seems to have marched into the heart of the Kôsala country which then happened to be the asylum for Brahmans fleeing for shelter from the territory subject to the onsluaghts of Mahmud of Ghazni. Having taken Chakrakôṭa and Ādinagar or Sâdinagar or (Yayâtinagar) there, the army marched northwards subduing various other parts of Kalinga till it reached the Ganges on the southern frontiers of Mahîpâla, king of northern Bengal. Therefrom it turned back, defeated the king of Bengal proper and finally overthrew the ruler of Kalinga at the junction of the Ganges with the ocean. In the meanwhile he brought up reinforcements from Kânchî, and was encamped in Râjamandri when his victorious general brought him 'the tribute of waters' from the Ganges. The joint invasion marched further north till it overthrew the king of Kalinga in his central headquarters. It was probably as a result of this invasion that the dafinitive treaty was concluded with Kalinga, and it was probably as one of the items of the treaty that the marriage was brought about, the outcome of which was peace for more than half of a century till Kulottunga found it necessary to go to war probably with Anantavarman Choḍa Ganga early in the twelfth century. It is in this war of Kulottunga that Kalinga gets described sometimes as comprised in three divisions, occasionally as five, and oftentimes as seven. As early as the days perhaps of Megasthenes Kalinga had been divided into three. The Gangetic Kalingam was the first division, the country probably answering to the part of Kalinga last conquerred by Râjêndra's general. Then follows Modokalinga of Pliny which may stand as the Bengali form of Madhya-Kalinga. Then follows the third division Macco-Kalinga, which may be rendered perhaps as Mukhya-Kalinga, and what is known as Mukhalingam may be the Mukhya-Kalinga-nagar, the capital of Mukhya-Kalinga which by mere phonetic decay gets worn into Mukhalingam. That kind of division seems to have continued more or less, and as was pointed out already there were other divisions such as Kosala answering to the tributary states and hill tracts, Utkala. the present

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day Orissa and the narrower designation at one time of the territory of North Kalinga, the country of Tamralipti and so on. When these had been brought under one ruler, these divisions must have retained something of their individuality and must have lent colour to the variety of division implied by the kingdom being described as comprised of three, five or seven divisions. According to Râjaśêkhara who lived in the late ninth and the early tenth century Kalinga belonged to the eastern part, the country east of Benares, of which these separate divisions which are referable to Kalinga get mention, namely, Kalinga, Kosala, Tosala, Utkala, Tâmraliptaka, Mallavartaka, Malada. Probably all these were included in the larger geographical entity Kalinga as none of the divisions referable to Kalinga are included in his southern division which is located south of Mâhishmati. What obtained in the age of Râjaśêkhara might well have continued in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and this division perhaps accounts for the variety of division indicated in the term Kalinga qualified by such numbers as three, five or seven.

The term Kalinga-nagara may not be a proper name and might simply stand for the capital city of Kalinga and may be identifiable with Mukhalinga which might have remained the capital till it was transferred later on to Cuttack, there being other capitals as well such as Dauli or Tosali, Yaugada, whatever that stood for, and even the old Simhapura and Kapilapura. In all probability Dantapura described by Hieun Tsang was identical with Kalinga-nagara now identifiable with Mukhalingam according to certain inscriptions. This identification may seem to militate against Kâlidâsa's description of the capital of Kalinga being quite on the seashore. This need not however prove a serious difficulty. Anantavarman as the builder of Pûri as his predecessors of the Kêsari dynasty built and endowed Bhuvanêśvar, and as his own son Aranga Bhîma I built the temple at Kôṇarka. The last of the dynasty Nrisimha suffered perhaps a Muhammdan invasion, and was finally overthrown by the usurper Kapilêndra the first Gajapati ruler who set himself up with the countenance of the Muhammdans of Bengal. This dynasty consisted only of three generations and corresponded more or less in duration to the period of the first, second and a part of the third dynasty of Vijayanagar. During this period the capital seems to have been at Cuttack. Kapilêndra exerted himself a great deal to extend the limits of the kingdom southwards, and carried it effectively to the Godavari with Rajahmandri as the outermost viceroyalty. This he was able to achieve through alliances with the Sultans of the Bâhmani kingdom. The break up of that kingdom into five, and the internal dissensions that it fell a prey to, made any further advance of the kingdom impossible in his time. His successor

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Purushôttama was able to carry Kalinga raids as far south as the southern Pennâr, and seems to have had a Governorship permanently as far south as Nellore and Udayagiri. When the great Vijayanagar king Krishnadêva Râja came to the throne he found the Gajapatis in occupation of all the coast territory almost down to the frontier of Madras itself. The farseeing policy of this ruler saw at a glance the dangerous character of this situation for the empire, having regard to the fact that the Gajapatis were inclined to enter readily into alliance with the Muhammadans against Vijayanagar, and to the fact that the Muhammadan states of the north were in habitual hostility to the empire. Krishna adopted the wisest course of letting the Muhammadans alone for the time being, and till he compelled the Gajapati to withdraw from the new conquests by carrying a successful war right up to the frontiers of modern Ganjam, and making the position of the capital Cuttack itself dangerous for the ruler of Orissa. He succeeded in the effort. Then the Krishna was agreed upon as the definitive boundary between the empire of Vijayanagar and the territory of the rulers of Kalinga, but it was still understood that the coast districts extending northwards from the Krishna to almost Ganjam was the coast region of Telingana and not geographically an integral part of Kalinga. When this dynasty was overthrown by Mahammadan conquest from the side of Bengal the Muhammadan territory did not extend much father South than the Mahanadi, and then the Telingana portion was easily absorbed into the Bâhmani states chiefly that of Golconda. When the Moghuls took possession of Golconda territory it naturally passed into their hands, and when the Nizam founded an independent state in the Dakhan it remained an integral part of his territory till it was made over to the French as the result of a subsidiary alliance. When the French in their turn were overthrown in South India it passed into the hands of England. During this last period Kalinga had no history of her own, having been absorbed into the territory of Bengal since the Muhammadan conquests under Akbar. When the decline of the Moghul empire began, the Bengal province found it difficult to maintain its hold on it, and the Maharattas under the Bhonslas of Nagpur were able to take easy possession of it. It was then recovered from the Mahrattas after the overthrow of the state of Nagpur, and since then underwent the vicissitudes that Bengal itself did, till in the last few years it became an integral part of the province of Bihar and Orissa.

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A SHORT REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF KALINGA

By PANDIT NILAKANTHA DAS M.A., M.L.A.

I must first of all offer my sincere thanks to the Secretary, Andhra Historical Research Society, and the organisers of this unique function for giving me the honour and privilege of attending it and reading this paper in this august assembly of learned men. The name of the historic place Mukhalingam and its neighbour Kalingapatanam is reminiscent of a great but long forgotten empire, whose culture and tradition we all inherit as the best legacy of our illustrious forefathers and the principal incentive to our future progress in our distinct cultural entity in the commonwealth of Indian races. With the relics of the later Kalinganagari round about us the pale and pensive memory hovers over vanishing centuries of Imperial Kalinga with its vast trade and territories both inland and across the ocean and its colonies on the coasts of Burma, Indo-China, and the East Indian Islands, only to brighten up in prospects of a future equally great and noble if we care to command the manhood we have been heir to. To deserve the duties of dealing with such a past suggestive of such a future is no small thing; and I may be excused to confess here that when some 15 days ago I received the invitation from the Secretary of the Andhra Historical Research Society to attend the function and read a paper, I felt half timid as to how far I deserve the honour so gracefully offered to me. Our past is still mostly in the dark, and to put life into the little fragmentary relics is not perhaps in my slender powers to achieve. Moreover seldom have I had any serious occasion to follow up the progress of the historical research in India for the last 6 or 7 years of political crisis in the country in which the prince and the peasant, the scholar and the school-boy have alike been required for the political emancipation of our fatherland. I therefore fear that I may not be quite up-to-date in some of my observations, and shall try to be more suggestive than exhaustive only with a view to give hints for future labours of historians in fields and direct probably yet uncared-for, for reasons which to discuss here, may not be quite relevant to the occasion.

In practice the history of India so long meant only the history of the Imperial Magadha and other empires of Northern India, and the history of the different kingdoms, esp., those of the South is being of late gradually developed out of small and scattered fragments. No systematic or critical history of Kalinga has ever been attempted. The book "Orissa in the Making" by Prof. Bijay Chandra Mazumdar

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of Calcutta published in Oct. 1925 by the Calcutta University, incidentally, however, makes an attempt to give a connected history of Kalinga so far as it is available. But the whole narrative is so full of preposterous hypotheses based on sad misconceptions and preconceived notions that it is almost impossible to rely on its conclusions in any historical discourse on the subject. It does moreover reveal that historians like Mr. Mazumdar can easily make out grounds for their own misconceptions to hand them down as historical facts and truths. But before attempting to clear such mis-conceptions in dealing with important facts, events, and features of the history of Kalinga, which will sometimes require critical notice of tedious details, it is necessary that a running bird's-eye view of the whole course of the history of Kalinga as far as practicable should be presented as a background.

The kingdom of Kalinga extended ordinarily from Tamluk to mid-Ganjam on the sea coast. The Ganges was its northern boundary, forests beyond mid-Ganjam extended to the South, the Indian ocean was on the East. The Western boundary was however uncertain. It extended sometimes up to the Amarakantaka range in up-C.P. and included the ancient South Kosala or Mahakosala kingdom within its territories, and at times did not extend even beyond the plains of the present Mogulbund. There are periods in the history of the Kalinga kingdom when its boundaries were flung far wider in South West and North, but such periods as is yet known were few and far between.

Kalinga was a kingdom of the Aryavarta towards the South, Aryanised from upper India through Anga and Vanga. It is not however necessary to recount here the mention of Kalinga in Vedic, Sutra, Smrti and Puranic literature, as it has been well discussed in many books and articles. Suffice it to say for the purposes of this flying narrative that such mention refers to a date not later than 7th century B. C. when Kalinga was known as a kingdom of the Aryavarta, though for a time in the beginning it was considered unsacred by the Aryans of upper India. Later on, it was thought as good as any kingdom of Northern India. It was the sacred land of Vaitarani in the Mahabharata. Bauddha Nikayas and Jatakas also mention Kalinga. Certain history of the kingdom is collected and developed from accounts left by Greek writers and Chinese travellers and various epigraphic records. It is clear from all this that the culture of Kalinga was Aryan as well as its language, unlike Dravid lands, where in spite of Aryan influence and even colonisation in later times the Dravid-language, culture and institutions still persist; and evidently the ancient culture of Kalinga has continuously developed into the present culture of the Oriya-speaking lands.

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Kalinga was also famous from the earliest times for its colonial expansion and oversea trade. From before the 7th century B. C. Kalinga people colonised the coasts of Burma, Indo-China, and the East Indian Archipelego; and they had sea-borne trade both East and West at least up to China and Persia. A princess of Kalinga married Vijayasimha, who sailed with his wife to Ceylon and conquered and colonised it early in the 5th century B. C.

Between third and fourth century B. C. Kalinga was thrice conquered by the emperors of Magadha, the last of which was by Asoka so famous in the history of India as well as of Buddhism. The 1st and 2nd conquests were respectively by Mahapadma Nanda, and Chandragupta Maurya. But these two conquests did not probably end in permanent annexation of the kingdom to Magadha, though the kings of Kalinga were each time driven away into the Jungles now represented by Orissa Garjats. Last time, after Asoka's annexation the king had to fly to Kosala where he and his family reigned as independent monarchs. Three corresponding dynasties—perhaps belonging to one continuous family—calling themselves Ailas or Airas have accordingly been heard of, the last of which was the dynasty of Cetarâja Aila, who came out from Kosala to declare independence in Kalinga after the decline of the Mauryas of Magadha. The famous Kalinga emperor Khâravela of Hathigumpha inscription of Udayagiri near Bhubanasvar in the Puri District is the 3rd king of the Ceta dynasty.

Khâravela made Kalinga an imperial power and commanded extensive dominions both in Northern and Southern India, and had sea borne trade even with Persia. Probably he had also colonies in Burma and Further India and established trade relations beyond the Eastern seas. It is not clearly known whether he was a Hindu or Jaina, but he had equal respect and treatment for both. He performed a Râjasuya Sacrifice, and that year made a full remission of revenue. During his time art and learning flourished in Kalinga, and he made many rock-cut caves and dwellings for holy men, and gifts of villages to Brahmanas. Before he thought of coming out in yearly expeditions of his vast conquests extending from the Punjab to Pandya and Nasik to Magadha, he had rebuilt the palace probably in an imperial fashion, and for supplying water to it made a canal from the Bhârgavi to Chilka lake. Last of all in right orthodox fashion, he spent his last years as a Sannyasi in the hills of Udayagiri where the two-storied rock-cut palace still stands to bear testimony to it. These are some of the statements and indications of the Hathigumpha Inscription. Let imagination now make her own inferences as to what the empire was then like, how from the beginnings of those rock-cut caves and palaces evolved in course of centuries the distinct

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Orissan art of later times in stages of assimilation and development, and how again the spirit of cosmopolitan faith and religious toleration in its full flourish made the Oriya of much later centuries colonise Ossa or Pegu in Burma and give the stamp of art and culture to other States in that land of legends across the ocean.

The capital of Kalinga was all along situated in the Puri District. Tosali the present Dhauli, at the place where the river Daya branches out from the Bhârgavi was headquarters of the Maurya Viceroy of Kalinga, and some distance towards the West was the Kalinganagari of Khâravela on the Daya river Tamralipti and Chilka were the principal ports of Kalinga which ended in the South in mid- or south-Ganjam beyond which between Kalinga and Āndhra lay on the coast a stretch of ordinarily impassable hills and forests inhabited perhaps by wild tribes, and in this tract later on developed independent kingdoms for some centuries.

For a period of four or five centuries after Khâravela nothing definite about Kalinga has yet come to light. During the days of the imperial Guptas of Magadha, Kalinga decidedly lay from Midnapur to Mid-Ganjam, and kingdoms named Kottura and Erandapalla had evolved in the forest lands on the sea-board between Kalinga and Andhra. But apart from these political considerations the history of Kalinga during this period presents a very momentous aspect of Indian life and culture. This is the period during which the famous Nâgârjuna of Kânchi converted Kalinga into the Mahayana school of Buddhism, and this is the period which witnessed the advent of King Indradyumna of Mâlava (Malwa) to Puri, the place of Buddha's tooth relic, and the standing compromise between the Mahayana Buddhism and the older Vaisnavism into the Neo-Vaisnavic Hinduism of Jagannath which has since remained so comprehensively potent in influencing the all-Indian life and culture. Puri or Dantapuri of the Bauddhas which had been a famous place of Buddhistic culture and pilgrimage and was well known even in Greece and China was thus made the centre of Neo-Hindu faith, with a Kalingan grain in it, and remained a standing monument of Indian relegious life of cosmopolitan tolerance. It has still remained the most important place of pilgrimage of Asiatics both Hindu and Bauddha, and here it is that the Hindu so heinously ridden by the despicable institution of caste finds himself in a holy atmosphere where caste and untouchability are discarded in practice, thus setting an example to the whole humanity how the culture of soul and nothing else is the basis of the true and natural religion of man.

The political history however, towards the end of this period ran in a different channel. This may be due to the fact that the Kalingas were so religiously minded as to neglect politics, or to the

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revival of Brahmanism giving rise to a new life and virility under which many an old kingdom fell or broke to pieces to create a change in the political map of India. The kingdom of Kalinga got disrupted. Tamralipti became an independent kingdom. and the Utkalas from Karnasuvarna conquered the land up to North Ganjam and overran the whole territory by the end of the 6th century A. D. Sometime before this the Odas (Skt. Udras) had emerged from the forests between Kalinga and Kosala, and established a kingdom in Puri and North Ganjam named Kongoda or Kalingoda. The name of Jagannath had long turned into Odisa (the lord of the Odas) which in later times during the Mahamedan days gave its name to the whole of the Kalinga kingdom. The expelled and homeless king of Kalinga had accordingly retired Southwards and set himself up with all his once glorious paraphernalia of name and tradition in the southern extremity of the Ganjam District, i. e. this Mukhalingam which remained the capital of that contracted and somewhat dislocated Kalinga till the Eastern Gangas extended their conquest into the very heart of the mainland, and established their capital in the 12th century at a place really reminiscent of the palmy days of the Kalinga of ancient times.

In the meantime the Guptas of South Kosala inspired by the Saiva faith of the then Magadhan school of Brahmanism had come, conquered and established themselves as Tri-Kalingadhipatis or the lords of the three Kalingas, i. e. Utkala, Kangoda and Kosala, or as some say, the Kalinga of Southern Ganjam, which is doubtful. This family promulgated Saiva cult and culture with the vim and vehemence of zealots, and the temples and institutions of Bhuvanesvar have preeminently remained as the standing monuments of the dynasty, bearing mute but significant testimony to the new aspects and elements which were then introduced into the Kalingan art and life.

The name Kalinga, however, which was thus for a time revived in the main land of its birth and breeding finally vanished under the pressure of a concourse of other names ready for use and actually long in use. And as I have already hinted during the Mahamedan period when the vassal feudatory Raja had to remain at Khurda in the Puri District, which had long been known by the name of Odisa on account of Jagannath, the name Orissa was naturally fixed for the ancient land inheriting the culture, Tradition, history, language, religion, and institutions of the vast and glorious Kalinga, which was at a time 'the gem of the Indian Coast' as well as the 'mistress of the Indian Ocean'.

I have narrated the whole story as a flying account, but to those that find interest in historical research some of my statements might appear to be mere assumptions, and therefore call for explanation and critical investigation in detail. I am not quite sure if such a

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treatment will be quite fitting to the occasion But as in narrating the history of Kalinga we have often to tread on quick-sand, the subject being mostly based, on the revelations of facts and events from chambers still almost in the dark, lost in the dim haze of remote antiquity. I think it cannot be considered out of place, if I venture a critical examination of some of the points I myself have raised, by way of referring to some very sticky misconceptions almost common among the historians of Kalinga.

Boundaries of Kalinga.

Scholars with the exception of a very few like Prof. K.P. Jayswal generally take it for granted that from the very earliest times the kingdom of Kalinga extended upto the Godavari river if not further south, and that the land from south Ganjam to the Godavari was in Kalinga. But this is an uncritical assumption. On the contrary, till after the time of Hieun Tsang's visit the coast land between Kalinga and Āndhra was not easily passable and in still earlier times, this portion of the coast was full of forests and hills standing on the very beach, inhabited by wild beasts, and perhaps no man's land.

This Mukhalingam again and the port of Kalingapatanam in its neighbourhood are somewhat responsible for this misconception. Scholars are ordinarily apt to connect these names with the ancient kingdom of Kalinga. True it is that during the days of the Eastern Gangas the capital of Kalinga is found in these parts of the country, but was so only to be abandoned, as I have said, after the Gangas could find a place in the midland of Orissa, the real seat of the ancient Kalinga kingdom. For, from the days of Anantavarman Chodaganga i.e. late in the 12th century the seat of the kingdom has been cosistently in Mid-Orissa, though the kingdom nevertheless extended upto the Godavari in the south and sometimes even beyond that river. The fact is, as I have already hinted, that for some centuries after the king of Kalinga was driven from his homeland, the family settled in a small principality round about this Mukhalingam as its capital. As is natural, the king thus driven away by bad fortune called his own new capital Mukhya (Mukha) Kalinga Nagara and had also set up his fort of Dantapura, remnants of which still remain in these parts as Mukhalingam and Dantavarakota. They also called their port Kalingapatna. But even that grafted principality, so to say, did not ordinarily extend very much into the present Vizagpatam District, for the southern gates of it were not only perpetually threatened by the Andhra and Tamil kings, but the Principality was in course of time actually occupied by the Tamil Gangas, whose

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passion for conquering Kalinga was fully gratified in later times by the conquest of the mainland up to the Ganges.

Let us now therefore examine the point in detail.

Asoka's time (3rd century B.C.)

Asoka's inscriptions of Kalinga never indicate any extent of the kingdom much beyond Samâpâ (present Jaugada in north Ganjam) a little beyond which were evidently the unreclaimed forest tribes. Prof. B. C. Mazumdar of Calcutta ventures the theory based on no reasonable grounds ever given by him that the capital of Kalinga in those days was near Samâpâ in the Ganjam District, i. e. even to the south of Samâpâ, and not at Tosali, the very seat of the Asokan Viceroyalty. In spite of off-hand statements like this based perhaps on sheer predisposition, it is clear that Kalinga in those days did not extend much beyond the present Rśikulya river, if it extended beyond that river at all.

Khâravela's time (2nd century B.C.)

The Hathigumpha inscription indicates that Khâravela did not approach the Āndhra king Sâtakarni, in other words the Āndhra kingdom through the coastal lands. To reach the Āndhras he had to take the land route westward. The headquarters of the Sâtavahanas or Sâtakarnis was near the Western Ghats, and not on the east coast, their original home and the principal part of their kingdom, where perhaps they had little to fear from their powerful Kalinga neighbours. But nevertheless it would not have been easy for Khâravela to reach the Āndhra Emperor across the whole of the Indian Peninsula. Had there been an easily passable route on the seaboard, Khâravela must have attacked the Āndhra kingdom that way. At least that would have been more strategic. Āndhra kings again, as I have suggested, would not have thus left their Eastern territories at the mercy of the powerful Kalingas had there been means of easy communication through the coastal strip of land. If Srikalulam on the east coast be the original capital of Āndhra, as stated by pliny after Megasthenes then its removal to Paithan also indicates safety of the borders on Kalingadesa.

Samudragupta's time (4th century A.D.)

About 500 years later there is another landmark in Indian history, i e. Samudragupta's conquests. In his study of the Allahabad Inscription Prof. R. D. Bhandarkar of the Calcutta University agrees with M. Jouveau-Dubreuil in locating both Kottura and Erandapalla in southern Ganjam near the coast. Mr. G. Ramdas slightly differs

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from him, but nevertheless locates Kottura in the same region. His supposition about Kottura being the headquarters of the Āndhra conqueror of Kalinga, the Mahendra of Pisthapura, rests on a superannuated grammatical quibble on the word Giri in the inscription and is therefore unnecessary to discuss here. But even taking that supposition to be correct, it proves all the more the originally wild character of the land between Ganjam and Vizagpatam. But Mr. Ramdas falls into misapprehension as he does not see that Kalinga in the Gupta days was never included in 'Daksinâpatha' as distinct from 'Āryâvarta'. It must be borne in mind that the Allahabad Inscription does not propose to give the exact route of conquest of Samudragupta. It groups together the kings and kingdoms of Daksinâpatha and the kings only of Āryâvarta separately. Samudragupta's expedition lay through parts of Mahâkântara, i. e. the extensive forest lands lying south of the Vindhyas. Probably this was the remnant of the ancient Dandaka forest. This vast forest land crossed by the great hero, lay at a time from the Santal pergunnas and Bundelkhand to the Western Garjats of Orissa upto Bastar, and the great conqueror either did not enter Kalinga, or more probably came to Mahakântâra and Kôsala from Kalinga; but Kalinga not being included in the Dakshinâpatha in Gupta days has not been mentioned in the group of kingdoms thereof. The name of the Kalinga king might have been included in the group of the kings of the Āryâvarta mentioned later in the inscription, Mr. Ramdas again puts Kurala of Dakshinâpatha in the same inscription in the Puri District, and cites for his reason an Oriya word 'Kurali' which he says is still used in the Puri District in the sense of 'many people making sounds together.' I have myself never come across such a word in Oriya vocabulary of Puri, nor is his location of Kurala convincing in any other way. Dr. Bhandarkar's location of Kurala near Jayantinagara is however more probable. The old fort of Kulada and the village Kurala about 25 miles from it, and both in Ganjam mals might be investigated in this connection. Kurala is perhaps a variation of Kuloda, meaning respectable Oda. Mals of Ganjam and Vizag might have been included in the Sonepur tract near Jayantigurh where Dr. Bhandarkar locates Kurâla. But here the contention may arise as to whether kingdoms of the Dakshinâpatha itself were not given in order of sequence. In that case Kurala may be put beyond Pisthapura or north west, west of Kottura beginning from Vizag mals upwards. It is significant to note here in this connection that Kottura too has been mentioned after the Āndhra and Pisthapura. The probability is that Samudragupta did not pass on to the Āndhra country by the coast, and this indicates want of proper coastal communication from Kalinga to Andhra Des. Local geographical conditions may be

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studied closely also to show that near Mandasa the highest peak of the Mahendra chain is so close to the sea and the coastal land is so new that one is inclined to conclude that those parts were probably impassable in early times and were reclaimed more by Kôsalas who in later times extended their territories from Sonepur in the heart of the Oda land as capital to Ganjam and Vizag mals and even to Bastar, than by Āndhras and Kalingas, whose means of communication was inland through parts of Kosala.

Kâlidas (probably 5th century A.D.)

Kâlidas who is perhaps rightly supposed to have poetically worked out his Raghu's conquests on suggestions taken from Harisêna's composition recorded in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta with probably some admixure of his own knowledge of Puranic and actual geography, lays his Raghu's route through Utkala and Kalinga. Either it was the same route as Samudragupta actually took, or Kâlidas intentionally comes a little out of the forest for fear of lacking direct knowledge of places and circumstances for an engaging and lifelike description. His Utkala seems to have extended to the east of Mahâkântara or perhaps includes a portion of it, as well as some tracts now covered by Birbhum, Bankura, West Burdwan, Manbhum, Singhbhum, and Midnapore, i. e. the kingdom of which Karnasuvarna has been known to be capital more than a century later. Kalinga begins beyond the Kapisa (the modern Kasai river of Midnapore) crossed by Raghu by means of elephants, probably supplied by Utkalas, who had forests full of elephants within their territories. But nowhere is it indicated that Kalinga extends beyond Ganjam. Kâlidasa's Mahendra seems to be Mahendra of Kôsala. This also proves that Kalinga extended not beyond Mid-Ganjam. In the 6th Canto of Raghuvamsa Kâlidas describes the king of Kalinga as 'lord of Mahendra as well as the deep'. Mahendra is the name generally applied to the northern portion of the Eastern Ghats, and the mountains of Orissa are still known by the name of Mahendra-mala. The capital of Kalinga was in the Puri District near Chilka, and this fits in well with the description of Kalinga given by Kâlidas. The capital of Kalinga was on the sea beach; this should not at once carry us, as it has carried Mr. Mazumdar and many others to a place far south right into the Āndhra land, in spite of so many other circumstances clearly pointing to the contrary.

Foriegn writers.

Ptolemy in his Geography gives clear indication of Kalinga extending from North Ganjam towards the Ganges. He says that there was a tract of land between Koddura and Khryse, i. e. some

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portion of the South Ganjam Coast, which was being passed over by all ships from the south, there being no convenient coasting station. Koddura may well be identified with Kottura of Samudragupta's conquest, and Ptolemy's Paloura near Khryse with the present Palur in the North Ganjam coast. Thus the indication is evident that the whole of South- and Mid-Ganjam coast was very uninviting for traders. The land as I have said, was peopled by forest tribes between Kalinga and Āndhra and was in all probability nominally a part of the South Kôsala Kingdom, the capital of which was inland among the mountains of the Mahendra Chain.

Hiun Tsang, the Chinese Traveller.

By Hieun Tsang's time under unavoidable circumstances Kalinga had removed to South Ganjam; but even then the way from Kangoda to the New Kalinga does not seem well passable. The traveller had to go to Kalinga from Kangoda through Kôsala, i. e. by a route much inland.

It may now be safely concluded that in ancient times Kalinga did not extend beyond Mid-Ganjam; and the way from Kalinga to Āndhra land was through Kôsala, whose king, and not that of Kalinga or Āndhra, could have been the nominal lord of the coastal wilds of South Ganjam, where at times temporary forest kingdoms rose and fell. The present Estate of Manjuśa (Mandasa) which means a box protected from all sides, and the ancient kingdom of Kotturu which means a new village, and Erandapalla, which means two villages are all situate in these tracts. And the meaning of their names may be noted in this connection.

Location of Kalinganagari and the capital of Kalinga.

Mukhalingam is identified with Kalinganagari, the capital of Kalinga and creates a general predisposition, so to say, among historians who are thus somewhat saved from the rigour of their almost groping investigation by locating the capital of Kalinga at Mukhalingam from the very earliest times of the kingdom to its extinction. Pliny mentions Dandagula as the capital of Kalinga. Megasthenes once names it Parthalis. This Dandagula is Dantapura mentioned in the Buddhist Jatakas and the Digha Nikâya. Ceylonese Pali works explain the name as the city of the Tooth-Relic. Hiuen Tsang says that this place had a Stupa with a gem on its crown visible like a star at night from Câritra (Ce-li-ta-lu) the port of the kingdom he calls Uca. Câritra has been proved by the late Pandit Krupasindhu Misra in his memorable work on Konarka to have been a port on the site of the present ruins of Konarka, 22 miles from Puri. In a clear evening I have myself seen from Konarka the present Temple of

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Jagannath at Puri clean painted on the horizon in the bright Western sky. Dantapura is again undoubtedly the present Puri of Jagannath in which name the Buddha is worshipped as an incarnation of Vishnu. As is well known, there is something hidden in the image of Jagannath which nobody is ever allowed to see or touch. With sevenfold silk cloth in hand a man blindfolded is made to take it out from the old and put it in the new image every 12 years when the image is changed. This secret something is nothing but the tooth-relic of the Buddha mentioned above. This tooth-relic must have been brought or sent to the capital of the kingdom long before the time of Asoka. Even Simhapura, the place of Kalinga King Simhabahu in the days of Vijayasimha, points to present Puri. The part of the names Pura is significant here. Perhaps 'Simhapura', the city of Simha (lion), was changed into 'Dantapura', the city of the Tooth.

Parthalis is the Greek variation of Patthara (Skt. prastara), and Pandit Krupasindhu Misra suggests that Eka-prastara (Pali—Ekapatthara) which was the name of Tosali or present Dhauli in the Puranas has been mentioned as Parthalis by Megasthenes. For, during Asoka's days and sometime before it the capital of Kalinga was Tosali, near the present Bhuvanesvar, about which there is little difference of opinion among historians.

Then the Cêta Dynasty which became independent in Kalinga after the Mauryas had their capital in Kalinganagari which was situate on the Port of Chilka. Mr. Mazumdar, like many of his predecessors, locates it in Mukhalingam, but it is evident from the Hathigumpha inscription itself that the capital was in the present Puri District not much distant from the place where the inscription is found, and besides as I have said no trace of Kalinga is found near Mukhalingam in those days. Khâravela has been said in the inscription to have dug a canal from the garden of Tosali to his own Palace-lands—Tanasuliyabâtâ panâdim nagaram pavêsa(ya)ti, is the reading of Prof. K. P. Jayswal. But the correct reading in the line is not 'Tanasuliya' but 'Tausuliya'. The half horizontal stroke of the letter in the corroded inscription makes it difficult for Mr. Jayswal to distinguish between 'na' and 'u'. In Kalingan variety of Magadhi 'Tosali' should be 'Tausali or Tausuli'as is well proved by the present phonetic variation of the Oriya language; and the word 'Naara' for 'Nagara' is still used in Orissa in the sense of King's palace alone and in no other sense. The river Daya according to the local tradition was originally an artificial canal dug out by Rsi Dadhici to supply water to a place in bad want of it. Tosali which had been the capital of Kalinga in pre-Asokan days, and was the seat of the Maurya Viceroy as well, might naturally have been shunned by the Cêta

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family probably as inauspicious, as it was full of sad memory for the Ailas of Kalinga. The seat of the capital was therfore removed to some place towards the Chilka Lake into which the canal from the river Bhargavi, which was flowing by the garden of Tosali, had to be made for the convenience of the people of the new Palace. Probably the canal, needed only for the new palace, was given an outlet in the Chilka Lake, which was in those days not very far from the new capital. Rivers Daya and Bhargavi gradually silt up the bed of Chilka, and within memory of man the waters of the Lake have receded more than a mile forming arable land on the coast. This silting up of Chilka has now been a problem before the Government in remedying the present devastating floods of the Puri District.

Now in connection with the capital of ancient Kalinga, we find four names, viz., Dantapur, Parthalis, Tosali, and Kalinganagari. Let us see if there are any traces of them in Puri District. Dantapur is undoubtedly the present Puri of Jagannath; and Tosali, Dhauli near Bhuvanesvar, as conclusively proved by M.R.Ry. Haraprasad Sastri and other scholars. There are again two villages some eight or ten miles from Puri, and about as much from Chilka named Koranga and Pateli with Kalingesvari as the village Goddess. For about 3 centuries and a half these names have been officially discarded by a Raja of Puri named Ramacandra Dev, for Vijaya Ramacandrapur and Pratap Ramacandrapur, two Brahman Sasanas on the Localities set up by the Raja. But in common parlance the old names still persist. It is interesting to note in this connection that Kodanga, the Oriya Phonetic variation of Kalinga, as I shall presently explain, is found in the word Koranga; and kinship of Parthalis may well be traced in Pateli. The name of the Goddess, Kalingesvari (Goddess of Kalinga) is also particularly suggestive.

Tri-Kalinga and Tailanga.

Another misconception is due to the information recorded by ancient European writers, e. g., Pliny after Megasthenes, who in his description of India mentions 3 Kalingas, i. e., Gangaridae Galingae, Modo Galingae, and Macco Galingae. Much speculation is ventured by scholars on these three terms, and three distinct Kalinga Kingdoms with their respective location from the Ganges to the Godavari have been made out of them. Macco Galingae or Magolinga has been identified with Mukhalingam as its later phonetic derivative; and three Kalingas taken together are formed into Tri-Kalinga from which the derivation of Tailanga, the Sanskritised name of the Telugu Country has also been presumed. But I am simply surprised that the word Mukhalingam has not yet been made to represent mun- (Tamil—three) Kalinga, which would give rise to still further fancies

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in starting hypotheses. For certain it is that no orthodox Āndhra philologist will ever think of deriving the native word Telugu (Tenugu) from Sanskrit 'Tri-Kalinga', or even Tailanga, which latter word is a mere impostor, so to say, used pedantically for the word Telugu probably by some Sanskrit loving Pandits to whom all over India all indigenous words are slang.

Prof. B. C. Mazumdar again goes further in his tangential boldness in this connection. He explains Modo-Kalingae as the Greek variation of Mudu-Kalinga (Telugu, mudu being three), and attempts to find the term applied as such to the Kalinga-Ratta (Kalinga Colony) of Burma Coast centuries before the Christian Era. This 'mudu' he fancies was somehow translated into 'tri' in course of centuries, and from this Tri-Kalinga came the word Tailanga. This in his opinion speaks two ways. First it proves three Kalingas from long before the Christian Era, and secondly, it signifies that the language and culture of Kalinga were throughout Āndhra or Telugu. But the monstrosity of this very ingenious supposition is obvious, Place-names, set for centuries among a people, esp., a vast people like the Kalingas and those of many other kingdoms of India for the matter of that, are impossible of being thus translated and newly forced into use, nor is it ever proved that the Telugu 'mudu' took its present form centuries before Christian Era, when old Tamil was the common tongue of all the peoples of the Dravid and Andhra land.

Megasthenes recorded the names not of kingdoms but of peoples as he heard them said. His record is nothing like critical geography. But it may however be supposed that more than one Kalingas were known. Probably these three names represented peoples that migrated into Kalinga for settlement in different waves, or included peoples of colonies of Kalinga on the Burma coast or other distant lands, which bore the name of Kalinga.

Kalingas had also trade relations with Ballabhi, Pâtâla, and the Persian coast. The intercourse was common and frequent. Prof. K. P. Jayswal's reading of the Hathigumpha Inscription makes it clear that not only the Kalingas had trade in Persian coast, but Khâravela married a princess of Vazira West of the land of the Madrâs beyond the present Afghan border. People of Madra and Persia, called the latter Magois by the Greeks, might well have migrated to Kalinga for settlement. Kapila Samhita, as well as Bhâgavata and Padmapuran make mention of Sakadvipi (Persian) Brahmans coming on invitation and settling in Candrabhaga in Puri District for worshipping the sun. Pandit Krupasindhu Misra has conclusively proved it on Puranic and other authorities. The name Magois and the ancient name of the Muggs of Arakan and other parts

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of Burma should therefore be investigated in connection with the word Macco-Kalingae. And a Madra settlement in Kalinga, or even possibly a Kalinga Settlement in Madra might have been responsible for the term Modo-Kalinga as well. It is, however, very cogent here to note that in the 9th Canto of Bhiśma Parva of Mahabharata both Kalinga and Madra Kalinga find mention among the kingdoms of the Aryâvarta, and another Kalinga has been counted in the group in which Cinas and Kambojas find their place. They are classed among peoples—probably non-Indian in origin, Mlecchas—of lands to the East. This well indicates Kalingas in the Burma Coast, which might also have been Megasthenes' Macco-Kalinga. Again the name Modo-Kalinga is significant, and Greek Modo for Indian Madra is quite intelligible.

What I mean to suggest on the whole is that the explanation of Modo- and Macco-Kalingas of Megasthenes should be based on a thorough understanding of the entire situation, and not got up to fit in with a preconceived notion clinging round the idea of Tri-Kalinga fancifully molten or cast into Tailinga or Telugu country, which was never within the natural boundaries of Kalinga, but was Āndhra land with Āndhra culture, tradition and language.

The word Tri-Kalinga round which so much is built finds no distinct mention in epigraphic or other records before the time of the Kôsala Guptas' conquest of Orissa. These Kôsala Guptas, it may be presumed, considered it glorious to call themselves Tri-Kalingadhipati as Kalinga by that time had been broken up into three different kingdoms, viz., Utkala, Kangoda, and Kôsala itself or the Principality of Kalinga in South Ganjam. For there is every probability that Kôsalas considered themselves a part of Kalinga when annexed, and a Kalinga when independent. The kingdom was surely a part of Kalinga very often. The Airas of Tosali driven by Asoka went there to reign as independent sovereigns. It was included in the territories of the Cêta Dynasty who came from Kosala to Kalinga to declare independence against the Mauryas Kôsala is therefore not counted in the conquests of Khâravela, though Mosala or Musika Nagara beyond Kôsala has been distinctly mentioned. Kûrma Purana states that Amarakantaka hills in which the Narmada rises, were included in Kalinga. All this may well indicate that Kôsala Guptas had not conquered the then forest Principality of Kalinga before they called themselves Tri-Kalingadhipati. This term Tri-Kalinga, moreover, is never proved to have come into common use, and bold hypothetical speculations over the word therefore are unwarranted.

Disruption of Kalinga.

Here it may not be irrelevant to give a detailed description of the disruption of Kalinga. During the early centuries of the Christain

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Era the Āndhras became the Imperial power in India, and with the Sungas in Magadha a tendency for Hindu revival arose. Kalinga was the seat of Buddhist relic before the Mauryas. There has yet been found no epigraphic records to show that Buddhism came to Kalinga before the Maurya conquest. But certain it is from Hathigumpha inscription that the Nandas had taken away Jain images from Kalinga which Khâravela had to recover. The Bauddha of those days cannot be supposed to have lagged behind the Jain. Tooth Relic at Puri therefore may safely be presumed to have long preceded Asoka. The Tooth Relic had by this time a long and sacred tradition behind it, and it was undoubtedly in the charge and keeping of the king. And partly on account of the rise of the Āndhras, and partly on account of the revival of Hinduism the eyes of all India were turned towards the Kalinga kingdom. In about the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. Nâgârajuna of Kânchi came to Puri to convert into the newly started Mahayân school of Buddhism, both the king and the people of Kalinga, who had probably showed a tendency in favour of the new Hinduism, or were still staunch about the orthodox Magadhan school of Buddhism called Hinayâna, In the Tibetan records is stated that Nâgârjuna converted the king of otisa. In all probability Kôsalas who had by that time removed from Sripur in C. P. to Sambalpur tracts, which had long been inhabited by a tribe called Odas (Skt. Udras), took advantage of the shaky position of the Kalinga Throne, came out with their Oda legions, and took possession of the much coveted Tooth Relic, the very key of the then religious life of India. The legend of Indradyumna, which I shall narrate presently in another connection, might well have some relation with this incident. Since then Jagannath was known as Odisa or the Lord of the Odas, round about whom in after times developed the kingdom of Kalingoda or Kangoda.

The other important factor in this scramble over the supremacy of Kalinga was Utkal, which originally lay between the kingdoms of Gaya and Kalinga and contiguous to both. Bauddha literature clearly mentions the fact that Utkalas were coming to Gaya with merchandise loaded in carts for purposes of trade. These Utkalas first emerge into clear historical view during the days when their capital was Karnasuvarna, and their king Sasânka of Sailodbhava family overran the whole of Kalinga and probably annexed for a time the entire territory including North Ganjam. Kangoda which had been a separate kingdom was also conquered.

Hiuen Tsang finds three different kingdoms in old Kalinga i. e., Tamralipti in the North, Uca or Utkal in the middle, and kangoda or Kongada in the South. The name Kalinga which had by that time removed to the forest lands of Chicacole has been named separately. In his Uça the traveller mentions no king or capital but

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only speaks of the flourishing port of Celitalu (caritra). The newly acquired territory of Kalinga by the Utkalas of Karnasuvarna was not yet perhaps treated by the Utkalas as a natural part of their own kingdom, and formed into a viceroyalty, or a separate vassal kingdom with some name which the traveller pronounces Uca. To identify the word Uca either with Utkala or Oda is rather hasty for a historian, for it was still considered a part of Kalinga like Kangoda and Kôsala long after the time of Hiuen Tsang.

Towards the end of the 8th century came the Guptas of Kôsala with Saiva faith and semi-fanatic spirit of Brahmanism. The second king, Yayati Mahabhavagupta made Jajpur his head quarters in the new territory and wanted to perform a sacrifice (Yajna) there in right orthodox Brahmanic fashion. The old Kalinga Brahmanas now called in Orissa Mastans (Mahastana meaning a place of Viśnu or Mahayâna worship) and the Oda or other Brahmanas of Kôsala, who now abound under various names in Ganjam, Sambalpur and Garjats (Native States) of Orissa, were considered unfit for sacrificial purposes, and Yayati had to bring down 10 thousand Brahmans from Kanyakubja, whose descendants now go by the name of Utkala Brahmans. The indigenous Brahmanas of the land were so contemptuously treated by the new fanatics that even now the word 'Kodanga' (Kalinga) is used by the Brahmans of Puri to their own men in the sense of wanting in manners or ceremony; and though Kalinga or Mastan Brahmanas still hold almost complete possession of the temple of Jagannath, they have been nowhere else in Orissa in any way connected with a temple. And the Pandas of Jagannath temple are treated by the Utkala Brahmans practically as Non-Brahmans, and a significant custom has arisen to class all Brahmans worshipping in public temples as of a very low class.

About Colonisation.

Another misconception though not quite of a like nature centres round the legend regarding the colonisation of Ceylon, where as I have referred to the first historical or semi-historical mention of Kalinga is to be found. There is more than one version of the story, but the one I mainly adopt here is from the Cambridge History of India, recently published, which is presumed to have given a version critically authentic.

Vijaya Simha was a prince of the Lata country, and he married the princess of Kalinga, the daughter of Simhabahu. Prince Vijaya was somehow banished from his fatherland, and with his wife sailed to Ceylon in 5th century B. C. and became king there. This is the first Aryan settlement of Ceylon. Lata in this story is a name which is responsible for various geographical speculations. Bengali historians

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generally identify it with Rādha or West Bengal. Others locate it in Gujrat, and others again combine the two, and find in the legend an indication of two streams of Aryan colonisation of Ceylon—one from Kalinga and another from the Gujrat side. But the Rādha of West Bengal first finds mention in the Bhavisya Purana written not earlier than 6th century A. D. Eleven hundred years before that it was in all probability an unreclaimed forest land included in the ancient Dandaka. Ladha mentioned in Jain Ayaranga Sutta which is often cited in this connection has neither been critically dated nor properly located. Nor were the people of this Radha sea-faring, considering that the sea-board from the Ganges to Ganjam was Kalinga. That Radha is West Bengal is therefore out of the question. That Lata or Lala is Gujrat too a rather for-fetched, nor is its antiquity conclusively proved.

Lata, Lala or Radha are but variations of Prakrta Ratta (Skt. Rastra) representing a land newly colonised, reclaimed, and organised into a kingdom. There was Kalinga Ratta in Burma Coast. This is one of the earliest Rattas ever mentioned, Colonel Gerini finds in his studies in Ptolemy's Geography that Aryans of Northern India established their colonies in coasts of Burma and Farther India as early as 7th century B. C. by driving away the Dravidians who had been earlier settlers in those lands. And the colony of the Kalingas in Burma was called Kalinga Ratta as has been stated by Prof. Mazumdar himself. This Ratta had probably a royal family transplanted from Kalinga, and in matrimonial relations with the royal family of the parent Kalinga of the mainland.

The legendary lore of Puri abounds in events like this matrimony beyond the ocean of merchants and men of royal family. For instance, one legend gives that a prince was enamoured of a princess beyond the seas of whom he happened to hear from his merchants. The prince sailed in search of her, was ship-wrecked on the way and was stranded in an island full of earth which was really gold. The prince then made bricks of that gold-earth, and when he was rescued put those bricks in the ship. The crew and the captain got scent of the character of those bricks, and cunningly left the prince in a desert island. After many ups and downs the prince was saved, found the land of the princess, secured and married her, and returned home, where afterwards he found out the faithless merchant and executed him after getting back the gold bricks. This and like legends well speak of matrimonial relations of Orissan royal family of ancient times with families in lands beyond the ocean and the golden brick may also indicate Burma Coast, which is called Suvarnabhumi (land of gold) in our ancient literature.

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Some forms of Vijaya Simha legend speak of Magadha and other kingdoms which Vijaya travelled. In Burma the Kalingas named their contiguous kingdom Utkala (Utkala) as observed by Mr. Mazumdar. Many other kingdoms, towns, cities in Burma bear names of Indian kingdoms, towns, and cities—a practice common among many colonising people, and is perhaps natural. This well explains Vijaya's travel in kingdoms bearing Indian names. Or it may be that such additions to the legend are later and therefore discarded in critical history.

Character of Kalinga Culture.

Historians often labour to find that Kalingas throughout their history were a Dravidian people, of Dravidian culture and Language, and were in all respects akin to the Andhras, of whom they may be considered a branch, so to say. Mr. Mazumdar clearly puts it that when the Aryanised Utkalas and Udras poured into the coastal strip of present Orissa, the Kalingas bodily removed themselves to the southern portion of their kingdom with their king, culture, tradition, language and everything to fuse smoothly with their Āndhra kinsmen in the south. They settled in Tailang, which had been the main Tri-Kalinga territory. But as I have already said, and as Mr. Venkatrangaya has recently proved it in the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. III, No. 1, that Tailanga or Telugu (Tenugu) is the native name of which the Sanskrit synonym is Āndhra and the vernacular word came to be applied to the land, language etc., after the 11th century A. D. with the use of vernacular literature, and the word has nothing to do with Kalinga or any of its variants.

From about the 7th century B. C. or even earlier, i.e., from the days of the Vedic Sutras downwards, Kalinga has been a kingdom of the Āryâvarta of which it is the last settlement through Anga and Vanga. True it is that in early Āryan literature Anga, Vanga and Kalinga, and esp., the latter two have been despised to prove that they were in the process of reclamation and settlement. Here it must be borne in mind that there is no ethnological division like Arya or Dravid land in India. Āryâvarta is as full of Dravid blood as the Dravid land itself. It is culture, language, and other allied institutions that make for the distinction. Āndhras and Kalingas are in this sense distinct from each other. Āryan naturalisation succeeded completely to the southern limit of Kalinga, beyond which it practically failed, for the concentrated Dravid culture in the south beyond Kalinga was in its robustnes and vitality too much for the Aryans to replace. Hence even now the natural limit of Kalinga and Āndhra is to be traced in border land where Aryan and Dravid languages meet, for language is the main vehicle of human culture.

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So far as is known the Āndhras have had a culture more robust and a history more glorious than the Kalingas. They were for centuries the Imperial power in India. Orthodox Puranas have counted their Emperors among Dynastic Kśatriya kings of Bharata-varśa. Mahabharata at least once mentions one Āndhra among the kingdoms of Aryavarta. But nothing can lead to the conclusion that culture and language of Āndhra have not remained Dravid in the main. To mix them with those of Kalinga with convenient hypotheses to facilitate preconceived conclusions is not what should be expected of any historian.

Mr. Mazumdar particularly more than any one else has a peculiar Dravid bias and he tries to make out that Khâravela was a Dravidian in culture. The very name Khâravela he twists in Tamil to mean 'man with a spear'. He discards the explanation of the name to indicate 'king with salt in abundance in his coast'. By 'khâra' he understands saltpetre which according to him is inauspicious. But one would expect him to have been acquainted with the common vocabulary of Puri, the home of Khâravela. Khâra in Puri still stands for salt used on ceremonial occasions, and means salt in some very homely idoms. Salt was besides in olden days a rare thing in inland country. Even so late as 17th century A. D. a Brahman was granted a village by a Raja of Sambalpur tracts for making a present of pure salt. People inland were otherwise using impure salt-earth. Thus Khâravela is an Aryan name; and like Suddhodana which means 'good rice', it stood for 'coast full of salt'. Even so early as in the days of Vijaya the name of the king of Kalinga was Simhabahu, evidently an Aryan name.

Clear it is from the Hathigumpha Inscription that Khâravela learnt to read and write in his youth. Reading and writing in Dravid language were unknown in those days. Besides from at least the days of Asoka Kalinga became a seat of learning so far as distinct history is concerned. Puri had been long before Asoka an important place for Bauddha and Jaina culture as has already been paid. The words 'Tausuliya', 'Nagara (Nagara)', and even 'Khâra' refered to above and words like 'Vevahâra' in the Hathigumphâ Inscription with their peculiar philological significance clearly point to the beginnings of evolution of Aryan language and culture in the land of Kalinga by the time of Khâravela.

The name 'Aila' or 'Aira' has been made much of in this connection. Some Kings of Dravid lands in old times have also used it. But nevertheless it is undoubtedly a mark of distinction indicating 'Arya, at a time when Kalinga was still to some extent being looked down upon by the Aryans of the North, and the estimation of the

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kingdom of the South must have been much worse. The scrupulous attempt to stick to the title 'Aira', therefore, speaks for itself.

Puranas give us the story of 'Ela' whose sons were Gaya and Utkala, meaning thereby allegorically that all those kingdoms as well as their kings were Ailar or Aryanised. It is not again far to infer that Khâravela had himself some relation in descent with Utkala or Gaya kings who were preeminently Ailas.

The institution of Jagannatha.

The greatest institution which has still remained a legacy of Kalinga is the Jagannath of Puri to which I have already referred. But unfortunately its history has been sadly neglected, and historians like Mr. Mazumdar would actually like us to belive that the whole thing was as it were a mushroom-growth under the Ganga kings of Orissa, though it is undoubtedly something which had acquired an India-wide character, importance, and significance long before Anantavarman Chodaganga Deva came on the throne of the country of Jagannatha. It was the last great stronghold of the Buddhist faith cleverly compromised into the Neo-Vedic School of Vaiśnavism during the days of Brahmanic revival after the Mauryas. As is evident from Purans and tradition Chodaganga rebuilt and repaired the temple which another king of Orissa had built upon the place where centuries, before the time of the latter the Savara God Jagannatha had been brought into prominence by a very ancient king of Malava (central India) named Indradyumna. It is the institution of Jagannath, which has influenced the life of the Kalinga people from the earliest times to the present day, and has given the type culture peculiar to the race. It has moreover been very greatly instrumental in moulding the life of the whole of India for centuries, and has added more to the common culture of the entire nation than any other institution. kingdom, or province has ever been able to do. As the formal Hinduisation of the Buddhist worship of the Tooth, it is the very history incarnate of the entire evolution of Indian life and relegion, in which both the humanly pious Savara and the sacerdotally sanctimonious Brahman have merged their identity in the holy and comprehensive synthesis of Jagannath, the lord of the universe; and it is with this Hinduisation of the Tooth of Buddha again that the bar on Kalinga was completely raised, its Aryan character was permanently recognised, and "the whole of Orissa" became, in the words of the Encyclopedia Britannica, "holy ground".

Jagannath is called Bauddhavatara by the Hindus. The Buddha is being worshipped here as an incarnation of Visnu. There is counting of incarnations in many Purans. But Jagannath as Bauddhavatara is found in none of them except Padma Purana, where

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the whole legend of Jagannath is given. I may give a gist of the legend here in very brief outlines.

Viśnu was being worshipped as Buddha by a Savara on the sea shore in an inaccessible place full of jungles. The Savara was guarding the god carefully against its being captured by others. Indradyumna, king of Malava was a devoted worshipper of Viśnu, whom he wanted to worship in earthly form or living incarnation. He dreamt of this Buddha-Visnu, and was told in the dream cleverly to take it from the hands of the Savara, which was not easy. He sent his young Brahman minister Vidyapati on this mission. Vidyapati came through fields and forests and after many days and with much difficulty reached the place of the Savara, but could not see the god which was hidden in the wilderness; nor would the Savara for anything in the world show him the way to the god. The Brahman lived in the Savara's house and in course of months managed to fall in love with the Savara's daughter, who by a clever manoevre made Vidyapati see the way to the god. Then on the Brahman's promise to marry the girl the Savara agreed to make over the god to the Raja of Vidyapati. Indradyumna then came and worshipped the god there, but to set him up in Vaisnavic pomp, he went to Svarga and other places to invite Brahma, and other Gods and Ṛsis. By the time he came back with Brahma and others, the god had been claimed by Galamadhava, the king of the place. Then through the mediation of the invited gods the claims of Indradyumna were established as the first discoverer, but Galamadhava was also allowed to worship the god, and remained in charge of it after Indradyumna left for Malava.

The descendants of Savara are still there in Puri considered as kinsmen of Jagannath, and are known by the name of Daitas. Vidyapati's descendants too are there known as Pati Brahmans.

During the post-Maurya revival of semi-fanatic Brahmanism, Dantapuri was probably neglected, and the famous Relic was guarded secretly by Buddhists, called Savaras and afterwards Daitas (Skt. Daitya). Calling non-Hindus by the names of Mleccha, Yavana, Daitya is not un-common in post-Mauryan Hindu literature. Puri Temple Records generally do so. The Odas of the forests of the West Kalinga must have been better and more orthodox adherents of the old religion than the more cosmopolitan and therefore more changeable people of the plains. Sovereignty of these Odas must have been alternately divided between the Kosalas and the Kalingas, and in course of time some of the Odas might have settled in Puri, the sacred place of the Tooth. These Odas as a matter of duty guarded the neglected Tooth. Or, may be, Indradyumna came with the Oda king, perhaps the then Kosalas of Sambalpur tract, or was the Oda king himself with a nominal sway over the Kalinga-side of the

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Oda land. Hence the term Odisa was applied to Jagannath, and even now locally applied to the place near the Temple.

Now in conclusion I shall simply hint an explanation of this Odisa or Jagannath as a symbol of compromise between Buddhism and Hinduism, so important perhaps in the world's history of relegious evolution. The Asokan school of Buddhism was Hinayâna or the more orthodox branch. During the time of Kaniska rose in Western Upper India the Mahayâna school which had traces of Hindu influence, and was somewhat tolerant of Hindu form of worship, and in the course of a century or two developed distinct tendency of melting into Vaishnavism. Thus in the early centuries of the Christian Era Western and Upper India was found influenced by the Mahâyana-Vaishnava faith and form of worship, and it remained for the Hinayâna school to change into the more austere Saiva cult in later times. Nagarjuna's conversion of the king of Odisa into Mahayâna Buddhism took place some time during this period, and thus prepared the way for the Tooth Relic of Buddha being turned into an institution of Vaishnava worship. The Tooth Relic was famous all over India, and not only sages like Nâgârjuna in the South, but also new Vaishnavas like Indradyumna in central India were having a keen and wistful eye on it. It was therefore for Indradyumna to take the untold troubles and humiliation in coming through hills and jungles dales, ditches and rivers, marrying his faithful minister to a Savara girl, and leaving him permanently on the inaccessible shores of Puri, and begging an almost cringing compromise of the de facto impostor Galamadhava to persuade the holy Tooth into a homely and personal God with intimations more human than divine. But probably somewhat unfortunately for the pious zealot the half fossilised tooth of Buddha grown almost adamant in ages did not completely give way, and he had to effect a grand compromise in the Orissan school of new religion for which he had to invite gods and sages from all parts of the world known to him. Thus it is that on the historic shores of ancient Kalinga both Buddha and Vishnu meet in eternal comradeship; and Buddha becomes an Avatar of Vishnu. The Buddhist accepts the Hindu form of worship; and the orthodox, fanatic Brahman observes neither caste nor untouchability.

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KOTA CHIEFS OF AMARAVATI.

By BHAVARAJU V. KRISHNARAO, B. A., B. L.

The history of Andhradesa during the eleventh and twelfth centuries is the history of petty but powerful feudatory families that ruled independently over small territories. These rulers called themselves *Mandalêsvaras* and *Mahâmandalêsvaras*, and often carried on internecine warfare for the purpose of extending their kingdoms into the territories of their neighbours. Of these, Telugu Chôḍas of Vikramasimhapura (Modern Nellore), Velanâṭi Chôḍas of Tsandavôlu or Dhanadupura, Kôṭas of Dharaṇikôṭa, Parichchêdis of Kollipâkapura, Haihayas of Palnâd, Châgi chieftains of Gudimetta or Nathavâdi, and lastly Châlukyas of Kolanupura are the most important that deserve a careful study. From amidst the struggle and turmoil of the last days of eleventh century rose a gradually a new family which became in less than quarter of a century the most powerful dynasty that could claim suzerainty over all Andhra and bring all the Telugu speaking people under its protection and rule. I refer to the Kâkatiyas of Warangal. It is my desire to trace the history of these local chiefs and their families one after another and construct a coherent and connected history of Andhra during the two centuries that followed the removal of the central government of the Eastern Chalukyas from Râjahmahêndravaram to Kânchipuram in the South, till the establishment of the Kâkatiya supramacy over all Andhra. I shall first take up the Kôṭas of Amarâvati.

The accession of Kulôttunga Chola I to the throne of the Chôḷas marks a definite period in the history of Andhradesa. The country thenceforward came to be governed by viceroys, who were selected in the early days from the members of the royal family but later on from the *Mahâmandalêsvaras* and the feudatory chiefs of the country. The appointment of royal viceroys to Vengirajya, (that was the name by which Andhradesa in those days was called) ne essitated the raising the rank and power of many a captain of war distinguished for heroic services to the dignity of a *Mahâmandalêsvara* by Kulottunga Chola I, in order to keep down the turbulent pride of his imperial children. In a way this policy proved to be successful, but in the end its results were unexpected. These herditary chiefs in the early days could stem the growing power and influence of the royal viceroys but in the end were themselves kept down by their masters. They remained weak in spite of their ambition, and filled their lives with internal warfare in later days when the hand of the Chola Emperors

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could not reach the land of Vengi, to put down the quarrelling elements. In the end all those powerful families that rose into power during the eleventh and twelfth centuries naturally decayed and paved the way for the rise of the Kakatiya power in the west at Warangal (Orugallu or Ekaśilânagari). It was early in those eventful times that the Kôṭa chiefs first came into prominence, and carved out a small but powerful kingdom in the western region of the present Guntur District.

The Kôṭas appear to be immigrants from the west i.e. the Kanarese country that settled down finally in the region round Amaravati or Dharanikota on the southern bank of the Krishna river. That region is known is history and local tradition as "Shatsahasra Vishaya" or the Telugu "Āru Vêlanâḍu" which means the "Sixth Thousand Country." It is suggested that the name of the tract like the other *nâdus* of Andhradesa denotes the number of villages (or grâmas) comprising the district; but it does not seem to be correct. It might mean the extent or the area of the district expressed in terms of *grâma*, a kind of unit of land measurement, that obtained in those days.[1] Whatever that might be, the Kôṭas regarded themselves as the traditional rulers of this Āru Vêlanâḍu like their predecessers the Parichchêdis and Kondapaḍumaṭis, and lords of Sri Dhânyavâṭîpura, which is the ancient name for Amarâvati. It may be assumed safely that these chiefs came to the known as the Kotâs, on account of their claiming overlordship over Kôta i. e. Dharnikota which is another name for Dhânyavâṭîpura.

The *birudugadya*[2] of the Kota Chieftains suggests that their *vamsakarta* or the first great person in the family, whoever he might be, obtained the kingdom of 'Shatsahasra Vishaya' on the southern bank of the Krishna river through the favour of a mythical king, Trinayana Pallava. It is not possible to identify and fix the age of this prince; but he might be taken to be one of the last kings of the Pallava dynasty of Kanchi. Therefore the Kota chiefs, like those

1. See Mr. Somasekhara Sarma's paper on the Form of Government in Ancient Andhra; in *Jayanti* Vol. 1. pages 75 ff.

2. The Birudu-gadya is as follows:—

Svasti chatussamudra mudritâ=nikhila vasumdharâ-paripâlaka Sri-maTtri-nayana Pallava prasâdâsâdita-Krshnavenna-nadî-rakshana-Shatsahasrâ=vanî-vallabha bhayalôpadurlabha Chôda-Châlukya-sâmanta madânêkapa mrgêndra-vibhavâmarêndra Srimad Amarêsvara dêva divya sri-pâdâpadmârâdhakâ=para chala sâdhaka Srî Dhânyakata-kapuravarâdhîsvara Pratâpa lankêsvara Kavigalamonada kai Kaduvari-Jivakai Gandaraganda Gandabhêrunda Jagamechuganda Agnimârtânda nâmâdi samasta prasasti sahitam Srîmân mahâmanda-lêsvara etc.

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who also state that they obtained their kingdoms through the favour of this half-historical and half-mythical king, Trinayana Pallava, might be captains of war that distinguished themselves in the wars of Trinayana Pallava, with the Chalukyas of the west, and obtained the small tract of country from him as a token of distinction and gratitude in the seventh century. The phrase "*Chôla-Châlukya sâmanta-madânêkapa mrgêndra-vibhavâmarêndra*" in the *birudu gadya* of this family also denotes that they were originally enemies of the Chodas and Chalukyas, which also, confirms the fact that Kôṭas were friends and followers of the Pallavas. In the later days of Pallava rule, Chodas and Chalukyas, tried to uproot the Pallava Family and establish their own supremacy over the territory ruled by the latter. Some of the Kanarese titles in the same birudugadya strongly indicate also the Kanarese origin of the family.

The Kôṭas called themselves the worshippers of the lotus feet of lord *Amarêsvarasvâmin* of Amarâvati, which clearly establishes their *Saiva* creed. They called themselves lords of Sri Dhânyakaṭa-kapura, even after some of the later kings shifted their capital to other cities. Their family crest is said to be *Gandabhêrunda* or the two headed male Eagle, which is also the crest for the Kadambas of Banavasi. The *Gadabhêrunda* crest can be seen on the seal of the Yedavalli Copper plate grant of Kêta Raja III, which is now in the Madras Museum.

The Shatsahasra Vishaya appears to have been held in the early part of the twelfth century A. D. by a line of chiefs of the Durjaya Family who called themselves "Lords of Konḍapadumati", and then by another collteral line of chiefs who called themselves the lords of Kollipâkapura. The next rulers of this country after these were the Kôṭa chiefs of Amarâvati. The first appearance of the Kôtas as prominent rulers and *mahâmandalêswaras* is in the reign of the Chalukya-Choda emperor Tribhuvana Chakravartin, Rajaraja II, who ruled from A. D. 1146 to 1178. The earliest record of the family that has so far come to light is from Pedamakkena[3] in the Sattenapalli Taluka of the Guntur District, not far from Amarâvati. The insciption is dated in Śaka year 1082 (A. D. 1160), and records the grant of a piece of land to the local temple by Bhûtamahâdêvi, queen of Kôṭa Gaṇḍaparâja. This lady gives the geneology of her husband's family in that inscription which is in Telugu verse. According to it, in the valourous and illustrious fourth caste *(Chaturthakula)* there arose a prince by name Dhananjaya, who became so famous that his descendants regarded him as their progenitor and called themselves born in *Dananjaya Gôtra*. In that *gôtrâ*, after several

3. List of Antiquities, Vol. 1. p. 65 and Loc. Rec. Vol. 42 p. 433 ff.

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kings, was born a prince called Bêtâ, whose son was Gaṇḍabhûpati. Gaṇḍabhupati had a son Bhima alias Mummadi Bhima, whose queen was Sûrasâni. Bhima's son was Gaṇḍa bhûpati (II), the husband of Bhuta mahâdêvi, the donor of the present grant.

Roughly for twenty years afterwards nothing is heard of the Kôṭa chiefs until we come to *Mahâmandalesvara* Kôṭa Bhîmarâja (II) and his son Kêtarâja II. Bhima's father's name is mentioned as Kêta(I) by a later day grant of queen Gaṇapâmba, wife of Kôṭa Bêtaraja,[4] but it is not clear how this Bhima II or his father Kêta I were related to Bhûtamahâdevi of the Pedamakkena record. It might be that Kêta I was a brother's son of Gaṇḍaparâja, and the latter having no issue, Kêta I suceeded to the throne. But nothing more than their mere names is known to us about these two princes, Gandaparâja and Kêta I.

Bhima II, father of the Kêtaraja (II) the great, appears to be the first powerful member of the family that held a position of any consequence in those days. He appears to have carved out a small but independent kingdom for himself on the southern bank of the Krishna river which extended into the west as far as the borders of the present Nellore District. His kingdom could successfully stem the tide of the power of the Telugu Chôḍas who were advancing into the north and threatening the very existence of the Velanâṭi chiefs of Tsandavôlu, the Viceroys of Andhradesa under the Chalukya-Chôḷas of the South. Bhimâ's friendship and even alliance were sought by the Velanâṭi chiefs to cement their relations. Velanti King Gonkaraja III (1127–1158 A.D.) gave his sister Sabbambika in marriage to Bhima.

It was during the reign of Bhima II, that the great war of the Palnad heroes, sung by the great Telugu poet Srînâtha, in his *Palnâti Vîracharitam* was fought. The war itself took place roughly between A.D. 1175 and 1182. It was a seven years' war between the two rival claimants who were children of different mothers, for the throne of Palnad. Srinâtha tells us that Kêta II, who was at that time the crown prince of his father, fought on the side of Prince Nala-Gâma, the Haihaya king of Palnâd. Bhima and his eldest son Chôḷarâja seem to have fallen on the field of Kârempûdi, the closing battle of the protracted civil war; for it was immediately after the close of this event Prince Kêta crowned himself as the king of Kôṭadêśa in his capital "Sri Dhanyavatipura. On the occasion of his accession Kêta II refers to his deceased elder brother Chôḍaraja, and makes grants for his merit to the shrine of Amarêśvarasvâmin at Amaravati.

4. Ep. Ind. Vol. III p. 94 ff.

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Kêta II crowned himself king in Saka year 1104 (A. D. 1182) which is given in his numerous inscriptions[5]. Though the name of the Saka year and the actual week-day of coronation as Thursday, (Magha Śukla daśami), the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Mâgha, are given, it has not been possible to calculate the corresponding English date. The king made innumerable grants of land in several villages to temples and Brahmanas all over his kingdom. These lavish gifts might have been made in all probability to atone for his sins of having killed many persons on the battle-field of Kârempûdi. Whatever might be the reason Kêta began his rule by a number of generous and noble acts, which endeared him to the hearts of his people and secured peace and prosperity for his country.

Kêta appears to be a more powerful and enlightened prince than his father. His kingdom extended towards the south and included the territory new covered by the eastern half of the Guntur district. Poet Srinâtha tells that Kêta, while he was yet a Yuvaraja, displayed great talents as an ambassador during the great seven years war in Palnâd. It is said that on the eve of the battle of Kârempûdi, Bâla Nâgamma the minister of King Nala-Gâmarâja, better known in popular tradition and local history as Nâyakurâlu, a lady of remarkable capacity and statesmanship, chose Kêtaraja as the chief of the embassy to negotiate and secure peace with Prince Malidêva and his powerful minister Brahmanâyadu, who was the cause of that war. Kêtaraja who is said to be an eloquent speaker carried out his task with great ability and tact, though in vain. It was already too late to think of peace as both armies had marched out determined on war, and encamped on the plain near the village of Karempudi.

Kêtaraja's inscriptions, recording his innumerable grants and benevolent acts lie scattetered all over the kingdom he ruled, and range between S. 1104 and 1135 (A. D. 1153–1223). He had as many as eight queens till now known and quite a large number too of concubines according to the custom of the day. Notable among the former were Bayyala Mahâdêvi daughter of Rudraraja, ruler of Nâthavâdi and Mêlambika, sister of Kakatiya king Ganapatidêva Maharaja, and Gundamahadevi of the Velanâti Chôda family. By Bayyalamahâdêvi or Bayyâmbika, Kêta had a son Bhima III and perhaps also Ganapatidêva, and by Gumḍamahâdevi, a third son, Rudrarâja.

Kêtaraja seems to be the only prince of his family who kept several concubines. Rather there were many women according to the

5. Ep. No. 264 of 1897, and 269 of 1897, which are published in Ep. Ind. Vol. VI p. 148 ff.

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inscriptions of his time who called themselves *Bhôgastris* of Ketaraja. The reason for this might be that in those days dancing girls enjoyed rank and favour in society much unlike in these days and that it was therefore a matter of pride, rank and distinction for those women to call themselves *Bhôgastris* of the king even if they had received casual attention from him. Some of these *Bhôgastris* appear to be ladies of great influence with the King, and therefore followed him wherever he went like his queens. There were amongst his queens and other members of his harem followers of the several prevailing religious faiths, particularly Buddhism and Vaishnavism, even though Kêtarâja II was a devout saivite. His queen Bayyâmbika, and two of such bhôgastris, Gasavi Sûramadêvi and Prôlamadêvi deserve particular mention in this connection. These ladies followed the Buddhist faith which appears to be still flourishing and receiving royal patronage, and endowed the Shrine of Buddhadeva at Amaravati with lands, perpetual lamps and similar gifts which were recorded in inscriptions now in the temple of Amarêśvarasvâmin. On one occasion when his *Bhôgastris* made some grants to the shrine of Lord Buddha, Kêtarâja also, who was present along with them granted the village of Kantêru and some sheep for a perpetual lamp to the deity. And he afterwards gave away large number of villages to several Brahmanas, and richly endowed the temple of Amaresvara. Dr. Hultzsch who edited these last mentioned inscriptions[6], writes of Kêta II as follows. "It appears that the majority of the villages were granted to the brahmanas but that in spite of that and that though Kêta II and his predecessors were worshippers of Amarêśvarasvamin (verse 3, line 13 ff) he granted three villages and two lamps to Buddha, and two fruther lamps were granted to Buddha by two of the inmates of his harem. This proves what is already suggested by the second verse of the inscription that at the time of Kêta II the Buddhist religion continued to have votaries in the Telugu country and was tolerated and supported by the Hindu rulers of Amaravati. I hope I am not unjust to Keta II, if I suggest that his gifts to Buddha were a case *'Cherchez la femme'*. That two *dêvis* of his who granted lamps to Buddha may have been Buddhist *upâsikas* and may have induced him to join them in making donations to their own god though he professed the *saiva* creed. It may have been to atone for his apostacey that he subsequently granted a large number of villages to brahmanas as recorded in the inscription. In the present inscription the high *chaitya* of Lord Buddha is referred to, and that is a clear proof that that *chaitya* was still in existence and in good condition even as late as the 12th century A. D."

The above remarks of late Dr. Hultzsch though seemingly justifiable, are slightly exaggrated. When offering the above remarks the

6. Ep. Ind. Vol. VI p. 148 ff.

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Doctor was evidently unaware of the fact that Bayyâmbika, too, like the mistresses was a Buddhist *upâsika*[7]. Though the king professed *saiva* creed, and though it was the age of revival of Saivism and Brahmanism in its modern form, Buddhism and Jainism still flourished and had several followers and patrons even among the rulers of the day. We learn from Panḍitârâdhyâ's *Sivatatvasâram* that the Velanati King, Kulottunga Rajendra Chôḍa I and his son Gonka II, who were centemporiaries of Keta I and his successors were followers of Buddhist religion, and even openly showed utter disregard and hatred towards Saivism which was then reviving under the leadership of Basava and Panditârâdhya. There is yet one more instance of Kêta's spirit of tolerance of other faiths forthcoming from an inscription dated in Saka 1135 discovered at Erṟabalem.[8] Amaramma and Kêtamma, two *bhogastris* of the king together with their father Yerṟama Nâyaka made a gift of a piece of land and perpetual lamps to god Anantaśayana at Uṇḍavilli, and on that occasion Kêta who was also present as on the other occasion made some gifts to the temple and to the Brahmanas as well. Compared with his contemporaries, Kêta II certainly deserves praise for his great tolerance, nay even patronage of other religious faiths of the day. And this accounts also for his great popularity among his people more than anything else. Besides he must have been a just and benevolent ruler.

Gaṇapâmba says of him in her grant some forty years later that he founded many temples, constructed tanks and gardens, and built almhouses (Satralaya) endowed them with rich gifts and gave away as many as seventy agraharas to Brahmanas on the southern bank of Krishnaveni (Krishna river). It is also said that he reconstructed the shrine of *Amarêsvarasvâmin* at Amaravati, and built several temples for Siva in Vêlpûru and other places. He is also said to have rebuilt the temple of Bhimesvarasvamin, after his father's name in Peda-Cherukûru and granted a piece of land to the deity in Saka 1131 (A. D. 1219).

It is not exactly known when Kêtarâja II died, but his last inscription which is referred to above is dated in Saka year 1135 (A. D. 1213). Another inscription which has been recently discovered in the shrine of *Srî Râmêsvara Mahâdeva* of Vêlpûru[9] which is dated in Saka year 1138 records the partition of the Kôṭadêśa between Kôṭa Bhima Raja and Rudra Raja the two sons of Kêta II. It may be assumed therefore that Kêta's death took place some time before Saka 1138, but after Saka 1135. The above inscription indicates that

7. See Ep. No. 270 of 1897, at Amaravati.
8. See Ep. No. 79 of 1917.
9. Ep. No. 585 of 1925 see Rep. South Ind. Ep. for 1925-26, p. 96.

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all was not well immediately after the death of Kêta, and that there was also fighting for the throne. There was in the end partition of the Kôṭadêśa, the causes for which are unfortunately not now clearly known. It might be that the two princes who were descendants on their mothers' side of two powerful families, the Châgis of Nathavâdi and the Chôdas of Velanâdu, could not agree in the enjoyment of the kingdom of their ancestors either by the one or the other, and that they were backed up by their powerful relations. The partition might have been the result of a compromise owing to the interference of the Kakatiya king Ganapatideva Maharaja, whose daughter Gaṇapâmba was married to Prince Bêta, son of Rudra Raja. This arrangement was good for the country as well as for the princes, as the country enjoyed undisturbed peace for a very long time afterwards. About this time, the Kotas appear to have lost their independence and submitted to the suzerainty of the Kakatiyas of Warangal, who had already brought the entire Telugu speaking area under their rule.

As a result of this partition, Bhîmaraja obtained for his share the eastern half of the "Shaṭsahasra Vishaya" with its capital at Amarâvati (Sri Dhânyakataka) and Rudraraja got the south-western half with its capital at Yenamadala which is also known as 'Mahishâsuramardaninagari'. From this date the history of the Kôṭa family becomes somewhat confused. Besides these two princes, apparently another member of the Kota family, *Mahâmandalêsvara* Mummadideva Maharaja, appears to be ruling from Peda-Cherukuru, in Bapatla taluka in Saka year 1133 (A.D. 1211), as a subordinate of the Kakatiya king Ganapatideva Maharaja. This prince is the son of Gaṇḍabhupati who at present can not be identified. He can be assumed either to belong to a collateral branch of the Kôṭas or to be a brother of Bhimaraja II, father of Kêta II. This branch of the Kôtas continued their influence, and existed separately till S. 1192 (A.D. 1270). The last known prince of this family is Kôṭa Dêvaraja, who was probably a grandson of Mummadi Deva Raja. He was ruling in Peda-Cherukuru in Saka year 1192 (A.D. 1270).

Kêta II, as we have seen above had an elder brother Choda Raja[10] whose death paved the way for Kêta's accession to the throne. The expression *'Samprâpta râjyônnatih'* in Kêtaraja's inscriptions recording the year of his coronation, seems to suggest that his elder brother Choda Raja survived his father Bhima II but died rather suddenly before he was crowned, and that event enabled Ketaraja to crown himself king. Chôdaraja married Vinjamadevi and had two sons Mummaḍi Pôtaraja and Râjayya, by her. Pôtaraja was an officer under Kakatiya king Ganapatideva Maharaja, and accompanied him in all his campaigns. He was also present at

10. See Ep. No. 257 of 1897.

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Tripurantakam along with his master, perhaps superintending the construction of the great temple of Tripurantakesvara, which is the only Kakatiya structure in British Andhra, under orders of the king. The temple was under construction about the year 1244–45 A. D.[11], when Mummadi Potaraja made grants to the God for the merit of his father Chôdaraja, his mother Vinjamadêvi and his younger brother Râjayya.[12] From this record it appears that he bore almost all the tittles of the Kota chiefs of Sri Dhânyânkapura though he never ruled over the country of his ancestors.

Next comes Bhimaraja III, the eldest son of Kêta II, who like the namesake of his grandfather married Sabbâmbika, a princess of the Velanâti Choda family. The offspring of this union was Kêta III, who is also known as Manma-Geta in order to distinguish him from his grandfather Doḍḍa Kêta or Kêta II. It cannot be now known when Bhimaraja III died and his son Manma-Gêta succeeded him. The earliest known record[13] of Keta III is a copper plate grant found at Edavalli, in Narasaraopeta Taluka dated in the Saka year 1162 (A.D. 1241), which records the grant of the village as an *agrahâra* to as many as 404 brahmins on the occasion of *Mahâ-ardhôdaya*.[14] Kêta III appears to have a paternal uncle Kota Ganapatideva, whose inscriptions occur simultaneously with that of himself, in the same territory. This leads us to think that both the princes were joint rulers of their country. The earliest record of Ganapatideva is dated in Saka year 1156, which might be supposed to be the last year of Bhima III. Besides, Ganapatideva also bears all the titles of the Kôṭa family.

There has been considerable difficulty in identifying Manma-Geta or Keta III. He has been identified with his grandfather Kêta II by late Dr. Hultzsch, on account of the identity of names of the parents of both the kings. But the identification seems to be improbable and even wrong. Manma-Geta as his name itself indicates is grandson Keta for "*Manma*" in Telugu means grandson, and therefore he must be different from Dodda Kêta or Keta II (the great). Keta II, is known from his inscriptions to have ruled from Saka year 1104 to 1136 circa (A.D. 1182–1214) and certainly not beyond S. 1138, (A. D. 1216) as stated above. Therefore Manma-Gêta ruling in S. 1162 (A. D. 1241) roughly 24 or 25 years later could not be Dodda Kêta or Keta II but the grandson Keta III.

11. See Ep. Rep. for 1909 p. 119.
12. Ep. No. 243 of 1905,
13. C. P. No. 5 of 1915–16 see Ep. Rep. for the year 1916 page 138.
14. *Maha-ardhodaya*, occurs when there is a combination of a Sunday with the *Nakshatra* '*Sravana*' by day time and *Yoga Vyatipata* on *Amavasya day* at the end of *Pausha* month. Vide Ind. Chronolagy, p. 53,

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But there seems to be some difficulty in identifying Ganapatideva whom I have called the son of Keta II. In an inscription which is dated in Saka year 1156 (A. D. 1234), from Prattipadu[15] in the Guntur Taluk, Ganapatideva is said to be the son of Manma-Geta and Bayyambika. So far as I am aware this is the only record wherein this prince mentions his father's name as Manma-Geta, while in all others he gives his father's name as Dodda Keta. He calls himself of the dear and good son of Bayyambika whom we know of the daughter of Rudradeva of Nathavâdi. I have not seen the inked impression or the original inscription in question, but nevertheless will hazard a guess that the reading of the word "Manma" might be incorrect. An unpublished record of this prince in Ramesvarasvamin's temple at Vêlpuru[16] dated in Saka year 1162, which is also the very year of Manma-Geta's above mentioned Edavalli copper plate grant, (C.P. No. 5 of 1916-17) clearly mentions him as the son of Dodda Keta, who as I have already shown above is Kêta II. The close similarity of the names of the members of this family, leads one, however, to a certain amount of confusion. In spite of this, it may be assumed for the present that Ganapatideva was a son of Keta II and therefore the paternal uncle of Keta III, and ruled jointly with him. There are no records of Bhima III, now available and it is not therefore possible to fix the extent of his rule. Since the earliest date of Ganapatideva, his brother, is known to be ruling in Saka year 1156 (A. D. 1234), Bhima III might be taken to have died in or previous to that year.

Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, however, explains away the difficulty in this identification by supposing that Gaṇapatidêva was a son of Kêtarâja III and that he was the crown prince of his father in S. 1156 (A. D. 1234,). This supposition, he believes, is further corroborated by a record of Ganapatideva himself from Bejatapuram, (Ep. No. 65 of 1917), which is dated in S. 1160[17]. I think, therefore, it is not possible for the present to determine clearly the relationship between Kêtaraja III and Gaṇapatidêva.

Ganapati deva who appears to be a more powerful prince than his father Bhima III or his nephew Kêta III, survived the latter as his records would show. The earliest and the last known year of Manma-Gêta is Saka year 1162 of the Edavalli grant, and as such we may assume that he did not survive long after that. On the other hand the last known date of Ganapatideva is Saka 1187 (A. D. 1265) which is also the first year of his son and successor Bhima IV the husband of Sômaldevi. One interesting fact about Gaṇapatidêva is

15. Ep. No. 141 of 1917.

16. No. 878, Guntur district, V. Rangachari's Inscription of the Madras Presidency.

17. See Rep. South Ind. Ep. for 1917 P. 128, p. 41.

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that while his mother Bayyambika was a Buddhist upasika, he remained a staunch worshipper of Siva, and patronised the pontiffs of Gôlakimaṭha of Tripurantakam, to whom he made large grants of land. In one of his grants to the *Matha* in Saka year 1184 (A.D. 1262) Ganapati deva refers to the celebrated Viśvêśvara Dêśika, the high Pontiff of the Gôḷakimaṭha at Tripurantakam, as the "Illustrious Râjagurudêva".[18] This august personage was the royal preceptor to the Kakatiya Queen Rudramadevi also. In the year under mention Ganapatideva went on a pilgrimage to Tripurantakam and made gifts to the God and the Matha for the merit of his parents. At that time the Nathavâdi chiefs, who were related to the Queen mother Bayyambika were also present to make grants to the God Tripurântakêśvara.

Like Ganapatideva, his *Mahâpradhâni* Prôli nâyaka,[19] also appears to be a follower of Saiva creed. He founded several temples of Rameśvara, Ganeśa and Kumârasvâmin, for the merit of his parents Uddanḍa Nayaka and Gaṇḍasâni, and an elder brother Daṇḍanayaka Kêti Nayaka. His younger brother who also appears to be an officer of the king founded and built shrines of Kêśavadeva and Kuppu Vinâyaka in Bejatapuram in Guntur Taluk.

Ganapatideva, bears in addition to his family titles, *Jagamechu ganda* and Maharaja, which seem to have been conferred by the Kakatiya king Ganapati deva Maharaja whose vassal he was. In one of his inscriptions, his queen's name is given as Komarambika. Her brother is one Machinayadu; but it is not known to which family he belonged. Almost all the records of the king are either in Sanskrit or Telugu poetry, and this might be due to his great patronage of poets at his court. One Nṛsimha, who is said to be an '*Ubhayakavi*' is mentioned as the composer of his numerous records. Unfortunately we have nothing extant except those stray compositions of this Ubhaya Kavi Nṛsimha.

From Tadikonda in Guntur taluq of the Guntur district come two records which mention two chiefs Prolraju and Bayyarâju, grandsons of Kôṭa Vennamahâdêvi, and certain gifts made by them to the shrines of Mûlasthânêśvara and Mailâradêva. These chiefs called themselves, "The Lords of Dhânyakaṭakapura and the worshippers of the lotus feet of god Amaresvara",—the two well known epithets of the Kôṭa chiefs. One of these records (Ep. No. 173 of 1917) dated in S. 1183, falls in the reign of Ganapatideva. Kôṭa Vennamahâdevi may therefore be identified with Vinjamadêvi queen of prince Chôḍêraja; and her two grandsons might be the sons of her son

18. Ep. No. 103 of 1917.
19. Ep. No. 65 of 1917.

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Manma Pôtarâja. This is further corroborated by another record of this lady chief in the same place, (Ep. No. 172 of 1917). It is not however, known what the position of these chiefs was in the country, in relation to the royal family at that time.

The last known prince of this branch is Bhîmarâja IV, the son and successor of Ganapatideva. An inscription which is referred to below, mentions him ruling the country in S. 1187 (A. D. 1265).[20] It also appears from the same that he and his queen Sômâmba or Sômaladêvi were jointly ruling. After their death which might have taken place before S. 1190, the eastern half of Kôṭidêsa also passed into the hands of Gaṇapâmba, queen of Bêtarâja. Bhîmarâja and his queen Sômaladêvi are mentioned in a record of their *pradhâni* (minister), Vallabhapreggada, at Rompicherla. The minister gives therein the geneology of his own family and mentions that his ancestors were ministers to the Kôṭa kings of Dhânyavatipura. Vallabha's grand father was Mahadeva, who had two sons Anantâmâtya father of Vallabhapreggaḍa, and another Vallabha mantri. Vallabhapreggada built at Rompicherla (Pankataṭâkapura) the temple of Ananta Gopinathadeva in the name and for the merit of his deceased father. The record further states that the gifts of certain tolls and taxes of the village were made to the temple for the victorious rule of Mallapanâyaka and Jâyapanâidu who were apparently the local rulers appointed by the king and the queen.

Now we go back to trace the history of the other branch, the descendants of Keta II by his wife Gundamadevi. Their son is Rudradeva who married Pandambika. Rudradeva's records are not now forth coming and therefore it is not possible to determine the extent of his rule. There is however an inscription dated in Saka year 1163 (A.D. 1241) recording the *Pratistha* of god Rudresvara at Yenamadala and a gift of land to the deity for the merit of the King Bêta by some private persons in which mention is also made of Ganapama devi, queen of Bêtaraja. The construction of the temple in the capital for the merit of the reigning king would only suggest that the last king died recently and that the new King had just succeeded him. An interesting local incident that took place in the reign of Betaraja has been recorded in Vunguturu.[21] It is said that one Bandâruvu Kûna boyi and a *bantu* (servant) of the king went with Parvadirêva into the open ground of Gârlapâdu, threatened Bommareddi, killed Bhimaraja and died fighting with great prowess. The date of this record is not given, as also the details that led to the fight.

Beta is said to be ruling in Yenamadala in Saka 1172 (A. D. 1250) but it is not known in what year he died. A grant dated

20. Ep. No. 299 of 1915; also see Rep. South. Ind. Ep. for 1916, page 137-138.
21. Ep. No. 181 of 1917.

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in Saka year 1179 (A. D. 1257) *Nala*, in favour of Allâḍanâtha temple at Ipûru, Tenali Taluk, Guntur district mentions it having been made for the merit of Mahamanḍalesvara Kôta Gaṇapatidêviyammangaru. This lady chief, as we have mentioned already was a daughter of Kakatiya Ganapatideva Maharaja, and a sister of Rudramba, and the wife of Kôta Betaraja. The title 'Mahamanḍalêsvara' prefixed to Gaṇapâmba in this inscription suggests that she must have been independently ruling her husband's dominions after the latter's death. In Saka 1173 (A. D. 1251) her husband was living since in that year he is stated to have founded the temple of Gôpinâtha-Vâsudêva at Yenamaḍala[22] In the Yenamadala inscription of Ganapamba which Dr. Hultzsch has published in Epigraphia Indica Vol. III pp. 94 ff. it is stated that Ganapamba after her husband's death, devoted herself to pious works and assumed the government of the small territory inherited from her deceased husband Pêtaraja and his ancestors along with the title of 'Mahâmanḍalêsvara' or 'lord' in the masculine gender. This record confirms therefore what is stated above *viz*, that Ganapâmba, after the death of her lord did actually rule and assume male titles even like her valorous sister Queen Rudramadevi. Again in the cyclic year *Saumya* (corresponding to S. 1172 (A. D. 1250) which is now lost in the original of the Yenamadala inscription but which Prof. Hultzsch takes from an abridged translation of it found in the Krishna District Manual of Col. Mackenzie, is presumed to be the possibly correct date of the record. If this be true the death of Betaraja will have to be fixed to be before Saka 1172 but the Yenamadala record (Ep. No. 142 of 1913) referred to above clearly shows that Betaraja was alive in Saka 1173. From this and from the Allâḍanâtha temple inscription at Ipuru[23] referred to above also of Saka year 1179, it can be concluded that Betaraja must have died sometime between Saka 1173 and 1179. Therefore the date of Yenamadala record of Ganapamba giving the year *Saumya* might be taken also as the year of Betaraja's death, corresponding to Saka 1173 and not Saka 1172, as the Saka year might have expired. And the death of Beta might have occurred before the Saka year in the *Saumya samvatsara* itself.[24]

Betaraja, unlike his father and grandfather appears to be a *vaishnava*, and as we have seen above he constructed a temple for Gopinatha in his capital which must have taken place probably in Saka 1172 (A. D. 1250). On that occasion queen Ganapamadevi also gave to it land in the village of Garagapadu, an oil-mill and a flower

22. Ep. No. 142 of 1913. Ep. Rep. 1914, p. 104.
23. Ep. No. 535 of 1913.
24. Ep. Rep. for 1914 p. 104.

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garden. The *Mahâjanas* of the village also transferred the marriage fees granted by Ganapamadevi to them, to the temple of Gopinatha.

It appears that from the earliest times the Mahâjanas etc., of a village were entitled to collect taxes on artisan classes, marriages, barbers, and octroi duties, a schedule of which was hung up at the main entrances of the village or town. And these collections were spent for the improvement of the village sanitation, construction of Satralayas (alms houses) and other work of public utility, and that there was a committee of five to manage these funds as trustees. This form of local government appears to have continued till the disruption of the Vijayanagara Empire and the establishment of the Mohamedan power finally all over the country.

Ganapamadêvi and her sister Queen Rudramba of Warangal are remarkable figures in the history of Andhradêsa and the latter is remembered even to this day. The country enjoyed under their rule greater peace and prosperity than under any other ruler, ancient or medieval. Ganapamba is noted for the pious works to which she devoted herself after the death of her husband. She is said to have spent the remaining years of her life in the contemplation of God, in doing acts of charity and in governing her kingdom justly and wisely. Of her pious works the following deserve a particular mention. "She placed golden pinnacles on the shrine of Amaresvara at Sri Dhânyânkapura (Amaravati) on the Krishna river, and built in Yenamadala a temple of Siva which was called *Bêtêsvara* after her deceased husband's name, and to which she allotted the revenue of Benadevi, a village of Sathenapalli Taluk. At Sri Dhânyânkapura, she built another temple of Siva, which she called *Gañapêsvara* after her father Ganapatideva Maharaja, and granted to this temple the village of Chintapâḍu. Of these three temples which are mentioned in connection with Ganapâmba the first, Amarêśvara still exists at Amaravati. The second Bêtêśvara cannot now be traced at Yenamadala. It is not known if there exists still the shrine of Ganapêśvara at Amaravati."[25]

Ganapâmba must have spent the rest of her life after she became widow devoting to pious works and just government of her country. The last known date of her grant is S. 1179, and it is not known when she died. It is probable that she lived long and saw the dawn of the fourteenth century like her sister. She seems to be ruling still in 1290–91, when the Italian traveller Marco Polo visited Motupalli in order to learn more things about the "Country of Mutfili; the land of diamonds." It has been assumed by learned scholars that the queen referred to by Marco Polo, was Rudramadevi, the Kakitya

25. Ep. Ind. Vol. III, p. 94 ff.

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Queen, that ruled from Ekaśilânagarî (Warangal) from 1260–1296 A. D. But I think the identication is not correct for more than one reason. Concerning the kingdom of Mutfili, Marco Polo says[26] "This was formerly under the rule of a king, and since his death, some forty years past, it has been under his queen, a lady of much discretion who for the great love she bore for him would never marry another husband. And I can assure you that during all that space of forty years she had administered her realm as well as her husband did, or better, and as she was a lover of justice, of equity and of peace she was more beloved by those of her kingdom than ever was Lady or Lord of theirs before", Marco Polo mentions in unequivocal terms that the kingdom belonged to her husband, that since this latter's death which took place forty years ago his widow ruled instead. Rudramadêvi's husband is not known to be a King and she did not rule the kingdom of her husband. It was that of her father Ganapati dêva. Again Rudramadevi was on the throne for thirty years only at the time of Marco Polo's visit, while as we know Ganapamba, taking her husband's death to have taken place about S. 1173 (1251 A.D.), was ruling for forty years in 1291–1292 the year of Marco Polo's visit. The Italian traveller did not go into the country, but sailed back along the coast of Ma-âbar to the south, after staying perhaps for a few weeks or days in Mutfili, (which has been identified with Motupalli in Bapatla Taluka of Guntur district, the greatest sea port of the East under the Kakitiyas), after visting the diamond mines in the neighbourhood of Paritala and Mallavaram, along the eastern edge of the Tumrukôṭâ range, on the southern bank of the river Krishna.[27] Marco Polo, who was present in the country ruled by Ganapamadevi, must have learnt many things about her from her own people, and therefore could not have committed mistake in mentioning the great queen. Rudrâmba might be a greater queen as her territory was larger but it is improbable that Marco could have heard her name and mis-stated important details about her.

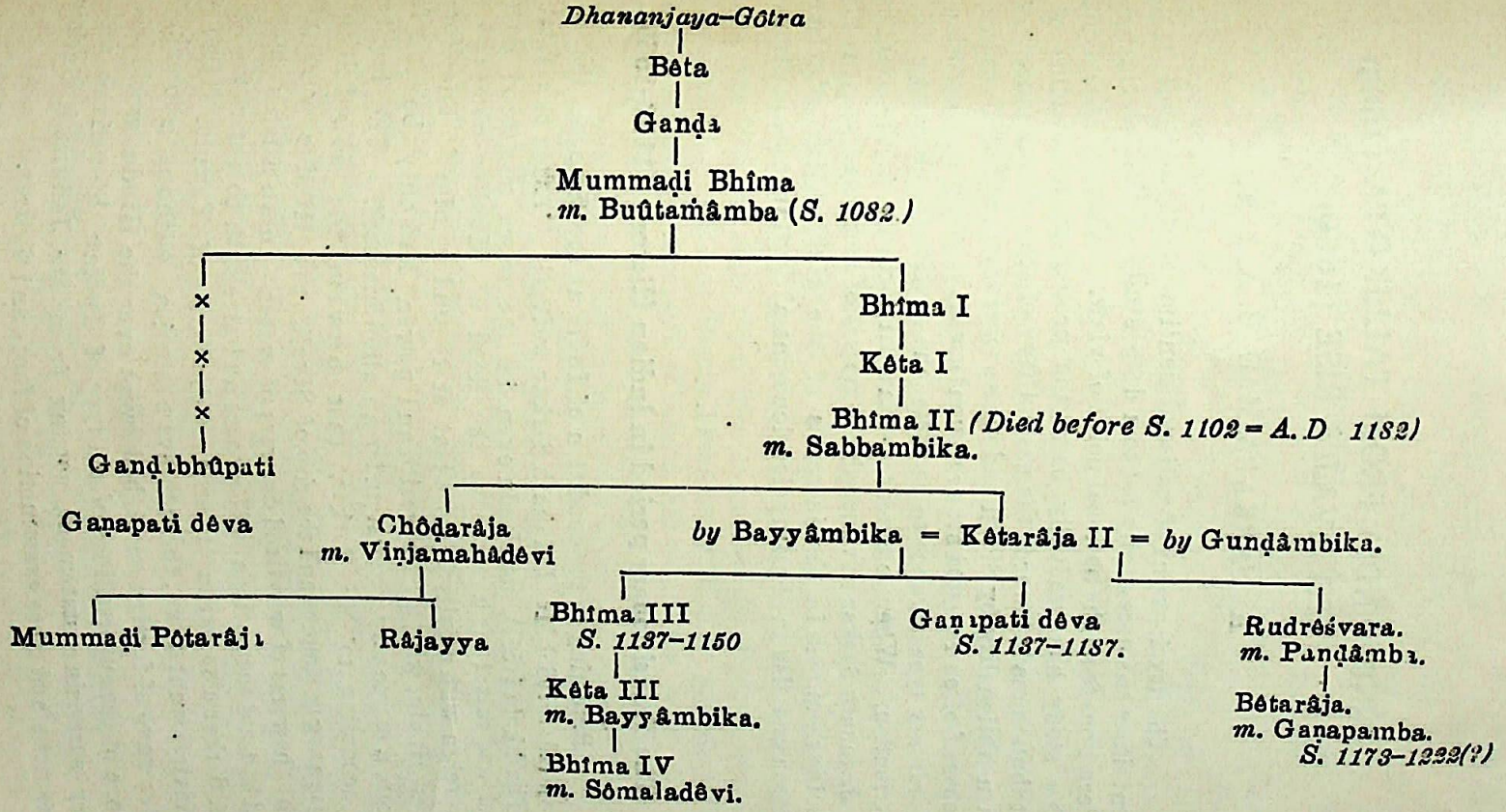
After the death of Ganapamba, it appears that one Devaraja ruled the kingdom, but considering the date given to him by tradition which is not confirmed by any inscription of his time it not possible to rely on it. It may be believed that after her death the whole of Kotadesa, or the Shatsahasra country passed into the hands of Kakatiyas, whose vassal she and her ancestors were.

26. Travels of Marco Polo, Yule Vol. II, Bk. III, Chap. XIX pp. 359-361.

27. Memoirs of Geological Survey of India Vol. VIII p. 110. There were the mines that supplied priceless diamonds to the world and brought immortal fame to Golconda.

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Geneology of the Kota Chiefs of Amaravati.



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HINDU INDIA FROM TALLIKOTA (1565) TO SIVAJI'S RISE (1660).

A. SANKARA RAO B. A. L. T.

The development of national sentiment throughout India in recent times has necessarily led to a deep study of Indian history on modern lines from the national point of view. One of the fruits of such a study has gradually been the proper understanding of the contribution made towards the possibility of the development of an Indian Nationality by Sivaji and his successors. But still there are a number of often-repeated set arguments which western historians of the ordinary type advance to be-little the national character of this contribution. When eminent Indian historians of the position of Mr. Jadunath Sarkar advance the same set of arguments, it is time to examine them both in the interests of the right spirit of historical research and also the healthy development of Indian nationalism.

II.

The Transitionary period in Indian History (1193–1565).

Referring to the condition of India at the time of the rise of Sivaji (1627–1660) Mr. Jadunath Sarkar writes[1] "After the fatal day of Thallikota (1565), no Hindu even in the more sheltered Southern land, had raised his head above the flood of Muslim conquest as a sovereign with a fully independent state under him. Therefore the ablest Hindu, with all his wealth and power, had only been a feudal baron, a mercenary general under an alien master". The implication is, according to Mr. Sarkar, that between the downfall of the Vijayanagar Empire and the rise of Sivaji, the Hindus were content to be "hewares of wood and drawers of water" in an alien's household and had not the national self-respect and strength to assert themselves. Mr. Sarkar also writes "Ever since the battle of Tarauri (1193) when Pridviraj went down, through five centuries, without a break, wave after wave of foreign onset, had swept over the Hindu world". This is one of the superstitions of old type of Indian historians and is a very surprising statement, coming from Mr. Jadunath Sarkar. It does not stand close examination of facts and figures.

1. Sivaji, His genius, Environment and Achievement by Mr. Jadunath Sarkar in Modern Review (Calcutta) for May 1927.

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To begin with, it is not right to consider that there was in any true sense any large conquest of Hindu India by the Mahamma dans till the r ign of Akbar the Great. After the end of the Hindu. period proper, and to the advent of Akbar the Great, that is from 1193–1556 the state of India resembled the state of England from 800–1042 when the Danes were constantly invading England. The invasions of Mahmad Ghazni and Ghori resembled only the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali later on. They were only symptoms of the troubled state of the country and they left Hindu India virtually independent. Mahmad Ghori had been defeated by Prithvi Raj before he could defeat him. Later on, the rule of the Slave dynasty, the Khiliji dynasty and the Lodi dynasty was really a rule which was confined only to a limited portion of the vast Hindu continent and which received constant rebuffs at the hands of Hindu princes and people. The first two Mughals, Babar and Humayun, could not subdue any great portion of the country because they did not themselves feel strong on the throne and also because the Afghan rulers whom they had displaced had not yet been subdued thoroughly and constantly proved to be a serious danger. So from the battle of Tarauri to the accession of Akbar, there was constant fighting between the Hindu Princes and the foreign invaders and the state of the country was like the state of England during the Danish invasions as above stated. Vincent Smith, dealing with this period, writes" "The Muhammadan conquest of India did not begin until the last quarter of the twelfth century if the frontier provinces of Kabul, the Punjab and Sind be excluded from consideration. It may be reckoned to have continued until 1340—— After 1340, the frontiers of the Sultanate of Delhi rapidly contracted, many new kingdoms, both Mussulman and Hindu, being formed. The quick growth of the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar checked the Southern progress of Islam and recovered some territory which had passed under muslim rule. Elsewhere too, Hindu chiefs asserted themselves and it may be affirmed with truth that for more than two centuries, from 1340 to the accession of Akbar in 1556, *Islam lost ground on the whole*". Mr. Sarkar's statement that "ever since the battle of Tarauri through five centuries (till the rise of Sivaji) without a break, wave after wave of foreign onset had swept over the Hindu World" is directly contradicted by Vincent Smith's Statement.

III

In Northern India—Hindu Predominance from Akbar to Shahjehan.

It was Akbar that deliberately set himself to give up the drifting and hostile policy of his predecessors towards the inhabitants

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of this country. His early life, full of troubles, taught him the wisdom of following a conciliatory policy towards the people of this country and thus strengthen his own position on the throne so that he might not again be driven into exile like his father Humayun by his Afghan foes. He also saw the Mughal nobles round him constantly proving more a hindrance than a help to him by each caring for his own individual aggrandisement, than for the strength of his throne. So while retaining the services of the Mughal nobles who had followed his grandfather and father into India and who were constantly being reinforced by fresh recruits, Akbar tried to make the Hindu princes dignified partners in the administration of the country by forming dynastic alliances with them and by respecting their religion, customs and usages. His successors, Jahangir and Shahjahan wisely adhered to this policy and the strength and splendour of the Mughal rule from Akbar to Shahjehan was due mostly to this farsighted policy. The Orthodox section of Mahammadan nobles were dissatisfied with this policy and they gradually became so vociferous that Aurangazeb, counting on their support and feeling no more the necessity of strengthening his throne by following such a policy after a century of Mughal rule, posed himself as the champion of Orthodox Mahammadan section against his own brother, Dara, whose leanings towards Akbar's popular policy had made him many enemies among the orthodox Mahammadan section. In executing Dara, Aurangazeb pitched upon this plea of Dara's Hindu sympathies as the ostensible cause and in Dara, he killed the true descendant of Akbar's policy. Aurangazeb's long reign put his orthodox policy to test and brought out by contrast the wisdom of the policy of his predecessors. His policy also brought out the capacity of the Hindus to resist encroachments on their liberties.

In following a conciliatory policy, which may be safely called an "Indian National Policy" Akbar, Jehangir and Shahajahan only followed the policy which, in similar circumstances, the early Norman rulers in England from William I had followed. William and his successors, feeling their position insecure against the ambition of the strong Norman barons who had followed them into England with a view to enrich themselves at the expense of the English people on the one hand and William's dynasty on the other hand, posed themselves as the champions of the English people against their own barons So they made their position strong by keeping the people and also the barons in proper check by playing the one against the other. The same policy gave immense strength to the Mughal throne after Akbar as the Mughals came to identify themselves with the people of the country and thought themselves to be "Indian rulers", and not mere "Moslem rulers". This policy brought out a splendid response from

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the people and the major section of the Hindus for a time remembered that they were not only Hindus but Indians and citizens of a vast empire and served the Mughals as they would have served their own Hindu rulers. Akbar's policy was not merely Pro-Hindu, as is ordinarily supposed. He had leanings towards Christianity also and these were inherited by Jehangir also later on. Tavernier who had widely travelled in India in Shahjehan's reign says that "Shahjehan reigned not so much as a King over his subjects but as a father over his family and children".

To mention only a few of the many innovations introduced by Akbar the following extract from Vincent Smith is enough "Akbar's new policy in relation to his Hindu Subjects was not determined mainly by his personal fancies or belief in matters of religion. At an early age, he percieved the political necessity that the Padshah should be impartial Sovereign of all his subjects, irrespective of creed. That sound political instinct determined his action as quite a young man in abolishing the Jizya and pilgrim dues and in marrying Hindu princesses. Akbar contracted his marriages (with Hindu princesses) in a different spirit (from the Deccan Sultans) and *accepted his Hindu male connections as members of the royal family*. No pressure was put on the princess of Amber, Marwar or Bikaner to adopt Islam and they were freely entrusted with the highest military commands and the most responsible administrative offices.....Akbar induced the Hindu artists to learn Persian techinque and imitate Persian style.....The architecture of Akbar's reign is characterised by a happy blending of Hindu and Mahammadan styles" Mount Stuart Elphimstone writes "It was however, by the aid and under the direction of the Emperor (Akbar) that he (Feizi) conducted a systematic inquiry into every branch of the knowledge of the Brahmins. Besides Sanscrit works in poetry and Philosophy, he made a version of "Bija Ganita" and "Lilavathi" of Bhaskara Acharya, the best Hindu books on algebra and arithmetic. He likewise superintended translations made from the Sanscrit by other learned men, including one at least of the vedas, the two great historical and heroic poems, the "Mahabharata" and "Ramayana" and the "History of Chashmir", the only specimen of that sort of composition in Sanscrit prose.....He however forbade trials by ordeal, and marriages before the age of puberty and the slaughter of animals for sacrifice. He also permitted widows to marry a second time contrary to the Hindu law; above all he positively prohibited the burning of Hindu widows against their will". No doubt Vincent Smith sums up his reign thus "Towards the close of his life, Akbar became practically a Hindu in most respects adopting many Hindu usages such as shaving his beard and whiskers, abstaining from beef and to a large

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extent, from meat of any kind". Thus the Mughal despotism from Akbar to Shahjahan was in spite of its defects, a national despotism like the Tudor despotism in England at about the same time. The people of the country, vexed with the constant wars preceding the period, willingly gave it their hearty support and it brought order and peace throughout the Subahs. In view of this nationalisation of the central government at Delhi from the accession of Akbar (1556) to the rise of Sivaji (1650) i. e. the reign of Aurangazeb, we can see why there is no force in Mr. Sarkar's contention at least as far as Northern India is concerned that, "after the fatal day of Thallikkota (1565), no Hindu even in the more sheltered Southern land, had raised his head above the flood of Muslim conquest as a Sovereign with a fully independent state under him". It was because during this period practically a Hindu dynasty ruled from Delhi from Akbar to Shahjahan.

IV

In Southern India–Hindu Predominance (1565–1650).

Nor was the case different in Southern India. Southern India never witnessed really any strong Moslem oppression. After a temporary alliance to exterminate their common foe at Thallikota, the Mahammadan Kingdoms soon qnarrelled among themselves and the Hindus became very dominant in the administration. In addition to this, there was the constant fear of Mughal conquest and these states and their rulers were as much anxious to prove themselves Hindu rulers as they were Mahammadan rulers and they pursued a "National policy". Mahadeo Govind Ranade, in his admirable and monumental work, "The Rise of the Maharatha power" says:—

"It would be interesting in this place to note the successive steps by which the Muhammadan power in the Deccan was gradually subverted by and subordinated to Hindu usages.

(1) In the first place, the Deccan Mahammadans, being separated from their base beyond the frontier, were not recruited by fresh invaders (as in the case of Delhi by Turks, Persians etc)

(2) The founder of the Bahmini Kingdom was a slave of a brahman named Gangu at Delhi who foretold the good fortune that was in store for him. Hassan, the slave, gratefully acknowledged his obligation when he rose to power and he called his empire the "Bahmini".[2] This, in itself, was a homage paid to Hindu influences which dis-tinguished the Deccan Mahamadans from those of the

2. This theory is being doubted now by learned scholars.

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South and which practically bore fruit when Gangu was brought over from Delhi and placed in charge of the finance department.

(3) In consequence of this arrangement, the revenue management and the charge of the treasure remained all along in Hindu hands.

(4) Not only was the revenue management in native hands, but later on, when the Bahmini kingdom made a way for the five separated kingdoms of Bijapur, Berars Ahmednagar, Bedar and Golconda, the revenue accounts of villages and mahals were kept in the vernacular in place of the foreign Persian or Urdu Language.

(5) The revolt in 1347 against the Delhi Emperor, Mahammad Tughlak, through a conspiracy of Mahammadan nobles, became successful chiefly by reason of the alliance of the Hindu kings of Telangan and Vijayanagar with the rebels.

(6) In consequence of this balance of power between Hindus and Musalamans the latter seldom indulged in those excesses which distinguished their rule in Northern India and the former never suffered the *depressions they felt elsewhere as an incidence of foreign* conquest.

(7) The Muhammadan rulers in the Deccan took Hindu wives in their harems. The seventh Bahmini king allied himself with the Vijayanagar family and the ninth Bahmini king married the daughter of the Raja of Sonhed. The first Bijapur king, Yusuf adil Shah took for his wife the sister of one Mukundararao, a brahman, and this lady became his chief queen being known by the name of Babuji Khanum and her son ascended the throne after Yusuf's death. The 1st ruler of the Barid Dynasty at Bedar got his son married to the daughter of one Sabaji Maratha who was a nobleman of some service of the Bahadamani kings.

(8) In the same category must be placed the influence of Hindu converts. The first Ahmednagar king was the son of a converted brahman Kulkarni of Patri in Berar whose family had entered the service of the Vijayanagar kings. The brahmin surname "Bhairay", the distinguished title of these kings and they so faithfully remembered their origin that they conquered Patri and gave it in inam to the brahmin Kulkarnis after a long struggle with the Berar rulers. The first founder of the Imadshahi dynasty in Berar was also the son of a brahmin in the service of Vijayanagar who was taken captive and became a convert.

(9) On the whole, great toleration was shown towards their Hindu subject by these Mahammadan kings and gradually both civil and military power came into Hindu hands. As a consequence, the Mahammadan kings gave inam lands to Hindu temple endowments

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and Hindu physicians were employed in hospitals and in some cases even grants were given and continued to brahmin communities.

(10) In the military department, this predominance of the Hindus more and more manifested itself as years rolled on.

In consequence of the influences and changes noted above[3] about the commencement of the seventeenth century, the nominal Mahammadan rules of Golconda, Nagar, Bedar were virtually controlled both in the civil and military departments by Maratha Statesmen and Maratha warriors and tne hill forts near the Ghatas and the country thereabout were in the hands of Maratha jagirdars who were only nominally dependant upon their Mahammadan sovereigns".

The above facts must prove a sufficient answer to Mr. Sarkar's contention that there was no Hindu fight for independence after the battle of Thallikota in Southern India. It was, as in the case at Delhi, due to an "Indian" and a "national policy" being pursued by the Deccan Sultans during this period.

Aurangazeb, who came to the throne with his anti-Hindu and anti-Shia policy, totally misunderstood the forces of his time and his reign witnessed a grand Hindu revival, assisted by the Shia Mahammadans throughout his wide Empire. It was during his reign that the Rajputs, the main prop of the Mughal throne from Akbar to Shajahan, revolted unitedly against the Mughal ruler. The Maharattas and Sikas also during his reign organised themselves into formidable camps against him. Aurangazeb's reign, coming after the national Mughal despotism from 1556–1658, resembles the reign of the later Stuarts, especially James II, who, after more than a century of reformation movement in England, wanted to undo its work and swim against the current by nullifying the Test Act, by crude contrivances like his claim of suspending and dispensing with laws and his declaration of indulgence. Aurangazeb left an unenviable legacy to his successors and the later Mughals, like true descendants of Alamgir, followed faithfully his anti-Hindu and anti-Shiah policy and learnt nothing from Aurangazeb's mistakes or the decaying symptoms visible throughout the Empire. The later Mughals were the Bourbons of India who forgot nothing and learnt nothing. No wonder that, in fifty years only after Aurangazeb's death a foreign power laid the foundations of its vast Empire in India at Plassey in Bengal profiting by the disrupted state of the country and the constant wrangling of Indian rulers with one another. The Maharattas, after Aurangazeb's death and before 1802 had not sufficient time to consolidate their power

3. It may also be added that the Mahamadan Kings of those Deccan Kingdoms encouraged the South Indian Vernaculars in various ways, especially by patronizing the poets.

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in an India torn asunder by factions dating from Aurangazeb's time and this was one of the main reasons why they were driven to the wall by the English Subsidiary policy which found fertile soil in the country in those days.

Sivaji and successors were the true successors of the Vijayanagar rulers and the Hindu revival after Thallikota combined with the reactionary policy of Aurangazeb gave a tremendous impetus to the rise of the Maratha power during the eighteenth century. Sivaji is not a mere accident during the latter part of the seventeenth century but his rise was in the inevitable logic of events. To understand the rise of Sivaji, it is quite essential that we must understand the state of Hindu India after Thallikota. Instead of having been cowed down with fear, as Mr. Sarkar implies, a correct analysis must show an impartial observer that the Hindu Princes and people from 1565–1658 throughout the country were more than holding their own and kept up their noble traditions which later on made the rise of a Sivaji possible when circumstances made it the only possible alternative for a self-respecting nation to assert itself.

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THE DATE OF KRISHNA DEVA RAYA'S DEATH.

By K. RAGHAVACHARYULU M. A. B. L.

It has been assumed by Historians including Sewell, the author of 'the Forgotten Empire' that Krishnadêva Râya ruled in Vijianagar from 1509–1530 A. D. Sewell in his book says that the latest grant available during the reign of Krishnadeva Raya is one dated 1529 A. D. (Ep. Indica Vol. I., P. 398) while the earliest of Achyutadêva Râya's grants is of the year 1530 A. D. (Ep. Indica Vol. IV; Page 3 Note 4). This view requires reconsideration in the light of Epigraphical and Archaelogical information available to us since the publication of Sewell's Book.

To begin with, there is a telugu verse current in Āndhra desa (చాటువు) which expressly refers to the death of Krishnadêva Râya in S. S. 1446–47 (1525–1526 A. D.), the material portion of which is given below.

.....శాలివాహన శకాబ్దము లబ్ధియుగాబ్ధి సోములం
దారణవత్సరంబున నిదాఘదినంబున జ్యేష్ఠశుద్ధ ష
ష్ఠీరవివాసరంబున నృసింహుని కృష్ణుడు చేరెస్వర్గమున్.

This verse expressly refers to Tarana (S. S. 1446–47) as the year of Krishna Râya's death and impels a student of History to a study of the Inscriptions available between 1525–30 A. D.

1. A canarese Inscription of Tirumala dêva Râya son of Krishnadêva Râya (S. S. 1446) is found on a stone behind the Anjaneya Temple and is referred to as the Marenapalli Inscription, Mayadi Taluq (No. 82 Ep. Carnatica Vol. IX). It recites స్వస్తి శ్రీ విజయాభ్యుదయ శాలివాహన శకవర్ష 1446 నేయతారణ సంవత్సరద మార్గశిర శు ౩ శని స్వస్తి శ్రీమాన్ మహారాజాధిరాజ రాజపరమేశ్వర శ్రీ వీరభుజ బలప్రతాప గజపతి అశ్వపతి భాడ కృష్ణ దేవ మహారాయ ఉదయాబ్ధి చంద్ర శ్రీ తిరుమలదేవ మహారాయన కాలదల..... శ్రీ కృష్ణదేవ మహారాయరిగె గంగోదక నేవితిరప్ప.....కోనానాయకరు.....

This grant refers to a gift by Tirumala Râya, son of Krishna Râya to one Kôna Nayakar for having given Gangodaka to Krishnadêva Râya before his death.

2. There are a number of Inscriptions before 1530 A. D. referring to Achyutadêva Râya, the duration of whose reign has been hitherto popularly accepted as 1530–1542 A. D.

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(*a*) Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency (Edited by V. Rangachariar M.A.) Vol. I, P. 310. A Rampuram Pagoda Inscription in Bellary district refers to a grant of 12 Kolagas of Paddy field by Achyutadêva Râya in S. S. 1448 (Vijaya).

(*b*) An inscription on Kailâsanâtha Temple Manimangalam, Saidapet Taluq of the year 1449 S. S. (Vijaya). This refers to a Mahâmandaleswara Sindaiya Deva in the reign of Achyuta Râya (P. 414 Mad. Insns. Vol. I.)

(*c*) A Vijianagar Inscription of the year 1448 S. S. (1526 A.D.) referring to a grant by Achutadêva Râya (Sewell's Antiquities Vol. I P. 107).

(*d*) An inscription in the Kêsava Temple of Ayyaluru, Nandyal Taluq bearing the date S. S. 1450 (1528 A.D.) Sewell doubts the date of this inscription (Sew. Ant. Vol. I P. 93.)

(*e*) An inscription dated 1529 A.D. (S. S. 1451) at the Temple of Arulala Perumal Conjeevaram (Sew. Ant. Vol. I P. 182.)

(*f*) A copper plate grant of Achyuta Râya, brother of Krishnadêva Râya of 3 villages. (Sew. Ant. Vol. II P. 16) S.S. 1451 = 1529 A.D.

(*g*) Komarapudi Inscription on Narasimhakonda Temple, Nellore District (No. 509 P. 1118 Vol. II Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency.) dated 1448 S. S. Pârthiva.

(*h*) An Inscription dated 1448 S. S. Nellore Inscriptions Vol. II Page 803.

It may be noted that there are a number of Inscriptions of the year 1530 A.D. referring to Achyutadêva Râya—the year which has been by historians assumed to be the year of his accession.

3. Many Inscriptions referring to Krishnadêva Râya are available to us in the collections noted above and referring to some Saka year between 1525–1530 A.D. Some of them recite private grants during the reign of Krishnadêva Râya. But the Timmappaswami Temple Inscription in Chippagiri, Alur Taluq, Bellary District. (Sew. Ant. Vol. I P. 322–1450 S. S. = 1528 A.D.) and the Velamakuru Inscription (S. S. 1451 = 1529 A.D. Sew. Ant. Vol. I Page 323) in the Anantapur District refer expressly to the building of a Temple and the Endowment of a Temple by Krishna Râya himself.

4. A lease attributed to Rama Raya, son-in-law of Krishnadêva Râya and reciting that he was ruling in Vijianagar in 1448 S. S. is mentioned in the Local Records (Vol. 18 P. 407).

5. A grant by Tirumala Râya, son of Krishnadêva Râya in S. S. 1446 is given in the Epigraphical Collections 139 of 1896.

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From the conflicting material above referred to, the date of Krishnadêva Râya's death and Achyuta Râya's accession have to be deduced. Popular Tradition points out that Tirumala Râya, a son of Krishnadêva Râya predeceased his father at an early age below ten and that Krishnadêva Râya suspecting foul play at the hands of Timmarasu and his sons, imprisoned them and blinded Timmarasu, his favourite minister. No doubt this cannot be accepted as History but it seems to be beyond doubt that Achyuta Raya succeeded Krishnadêva Râya and that Krishnadêva Râya's sons must have predeceased him.

Late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Row deduces from the Marenahalli Inscription of Tirumala Râya and from the Inscriptions of Achyuta Râya, Râma Râya and Krishnadêva Râya, that the period between 1525–1530 A. D. must have been a period of Interregnum when the son-in-law Rama Raya and brother Achyuta Raya were fighting for the throne, each asserting his own sovereignty and that the nobles were during that period ruling in the name of Krishnadêva Râya. Such an interpretation seems to be farfetched. A satisfactory solution other than this must be looked for in the annals of the History of Vijianagar. The Marenahalli Inscription of Tirumala Râya and the Inscriptions of Krishnadêva Râya till 1530 A. D might point to a serious illness of Krishnadêva Râya during the years 1525–1530 A.D. If so, the inscriptions of Achyuta Râya can be taken to refer to his rule whether as an agent of his brother or in his own independent capacities of a Sovereign in a portion of the Vijianagar Empire.

The copper plate inscription of Konagatla in Nâgari characters refers expressly to the death of Krishnadêva Râya (1530 A.D.)

'కృతవతి సురలోకే కృష్ణరాయేనిజజ్ఞం
తదను తదను జన్మ పుణ్య కర్మాచ్యుతేంద్రః'

It might reasonably be supposed that Krishnadêva Râya survived till 1530 A. D. but it is difficult to understand why none of the Inscriptions of Achyuta Râya during that period refer to Krishnadêva Râya. Expressing my indebtedness to late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao's brilliant essay on the subject, I hope that a further study of the problem will be taken up by Historians and Research sholars and a satisfactory solution be arrived at an early date.

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HALA AND ŚĀLIVAHANA ERA.

By R. SUBBA RAO, M. A. L. T.

The Purâṇas give a list of kings whom they call by both the names 'Āndhras' and 'Āndhra Bhrityas' and who are really "Śâtavâhanas". Thus the first name given in the Purâṇas viz., Simuka or Sisuka is named in an early inscription as Simuka Śatavâhaṇo.

The testimony of the Purâṇas that the Āndhra rule lasted for nearly 4½ centuries is substantially accurate. The number of Kings is also correctly reported to be 30, though one text of Vâyu Purâṇa gives an extra king. The order of succession of kings is also right. Dr. V. A. Smith following Pargiter's list and dates, probably based on Bramânda and Vâyu Purâṇas, gives to the 17th Andhra King, Hâla a duration of 5 years and shows him as ruling from 49 A.D. to 54 A.D. But the Matsya Purâṇa list of Āndhra kings as rightly shown by Mr. Srikanta Sastri in the Journal of Mythic Society, Vol. 17, p. 335 gives to the same king the same duration of 5 years but the date o accession is given as 78 A. D. and not 49 A. D. as stated by Dr. V. A. Smith, in his Early history of India. (IVth Ed.)

This difference is due to the latter's giving to both the 19th and 22nd Āndhra kings together, 30 years more than what is given in Matsya Purâṇa. This Purâṇa as rightly suggested by Mr. G.J Dubreuil in his Ancient History of Dekkan is really more trustworthy and hence considering the Āndhra rule to have begun about 220 B. C. as stated by most scholars and following the order and duration of kings as given in that Purâṇa, we get 78 A. D. as the date of accession of King Hâla. Now, since the Śâlivâhana Śaka era is admitted by all scholars to have begun from 78 A.D. it is only natural to state that the reigning king at that time, Hâla founded it. This theory which is upheld by popular tradition is also confirmed by other evidences. Before we consider them, it is better to examine the theories that attribute the era to some one king or other of the several Non-Āndhra dynasties that ruled over various parts of India

Firstly, there are those who state that Nahapana founded the Śaka era in 78 A.D. and who urge on behalf of this theory his claims to greatness which are based on numismatic and inscriptional evidences. But we now know from the evidence supplied by the coins and inscriptions of both the Śaka princes and Āndhra Kings that *at the same period*, the Western Śatraps were strong in W. India, the Kushânas in N. W. India and the Āndhras all over the Dekkan.

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Hence, Nahapana, the Kshaharâta chief could not have founded the Śâka era. Mr. G. J. Dubreuil conclusively proves (see His Ancient Dekkan, pages 20 and 21 and 22) that Nahapana's years of rule are counted from 58 B.C. and his inscriptions are dated from Vikrama era of that date and not from Śâka era (78 A.D.). Mr. R. D. Banerji has also stated already in the Journal of R A. S. for 1917 that Nahapana could not be the founder of the Śâka era.

Secondly, while Mr. G. J. Dubreuil mentions in his book that Chastana ascended the throne between A. D. 75—85 and probably founded the Śâka era in 78 A. D., and was acting as a Śatrap under Gautamîputra, Dr. V. A. Smith in his Early History of India, IV Ed. states thus, "The events of Chastana's reign are not on record but his approximate date is easily ascertained from the facts that his grandson is known to have been reigning in A. D. 130 and 150. Chastana, therefore, may be placed in the period from about 80 A. D. to 110. These dates imply that Chastana held his office as Great Śatrap under the Kushân Dynasty, i. e., under Kadphises II according to my chronology." Thus, the two scholars differ with regard to the dates of accession and the immediate overlords of, Chastana. Dr. Sten Konow has put forward the theory that the Śaka era was founded by Kadphises II and Dr. V. A. Smith who held in his third edition of Early History that Kanishka founded the Śaka era has now given it up in his Fourth Ed. and stated as follows in a footnote on p. 271:—"In all probability, the Śâka era was founded by Kadphises II and possibly a new era running from the accession or from the enthronement of Kanishka came into use in N. India including Kabul and continued in use in the reigns of his successors." Further on, on page 272, he stated that Kanishka came to the throne early in the 2nd C. A. D. and probably in 120 A. D. In a footnote on the same page, he has stated thus:—"The substantial controversy is between the scholars who place the accession of Kanishka in A. D. 78 and those who date it later, in about 120 A. D. It is possible that the Kushân kings may have used a special era distinct from the Śaka but it is unlikely. If such an era was used, it began after, not before, 78 A. D. Sir J. H. Marshall, D. G. of Arch. Survey has been convinced by the direct evidence of the stratification of the remains of Taxila that Kanishka reigned in the IInd rather than the 1st century of Christian era."

Thirdly, there is the view expressed by Mr. K. P. Jayasval in the Journal of B. O. R. S. Vol. VI Pt. I page 22 thus, "Kushân era being identical with the era of W. Śatraps which is accepted to be Śaka era, their dress being Scythic and they being called Śakas, Kanishka becomes the founder of the Śaka era." The learned scholar thinks that from the evidence of the statues of Kanishka and Chastana being

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found together, they would be contemporaries and even relatives. At the same time, he has stated that the era of the king Kushân Kadphises must be another and earlier Śaka era which began in 120 B.C. Mr. E. J. Rapson in his Ancient India supported this view and Dr. V. A. Smith, while supporting it in an earlier edition, has now abandoned it.

Dr. Marshall who carried on excavations at Taxilla thinks that Kanishka should have lived early in 2nd cent. A. D. According to him, distinct stratifications are found at Taxilla, viz., 1. Strata of Gondophornes 2. Strata of Kujula Khadphises 3. Strata of Wima Khadphises 4. Strata of Kanishka. Since the formation of soil involves a lapse of time and since the coins of Wima and his predecessors alone are found at Sirkop but not those of Kanishka, he thinks that Kanishka would not have ruled there *before* Wima-Khadphises. Since the Kushâns obtained possession of Taxilla about 60 A. D. and since some time should elapse between one rule and another, Kanishka cannot be held to have ruled in 78 A. D. He ruled in the 1st half of the second century A. D., and so he never founded the Śâka era.

Fourthly, there is the theory of Mr. G. J. Dubreiul expressed thus on pages 34—36 of his Ancient History of Deccan:—"Since the Śaka era was not founded either by Nahapana or by Kanishka and as Gautamiputra also was not the founder of it (No one has made this supposition) there remain but two hypotheses:—that the Saka era was founded either by Chastana or by Kadphises II. The latter opinion is held by Dr. Sten Konow who has written recently "I am still of opinion that the Śaka era was established by Wima-Kadphises" Ep. Indica Vol. 14 p. 141.

"But even granting that Kadphises II reigned in 78—79 A. D. it has to be proved that he founded an era. We have not even a single document that can make us believe that Kadphises II has founded an era. On the contrary, if the Chir stupa inscription is dated 78—79 A. D., it will be proved that the Kushân kings used after 78 A. D., the era 58—57 B. C. and finally, granting that Kadphises II founded an era, it must be proved that this era was adopted by Chastana or his descendants. After all, the theory of Wima Kadphises having founded the Śaka era is not based either upon any proof or even indication.

"There remains then but one hypothesis "The Saka era was founded by chastana". This theory was expounded 30 years ago by Cunningham, discussed notably by Dr. Bhandarker in B. B. R. A. Vol. 20, p. 210, and it was afterwards completely abandoned.

"I now wish to assert boldly that this abandonment is quite unjustified. This theory has been slighted, because, for 30 years the

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historians of India have had 2 preconceived notions: 1. that the inscriptions of Nahapana are dated in Śaka era 2. that the Śaka era was founded by Kanishka. I think I have proved that these 2 suppositions are now untenable. I affirm that the only natural theory concerning the Śaka era is that it was founded by Chastana.

"It is admitted on all hands that the dynasty of Chastana has used the Śaka era; and it is but natural to suppose that the founder of the dynasty was also the founder of the era used by it. Outside the kingdom of Chastana and his descendants, not a single inscription has been found which is dated in the above era. In fact, the inscriptions of the Kushân kings are not dated from Śaka era and the inscriptions dated from the same era which are found in South India are all posterior to the fall of the dynasty of Chastana.

"Thus, then, all the Śaka inscriptions that are anterior to 400 A.D. are every one of them inscriptions of the dynasty of Chastana. The era is therefore special to that dynasty.....
.....,

"Therefore, the most simple, the most natural and the most logical theory consists in saying "The Śâka era of 78 was founded by Chastana."

Some months back, while I was reading in the pages of Āndhra Sâhitya Parishad Journal Vol. 13, p. 207 the article of Mr. M. V. Ramanacharlu on "Jain works in Prakrit", I came across certain portions of Hâla's Gâdhâ Sapta Śati. It is a fine collection of 700 verses taken from the Prâkrit works of older poets which bear on Neeti and Sringâram (morality and erotics). The author Śatavâhana who is described as the son of Deepakarṇi (Vikrishna?) ruled over Pratishtânapura (Modern Paithan). Guṇâdhya, author of Brihathkatha, Śarvavarma, author of Kalâpavyâkaraṇa and other prakrit poets lived at his court. From Kathâsaritsâgara, we learn that Śarvavarma was made the ruler of Bârukacha-vishaya situated on R. Narbada by king Śalavâhana and also rewarded with several princely gifts. In an amorous mood, he threw the scissors at his wife Malayavati and it killed her. We get the above account from the verses at the end of the work. Also we get the following" Kavivatsala Hâla Śalavâhanâdyupânâmaka Śrî Sâlavâhana-nirmitâ Vividhânyôktimaya Prâkruta Gîrgumbhitâ śuchirasa pradhânâ Kâvyôttamâ Saptaśatyavasâna magâth." Bâṇa in his Harsha Charitra, Raja Sekhara and other early poets have stated that Śâlavâhana, Sâlavâhana, Śâlivâhana or Hâla or Śalôhâla composed this Gâdhâsaptaśati which they praise for its fine composition. From verses like "Sapta Śataka Samâptah Śalavâhana Virachitah Kośah Hâlaśya Sâlavahanah" and other literary evidences, we learn that king Hâla, the 17 Andhra King as given in the Matsya

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Purâna list had the titles named above. Further, from Amarakôsa, we learn that Śûdraka, Hâla and other Kings also had the title of Vikramâditya. Hâla himself refers in his Saptaśati to a certain Vikramâditya whose real name is said to be Śûdraka. This prince may be said to have founded the Vikrama era in 58 B.C. by defeating the Śakas of Malwa. Hâla's reference to him therefore is a proof of his having lived after him. Tradition is strong in asserting that Vikramâditya (Śâlivâhana) defeated the alien Śakas near Karur and established his era, "Śâlivâhana Śakâbda" which has been popular all over South India from the beginning of the 4th century A.D. and which has been used by all South Indian dynasties commencing from Pallavas. The substitution of the Vikrama era in its 135th year, i.e., 78 A.D. by Śâlivâhana era seems to be an event of South India and this must be due to the valour and greatness of an Āndhra King. Moreover, the use of Vikrama era in North India and the absence of Śâlivâhana era in the records of North Indian dynasties clearly strengthens this argument. The very fact that from the 4th century A.D. onwards, the Śâlivâhana era came to be used by the Pallavas who were Āndhra Brutyas and who succeeded to their political power and also by other South Indian dynasties shows that it was founded by one of the kings of the Imperial Āndhra dynasty that ruled for 4½ centuries over the whole of Dekkan and some parts of Transvindh-yan India. No doubt, some scholars attribute it to Gautamî putra, the 23rd Āndhra king owing to the statements in the Nasik Cave Inscriptions but chronological difficulties stand in the way. In the light of the statements quoted above from Hâla's Saptaśati that Hâla and Śâlivâhana were one and the same and in view of the Matsya-Purânic evidence that Hâla, the 17th Āndhra king ruled from 78 to 83 A.D. [owing to Śâta Karṇiś (the 3rd Āndhra king's) reign synchronising with Kharavêla's reign and Pulômayî's (24th Āndhra King's) reign synchronising with the lives of Ptolemy on the one hand and Rudradâman on the other, we get by calculation the same years for Hâla's reign] and taking into consideration the fact that popular tradition has always attributed the era to Śâlivâhana—clearly an Āndhra dynastic name and not foreign—and considering also that Chastana—a Śaka Satrap who was clearly a subordinate to Āndhra Kings and who adopted the same symbols on coins as those of Āndhras and who ruled as viceroy over western parts of Āndhra Empire which remained in it till the middle of the 2nd century A.D.—could not be *supposed* to have founded an era as there is no record left, I take it that Hâla alone, by virtue of his political greatness as well as literary merits founded the Śâlivâhana era after him, an era which was soon used by his political successors, the Bâṇas and the Pallavas. The Śaka years 261 and 380 which are found in the Bâṇa and Pallava inscriptions, (Please vide p. 336 Mythic Society Journal vol. 17) seem

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to be the earliest so far known and further researches may reveal some more records in which they may be mentioned.

Recently, Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi has obtained a Prakrit work called *Leelâvati* a brief account of which has already appeard in *Bharati* and from this work, I learn the following historically interesting facts which go to prove how Hâla won great victories far and wide, during the short time he ruled.

The name of the author is not given in the work. It contains nearly 1350 verses. There are several anecdotes but the most important historical theme is that supplied by Hâla's commander Vijayâ-nanda to him. His conquests in Ceylon on behalf of his master Hâla are described. The Ceylonese King, Silâmêgha had a daughter Leelâvati by his Gandharva wife, Śarasrî. She came and lived near 'Sapta Gôdâvari Bhîmam'. Vijayânanda, after his military exploits in Ceylon camped on the way with his troops at the same place and learnt the story of the Gandharva child Leelâvati who remained in the vicinity of the Bhavâni temple near 'Śapta Gôdâvari Bhimam'. After his return to the capital, he narrates the whole story to his Suzerein Hâla, who then goes to the place 'Śapta Gôdâvari Bhimam' which is probably the Drâkshârâma Bhîmêswaram in Godavari Dt., kills the demon Phîshanânana and marries Leelâvati, after visiting the residence of her father, the Simhalese King and then returns to his capital which is called, "Svabhukti Vishayê Pratishtânam". In this work, the name Hâla is referred to in verse 867 and Sâlâhaṇa in 837, and Hâla is called Śalavâhaṇa Narindo in 939 verse. Hâla is thus not only a great patron of letters but also a great warrior who defeated the Simhalese in the south and the Śakas and other foreign tribes in western India. No wonder, therefore, he is considered by popular tradition as the Founder of the Śâlivâhana Śaka era.

Mr. G. J. Dubreuil's theory that Chastana founded the Śâlivâhana Śaka era is based, according to his own admission, on a *hypothesis* which he tries to turn into a fact. His statement, that the era was *special* to Śaka dynasty and that it was not used by other dynasties *before 400 A.D.* does not hold good in the light of the references to the same being found now. Further, it is hard to believe that Chastana founded the Śaka era in 78 A.D. when we do not get any recorded evidence to the effect and when we also consider that the Śakas, *at that time*, were only the political subordinates of the Āndhras, whole rule over the western provinces lasted till the middle of the 2rd century A.D. and who ruled as the Imperial Sovereigns of the whole of the Dekkan at that time. Besides, Literary and Purânic evidences as pointed out above, are so strong that we have to consider 'Hâla Śâlivâhaṇô' as having ascended the throne in 78 A.D. and founded the Śâlivâhana Śaka.

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REPORT OF MUKHALINGAM CONFERENCE.

"Kalinga Day" Celebration.

Under the auspices of the Society, *the Kalinga Day* was celebrated at Mukhalingam in Parlakimidi Taluq on the 16th, 17th and 18th June 1927. Several scholars from all parts of the country attended and made the function a complete success. Among those present were:—

Messrs. 1. Sir A. P. Patro, Kt., B.A.B.L., M.L.C. 2. Raja Vikrama Dev Varma. 3. Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurty Pantulu B.A. 4. Sri Nilakanta Dass Mahasayo M.A., M.L.A. 5. Sri S. B. Ratho Mahasayo Ex. M.L.C. 6. Sri Harischandra Padhi Mahasayo B.C.E. 7. Tripurana Surya Prasad Rao Bahadur. 8. M. Trilochana Patro. 9. Duwada Nandesam Choudari. 10. Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao M.A. 11. H. Tatanna Naidu. 12. B. Jaganadham Naidu. 13. K. Ranganayakulu Naidu. 14. B. Chinnababu Naidu. 15. P. Swamy Babu. 16. C. Narayana Rao M.A.L.T. 17. P. Linganna. 18. G. Dharma Rao M.A. 19. R. Subba Rao M.A.L.T. 20. B. V. Krishna Rao B.A.B.L. 21. M. Somasekhara Sarma. 22. V. Satyanarayana B.A. 23. G. V. Raghava Rao B.A. 24. Lingam Tammayya Dora. 25. G. Narasinga Rao B.A.L.T. 26. G. V. Seetapathy B.A.L.T. 27. B. Mallaya Sastry. 28. V. Narayana Sastry. 29. G. Ramdas B.A. 30. V. Sriram B.A. 31. C. Veerabhadra Rao. 32. K. Sambamurty Sastry. Owing to severe rains, many more scholars who were expected to attend could not come.

The Raja Saheb of Parlakimidi who was graciously pleased to make all arrangements for the reception, boarding and lodging of the delegates and visitors was unavoidably absent and the same was keenly felt by one and all of us.

The President of the conference, Sir A. P. Patro and the Chairman of the Reception Committe, Sri Raja Vikrama Dev Varma Garu as well as several members of the Reception Committe and delegates arrived at Mukhalingam on the 15th June '27.

On the morning of 16th June, the proceedings began with a procession round the village. The Gathering which numbered over a hundred enjoyed much, the songs sung by the Kâlingâs in praise of God Mukhalingeswara. After visiting the temple, the gathering returned to the spacious hall of the Rajah's Bungalow. In the unavoidable absence of Sri Raja of Parlakimidi, for which the Society keenly regrets, Sri Raja Vikrama Dev Varma Garu opened the Conference as well as the Historical Exhibition. The following were the chief objects exhibited:—

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(1) Copper-plate Inscriptions:—Boddapadu plates of Vajrahasta, Kambakaya plates of Devendravarma, Narasannapeta plates of Vajrahasta and Cheedivalasa plates Devendravarma.

(2) Impressions of Korni-plates of Anantavarma Chodaganga—Two sets.

(3) Bricks and other ancient relics from Kalingapattnam and Salihundam.

(4) Gangavamsanu Charitra (manuscript) and documents containing old treaties of Vizianagar.

(5) A stone image of Buddha showing "Bhumi Sparsa Mudra"

(6) *Two stone Pillars* containing several panels showing human sacrifices among Savaras, Parvati and Parameswara, Buddist monks preaching to the people and other scenes.....

While opening the Historical exhibition, Sri Raja Vikrama Dev Varma Garu dwelt at length on the excellent need and value of such exhibitions and pointed out the historical importance of the several exhibits. While opening the Conference, he regretted much for the absence of the Raja Saheb of Parlakimidi and then read in Telugu his address as Chairman of the Reception Committee. In welcoming the delegates and visitors, he expressed thanks to the A. H. R. Society and to the Raja of Parlakimidi for arranging the conference of scholars who would read papers or discuss matters relating to Kalinga history. In his usual scholarly and learned manner, he dealt with the origin of the words 'Gângas' "Kâlingas" and "Tri-Kalingas" and stated that the limits of the Kalinga Empire changed very often. He then gave an account of the heroic part played by Kâlingas in the Mahabharata war and later on. He gave many thought provoking suggestions which need further research. After the address was over, Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A.L.T., Jt. Secretary of the society proposed the election of Sir A.P. Patro, Kt., to the Chairmanship of the conference and it was seconded by Mr. B.V. Krishna Rao, B.A.B.L. and approved unanimously. Mr. R. Subba Rao, then, read messages, expressing in-ability to attend but wishing the conference complete success from, the Rajah Saheb of Kallikota and Attagada, the Raja Saheb of Chikati, Hon' Dr. P. Subbarayan, M.A.,P.H.D., Chief Minister, Hon' A. Ranganatha Mudaliar M.L.C. Second Minister, Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar M.A. P.H.D., Sri L. N. Deb M.R.A.S. Yuvaraj of Tekkali, Rao Bahadur R. Krishna Rao Bhonsle, Ghulam Yazdani Esq., M.A., Archoelogical Superintendent, Nizam's Government, Sri Gopabandhu Das Mahasayo, Sri Godavaris Misro Mahasayo, and *Messrs* J. Ramayya Pantulu, President of the Society, K. Raghavachari M.A.B.L., Secretary of Telugu Academy, P. Mahanty M.A., P. V. Jagadis Iyer and others.

The President of the Conference who rose amidst cheers then read his address in Telugu, He first of all expressed his thanks

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to the society for honouring him thus and to the Raja of Parlakimidi for helping in the arrangement of the Conference. He then referred to the history of *his* and other Kâlinga families still living in *Uddanam* and other places and gave a vivid and detailed account of the Kâlingas from the Epic times to the Gajapati rule. He considered that Mukhalingam was the Capital of the Kalinga Empire under the Gangas and in conclussion gave a very interesting account of the social and economic conditions prevailing among the Kâlingas at present. His address which was very instructive was listened to with rapt attention. With this, the morning session came to a close.

In the evening, the Conference met again at 2 P.M. M. R. Ry. Tripurana Surya Prasad Rao Bahadur Garu, read very interesting verses on the Kalinga Day Celebration.

The papers of *Messrs* 1. C. Narayan Rao M.A.L.T. on 'Kalinga in Epic Age'. 2. R. Subba Rao, M.A.L.T. on 'Ancient and Mediæval History of Kalinga Desa'. 3. Pandit Nilkanta Das Mahasayo, M.A. M. L. A., on "Ancient Kalinga". 4. P. Swamibabu on "Kalinga Vaisyas". 5. Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar M. A. on 'Orissa'. 6. K. Iswar Dutt, B. A on 'Vizianagar Kings and Kalinga wars'. 7. S. G. Krishnamurty on "The Life and Times of Anantavarma Choda Ganga" were then read and discussed. All these papers which contained highly instructive and interesting matter were well appreciated by the scholars present. The evening session then came to a close.

In the night, Pandit Kavyatirtha B. Mallayya Sastry Garu of Parlakimidi College gave readings from Mahabharata in a novel Harikatha style, which combined easy delivery, clear exposition and fine music.

On the morning of 17th June, the Conference again assembled under the presidentship of Sir A. P. Patro. The proceedings began with a prayer conducted by Brahmasri V. Suryanarayana Sastry Garu of Parlakimidi. Mr. V. Satyanarayana B A., read verses on Kalinga Day. Then, the reading of papers was resumed. Mr. C. Vecrabhadra Rao, the Veteran Historian of the Andhras, suggested new interpretations for 'Vêla' and other terms found in the Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela and pointed out the neccessity for still further research.

Then the papers of *Messrs* L. Tammayya Dora on 'Caves in Kalinga Desa', Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao, M.A.,P.H.D. on "Ganga Vamsanu Charitra", G. Ramdas, B.A.M.R.A.S. on "the Chronology of the Early Gangas", Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurty Pantulu Garu, B. A. on 'Savaras', G. V. Raghava Rao B.A. on "Ellamancha-Kalinga" and G. V. Seetapathy on "Language of Kalingadesa" were read.

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In the evening, the delegates and members went about the village to study the remains and antiquities of the place. The party led by Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurty Pantulu Garu visited the three ancient temples of the place, Viz., Someswara, Aniyanka Bhimeswara and Madhukeswara or Mukhalingeswara and studied in detail the inscriptions and sculptures.

In the night, Mr. C. Euchana Pantulu of Parlakimidi, entertained the members to Veena Play and Vocal Music, which were highly appreciated.

On the 18th Morning, Photographs of the members of the Reception Committe and of Delegates as well as the Historical Exhibition and of the several Temples and Sculptures therein were taken. A Photograph of a few typical Kâlingas was also taken.

In the evening, the Study of the Arts and Sculptures as well as Inscriptions found in the Mukhalingam temple was resumed and Mr. G. Ramdos of Jeypore explained several important Sculptures and in particular, the Stone Image found on the wall of the temple treasury room has been stated to be a figure of Vajrahasta V.

From a close study of the Art and Sculpture *in Situ*, the party came to a conclussion that the *Kalinga Art* was wrongly called by Fergusson and others as *Orissan in Style*, because it was the same Anantavarma Chodaganga that built the temples in both Mukhalingam and Bhuvaneswar.

In the night, *Messrs* B. Mallaya Sastry, V. Satyanarayana and T. Surya Prasad Rao Bahadur entertained the members with Vocal Music and recitations from literary and historical compositions.

Several gentlemen present announced very generously Donations, a list of which is appended. The grateful thanks of the society are particularly due to Sir A. P. Patro and Sri Raja Vikrama Dev Varma Garu who not only gave liberal donations but helped the society in every way.

The following resolution which was moved by Mr. B. V. Krishnarao B.A.B.L. and seconded by Mr. W. V. B. Ramalingam B.A.L.T., was carried unanimously amidst applanse by the whole Conference:—

"Resolved, that this Conference, held under the auspices of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, while keenly regretting the unavoidable absense of the Raja of Parlakimidi, do place on record its grateful thanks to him for having graciously helped in the celebration of the Kalinga Memorial Day at Mukhalingam in a fitting manner and for showing generous hospitality to all delegates and visitors."

Sir A. P. Patro, in bringing the proceedings to a close remarked that it was highly creditable for the Society to have brought

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about a Conference of Research Scholars from various parts of the Country and to have produced such excellent results which would soon fructify in the production of an authoritative History of Kalinga Desa in a short time under the able editorship of Mr. R. Subba Rao M.A.L.T. He also expressed heartfelt thanks to the Raja of Parlakimidi and to the Joint Secretaries of the Society for arranging this Conference. He would look forward for the History of the Country to be brought out, bit by bit, by the research scholars of the Society. Lastly, he expressed his satisfaction at the realisation of his dream and that of Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao and thanked all the scholars who read original papers and thus contributed to the History of Kalinga.

Mr. R. Subba Rao M.A.L.T., Joint Secretary of the Society and Editor 'Kalinga Sanchika' proposed a hearty vote of thanks to. the Raja of Parlakimidi for helping the society in holding the Conference so successfully, to the Rajas of Kallikot and Attagada Estates and Chikati for graciously consenting to be patrons, to Sir A. P. Patro for having presided and successfully conducted the proceedings and for helping the society with munificent donations, to Sri Raja Vikrama Dev Varma Garu, who in spite of his old age, cheerfully consented to be Chairman of the Reception Committe and helped the Society in several ways, to the Donors and members of the Reception Committe who helped the society so liberally, to the Delegates and Visitors who read papers, to *Messrs* Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurty Pantulu and his son, G. V. Seetapathy for looking after all arrangements for the guests and for making the Conference, in spite of bad weather, such a real success and last but not least, to Mr. I. Kanakachellam Pantulu M.A.L.T., of Parlakimidi.

On behalf of the Society, he also expressed keen regret for his absence owing to ill-health. As a member of the Kalinga committe and as one responsible for the successful celebration of the Kalinga Day, he took not a little trouble in making all arrangements for the function. With a prayer to Almighty, the Conference came to a successful close.

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APPENDIX A.

Sri Raja Ramachendra Marda Raja Dev Bahadur Varu, *Raja of Kallikota and Attagada Estates very generously sent a donation of Rs. 300 to the Treasurer in May '27.*

LIST OF DONATIONS PROMISED AND PAID ON THE OCCASION OF KALINGA DAY AT MUKHALINGAM, 17TH JUNE '27.

Messrs.		*Promised.*	*Paid.*
1.	Kembavi Srinivasa Rao Parlakimidi. Rs.	10—0—0	
2.	Andhavarapu Lakshmanamurthi, Hiramandalam.	10—0—0	10—0—0
3.	Potnuri Swamibabu, Narasannapeta.	10—0—0	10—0—0
4.	Boddapalli Ramamurthi Naidu, Kannyala Velasa P. O., Anudalavalasa.	10—0—0	5—0—0
5.	Moonangi Rajita Narayanamurthi.	10—0—0	10—0—0
6.	Boddapalli Chinna Babu Naidu.	60—0—0	5—0—0
7.	Boddapalli Jaganatham Naidu.	60—0—0	5—0—0
8.	Kona Raghunayakulu Naidu.	10—5—0	5—0—0
9.	Duvvada Nandesam Choudari.	150—0—0	70—0—0
10.	Tripurana Surya Prasada Rao.	50—0—0	
11.	Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurthi Pantulu.	10—0—0	
12.	G. V. Sitapati.	10—0—0	
13.	Gade Narasinga Rao.	10—0—0	
14.	I. Kanakachalam.	10—0—0	
15.	Sir A. P. Patro.	500—0—0	
16.	Raja Sri Vikrama Dev Varma.	50—0—0	50—0—0
17.	Trilochana Patro, Berhampore.	10—0—0	
18.	H. Tatanna Naidu.	10—0—0	10—0—0
	Rs.	990—0—0	180—0—0

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APPENDIX B.

LIST OF AUTHORS AND ESSAYS FOR KALINGA SANCHIKA.

Messrs.

1. N. Subramanyam M. A., L. T., ... Map of Kalinga Empire.
2. N. Sundaram Pantulu ... Kalinga Rajya Kshetra Prasamsa.
3. P. Swamibabu ... ... Kalinga Vaisyas.
4. N. Venkataramana, B. A., ... Kalinga Sataka Literature.
5. Sri Jagabandu Singh ... ... Kalingas.
6. A. Ramarao B. A., ... Forgotten Kalinga Andhra Poets.
7. G. Ramdoss B. A., ... Mukhalinga Kshetra Mahatyam Verses.
8. Sri Vikrama Dev Varma ... ... Kalinga Desa.
9. Do. ... ... 'Kalinga Day' address.
10. Sir. A. P. Patro, B. A , B. L., ... Kalinga Rajyam.
11. Sri Satyanarayana Raju ... ... Prachina Odra Jati.
12. Sri L. N. Deb ... ... Kalinga.
13. J. Venkata Krishna Rao B. A., ... Kalinga Samrajyam.
14. C. Narayana Row M. A., L. T. ... Kalinga Edicts of Asoka.
15. B. V. Krishna Rao B. A., B. L. ... ... Mukhalinga Nagaram.
16. G. V. Seetapati B. A., L. T. ... ... Korni plates.
17. V. Satyanarayana ... ... Verses on Mukhalingam.
18. K. Ragavacharlu M. A., B. L. Prachina Kalinga Desa Charitra.
19. K. Iswar Dutt B. A., Vijayanagaram Emperors and Kalinga wars.
20. M. V. Ramanacharlu Mukhalinga kshetra Mahatyam-Prose.
21. A. Jaghanada Rao B. A., B. L. ... ... Khonds.
22. V. Satyanarayana ... ... Kalingas of Dantapura.
23. Sri Tripurana Surya Prasad Rao ... Verses on Kalinga Day.
24. V. Suryanarayanasastry ... ... ,, Verses.
25. G. Ramdoss, B. A., ... Kalinga.
26. B. H. Narayanamurty ... ... Kalinga in 1800.
27. L. Tammaya Dora ... ... Kalinga Cave Temples.
28. G. V. Ragava Rao B. A., ... Kalinga-Elamanchali.
29. S. G. Krishnamurty ... Life and times of Anantavarman.
30. R. Subba Rao M.A., L.T. Ancient and Medieval History of Kalinga.
31. Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao M. A., PH. D. Gangavamsanu Charitra.
32. G. Ramdoss B. A., ... Kalinga Art.
33. G. Narasinga Rao B. A., L. T. ... Capital of Kalinga.
34. G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu B. A., ... Savaras.
35. G. V. Seetapathy B. A., L. T. ... Language in Kalinga Desa.
36. K. Sambamurty Sastry Cheedivalasa plates of Devendravarma.
37. Hirananda Sastry M. A., ... Kalingas in Far East.
38. K. R. Subrahmanyam M. A., ... Religious history of Kalinga.
39. Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar M. A., ... Orissa.
40. Pandit Nilkanta Das M. A., M. L. A, ... Ancient Kalinga.
41. M. Somasekhara Sarma ... E. Chalukyas and E. Gangas.
42. C. Veerabhadra Rao ... ... Kalingas.
43. V. Apparao B. A., B. L. Hathigumpa Inscription of Kharavela.

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REVIEWS.

I

Selections from Sanskrit inscriptions Part I—Text by **Mr. D. B. Diskalkar** M.A., *Curator, Watson Museum, Rajkot. Rs 1.*

Mr. Diskalkar has rendered the student of Indian History a real service by the publication. Here, we have got the texts of about fifteen inscriptions ranging from the 2nd Century to the 8th Century A. D., printed in Devanagari characters. The inscriptions are selected with a view to illustrate passages possessing literary merit and to popularise Indian Epigraphy. The student of Sanskrit literature is treated to a refreshing repast of poetry moulded in the Kavya style. We know now from published inscriptions that it is one of the duties of a court poet variously styled as 'Vidyâdhikari', Sandhi-Vigrahi or 'Sâsanâdhikâri' to compose the text of an inscription, whenever a gift is made; or when a victory was obtained against a neighbouring King; and that is the occasion for the poet to describe his 'Liege Lord' and his ancestors in eulogistic terms.

Lovers of the poetry of Nature may find it relieving to go through the description of the storm in the beginning of the Girnar inscription of Rudradâman in the present volume. Very little resort is made to the Alankara Sastra; the language is simple and most effective. We have not yet come across such a soul-capturing description of a storm elsewhere in all Sanskrit literature.

Though the present compilation is not made with a view to place before the Historian, passages of historical interest yet, we have here inscriptions of great historical value such as Rudradâman's Girnar inscription, Samudra-Gupta's Allahabad pillar inscription, and the Aihole inscription of Pul-akesin II. The book is enriched by a thoughtful introduction from the pen of Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, B. A., retired Govt. Epigraphist for India. Many of the inscriptions are taken from Fleet's 'Gupta inscriptions,' a volume which is not easily available at present. This book may well find a place on the shelf of every lover of Epigraphy and Literature.

V. A. R.

II

Annual report of Watson Museum for the year 1925-26.

This is the only institution of the kind throughout the province of Guzerat doing useful Historical Research work. The Hony Secretary stat s in his report that the financial position of the Museum is not satisfactory. We hope that the committee governing the institution will take some efficient steps, for realising funds and putting the institution on a sound financial basis. Mr. Diskalkar, the Curator of the Museum has done useful Research work by publishing articles in various Oriental Journals in addition to his routine duties. His work deserves praise.

V. A. R.

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NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of the Council meeting held on 30-4-1927.

Present:

M. R. Ry. C. Atmaram Garu (in the chair).
B. V. Krishna Rao Garu.
R. Subbarao Garu.
N. Kameswararao Garu.

Resolutions.

1, Resolved that the following gentlemen, having signified their consent, be admitted as the members of the Society.

Messrs.
1. V. Purnayya, District Munsif, Bezwada.
2. Ch. Suryanarayana, High Court Vakil, Rajahmundry.
3. N. V. Yogananda Rao, „ „ Rajahmundry.
4. N. Venkataramiah, „ „ Rajahmundry.
5. M. Sambasiva Rao, pleader, Rajahmundry.
6. Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao, Professor, Vizianagaram.
7. L. V. Bhadrayya, B. A., Pleader, Ellore.
8. P. Seshagiri Rao, B. A., Dy. Inspector of Schools, Adoni.
9. P. Venkatachalam, Inamdar, Behampore.
10. G. Narasinga Rao, B. A., L, T., Lecturer, Parlakimidi.

2. Resolved that the following member be considered to have resigned :—

K. Seetharamasarma.

3. Resolved that the following exchanges be accepted:—

1. Puranagranthamalika, Pittapuram.
2. Modern Review, Calcutta.
3. Publications of the Musie Guimet, Paris.
4. Publications of the Watson Museum, Rajkot.

4. Resolved that the accounts of the Society for the month of April 1927 be passed.

5. Resolved that the Editorial board for the year 1927-28 be composed of the following gentlemen:—

M. R. Ry.
1. C. Atmaram Garu (Editor).
2. B. V. Krishnarao Garu.
3. V. Apparao Garu.
4. J. Ramayya Pantulu Garu.
5. R. Subbarao Garu.

6. Resolved that M. R. Ry. J. Ganganna Garu, B. A., L. T., be a member of the Council in the place of M. R. Ry. M. Ramakrishna Kavi Garu, resigned.

7. Resolved that the Joint-Secretaries be requested to interview the Rajah of Parlakimidi and arrange for the speedy celebration of the Kalinga day and that their expenses be met.

(Sd.) C. Atmaram.

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Proceedings of the Council meeting held on 20-5-1927.

M. R. Ry. C. Veerabhadra Rao Pantulu Garu (in the chair).
B. V. Krishna Rao Garu.
R. Subbarao Garu.
N. Kameswara Rao Garu.
V. Apparao Garu.

1. Resolved that the following gentlemen, having signified their assent, be admitted as members of the Society.

Messrs. B. China Yaganarayana Sarma, Madugula Vizag Dt.
M. V. Sundara Rao, Inamdar, Anakapalle.
S. Venkata Sambasivarao, B.A.,L.T., Head-Master, Mandasa
T. Pattabhiramayya, B. A., B. L., Vakil, Berhampore.
Garimella Seetharamayya, B. A., B. L., Vakil, Berhampore.
K. Apparao Nayudu, B. A., B. L., Vakil, Berhampore.
B. Nageswararao, B. A., L. T., Teacher, Ichapuram.
P, Jagannadhaswami, M. A., L. T., Lecturer, Parlakimidi.
Y. Ramamurthi, M. A., L. T., Lecturer, College, Berhampore.
V. V. Jogiah Garu, B. A., Pleader, Berhampore.
K. Suryanarayana, B.A., L.T., Teacher, College, Berhampore.
R. V. Ramanamurthi, M. A., B. L. Vakil, Berhampore.
W. Ramalingam, B. A., L. T., Chairman,
Municipal Council, Berhampore.
S. V. Sivaramasarma, Rajupalem, Ramnad Dt.

2. Resolved that the resignation of Mr. V. V. Sarma of his membership be accepted.

3. Resolved that the following Exchanges be accepted:—
1. Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Patrika, Calcutta.
2. Karnataka Sahitya Parishad Patrica, Mysore.
3. Journal of the Anthropological Society, Bombay.
4. Man In India, Bombay.
5. Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

4. Resolved that the advertisements of Book-sellers, Publishers, and of such other traders be accepted and the following rates be fixed:—

	per quarter.	*per year.*
Title page, inner-side,		
full ...	Rs. 25 ...	Rs. 100
half ...	Rs. 15 ...	Rs. 50
quarter ...	Rs. 8 ...	Rs. 30
Title page, outer-side,		
full ...	Rs. 30 ...	Rs. 120
half ...	Rs. 18 ...	Rs. 60
quarter ...	Rs. 10 ...	Rs. 40

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5. Resolved that the accounts from 1-5-1927 to 20-5-1927 be passed.
6. Resolved that M. R. Ry. I. Kanakachalam Pantulu Garu be requested to visit Cuttack and such other places to do work in connection with the Kalinga Day celebration and that he be paid expenses by the Society.

(Sd.) Chilukuri Virabhadra Row,
20-5-1927.

Proceedings of the Council meeting held on 2-6-1927.

(Resolutions passed by circulation.)

1. Resolved to place on record the Society's grateful thanks to Sri Sri Sri Rajakrishna Chandra Gajapati Narayana Devu Bahadur Varu, Rajah of Paralakimidi for having graciously consented, to open the Kalinga Day proceedings and to render all help in connection with the Kalinga Day celebrations.
2. Resolved to place on record the Society's grateful thanks to Sri Sri Sri Rajah Ramachandra Marda Raja Devu Bahadur Varu, Raja of Kallikota and Attagada for his having graciously consented to become a Patron of the Society and for having sent a handsome donation of Rs. 300/- to the Society.
3. Resolved to request Mr. M. S. Sarma of Madras to bring materials for the Historical Exhibition at Mukhalingam as a loan and to incur all the incidental charges thereto.
4. Resolved to sanction travelling allowance to the Joint Secretaries, to and from, Mukhalingam and to empower them to incur all the incidental charges thereto, in connection with the celebration of the Kalinga Day and the publication of Kalinga Sanchika and that an initial sum of Rs. 100 be advanced for the purpose.

(Sd.) R. Subbarao,
B. V. Krishna Rao.
N. Kameswara Rao.
V. Apparao.

Proceedings of the Council meeting held on 7-7-1927.

Present:

M. R. Ry. N. Kameswara Rao Garu (in the chair).
R. Subbarao Garu.
B. V. Krishna Rao Garu.
C. Atmaram Garu.
V. Apparao Garu.

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1. Resolved that the following gentlemen, having signified their assent, be admitted as members of the Society :—

Messrs.
1. M. Trilochana Patro, Berhampore.
2. Pataneni Veeranna B. A.,
3. P. Mallikharjuna Rao, Inamdar, Rajahmundry.
4. Sriman Harischandra Padhi Mahasayo B. C. E. Engineer, Berhampore.
5. Burra Hume Sastri B. A., B. L., Vakil, Vizag.
6. R. Seshagirirao, Agent, Macmillan & Co., Madras.
7. C. Sambasivarao B. A., Bar-at-law, Madras.
8. P. Swami Babu, Inamdar, Narasannapeta.
9. T. S. Prasada Rao Bahadur, Inamdar, Siddhantam.

2. Resolved that the following gentlemen be considered to have resigned :—

Messrs. N. J. Prasadarayudu Garu.
J. Somasekhara Rao.
K. Narasimha Rao.

3. Resolved that the following Exchanges be accepted :—
   1. Jayanti, Masulipatam.
   2. Smithsonian Annual Report, Washington.

4. Resolved that the accounts submitted by the Joint Secretaries regarding Kalinga Day celebrations be approved.

5. Resolved that the expenditure incurred by the treasurer in going to Waltair to interview the Maharaja of Jeypore viz., Rs. 9-9-0 be approved.

6. Resolved that the accounts from 21-5-1927 to 7-7-1927 be passed.

7. Resolved that the following agenda be placed at the next general body meeting :—
   1. Election of Patrons.
   2. Election of Hon. Presidents.
   3. Election of Hon. Correspondents.
   4. Any other matter of which previous notice is given to the Secretaries.

8. Resolved that a reading room and library be started.

(Sd). N. Kameswara Rao,
7-7-27.

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List of members who paid their subscriptions during the quarter ending with 31-3-27.

Messrs.	Rs.	Messrs.	Rs.
1. G. Ramdas	4- 0-0	11. V. Subrahmanyam	3- 2-0
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39. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Society, Washington.
40. Bulletins of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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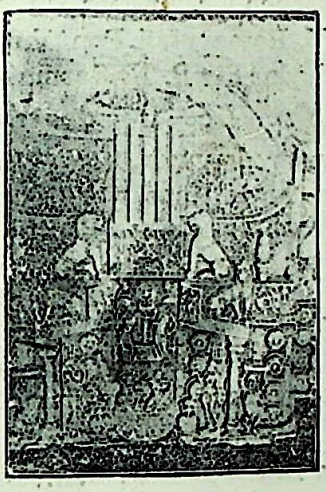
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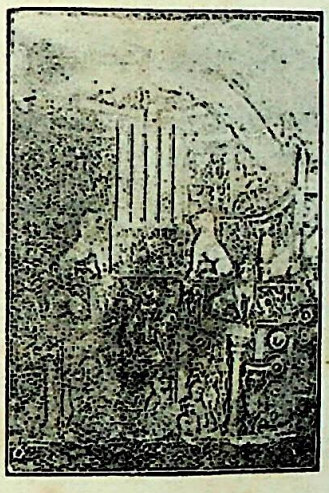
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THE NYAYA CONCEPTION OF VALID THINKING

By Mr. K. GOPALKRISHNAMMA, M.A., L.T.,

According to the Nyaya school, consciousness (बुद्धिः) exists in two forms, viz—i. direct apprehension (अनुभवः) and ii. remembrance (स्मृतिः). Direct apprehension which may be defined as consisting in the presentation of things, is of two kinds—true (प्रमा) and false (भ्रमः). True apprehension is that which is in consonance with the real character of the thing apprehended, or that which presents the thing just as it really is. For instance, a pot before us is said to be truly apprehended when it is perceived as an object possessing the real distinctive feature of a pot. False apprehension or error consists in the knowing of a thing as what it is not. For instance, a piece of shell before the eye is said to be falsely apprehended when it is perceived as silver which it is really not. Four varieties of such true apprehension are distinguished in conscious experience, and found to be produced respectively by four instruments of right cognition—i. Sense-perception ii. Inference iii. Analogy and iv. Oral testimony. For instance, (i) by means of the normal eye we have the apprehension of a jar and such other things; this kind of apprehension is known as sense-perception (प्रत्यक्षम्). (ii) By means of the smoke as the indicative mark (अनुमानम्), we have the apprehension of fire; this kind of apprehension

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is known as Inferential cognition (अनुमितिः). (iii) By the perception of the similarity to the cow, we have the apprehension of the fact of a particular animal bearing the name of Gavaya (गवयः). Here the resulting knowledge of the relation of words to their meanings is called 'knowledge by analogy' (उपमितिः). (4) By means of such sentences as 'one desiring heaven should perform the Jyotishṭoma sacrifice', we get at the apprehension of the fact that the Jyotishṭoma sacrifice is the means of attaining heaven.

Remembrance also is of two kinds,—(i) true or false-according as it is, or is not, in consonance with the real character of the thing remembered. Both these kinds of remembrance occur during waking time; in dreams all the cognition that exists, is of the nature of such remembrance as is not in consonance with the real thing.

It would be interesting as well as edifying to know the rationale underlying these four instruments of right cognition as accepted by the Naiyāyika. It has been accepted by all the exponents of Śāstras, as a fundamental principle of exposition, that, before establishing a doctrine, all probable and possible objections to that doctrine should be anticipated, discussed and refuted on valid grounds. In accordance with this principle the Naiyāyika who seeks to establish the necessity for recognising the four aforesaid instruments of right cognition, sets forth for a critical examination the peculiar theory of Cārvāka the crest-jewel of the atheistic school, in respect of valid thinking. The leading doctrines of the Cārvāka system are briefly as follows:—The only object of human pursuit (पुरुषार्थः) consists in wealth and enjoyment resulting from contact with sensible objects. While life remains, let a man live happily, let him feed on ghee even though he runs into debt. When once the body becomes ashes, it can never return again. There is no such thing as happiness in a future world. There is no other heaven than pleasure derived from the objects of this world. There is no other hell than pain produced by purely mundane causes, such as diseases, harmful animals, thorns etc. There is no soul in another world; nor is there any other Liberation than the dissolution of the body. The four elements—earth, water, fire and air—are the original principles. From these alone, when transformed into the body, intelligence is produced, just as intoxicating power is developed from the mixture of certain specific ingredients; and when these are destroyed, intelligence also perishes at once. Therefore what is known as the soul in the other systems is no other than the body distinguished by the attribute of intelligence. This is because there is no evidence for any soul distinct from the body. Perception (प्रत्यक्षम्) is accepted

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as the only source of knowledge, and it can by no means manifest the existence of any soul distinct from the body.

It is in the light of the doctrine that the soul is identical with the body, that such usages as "I am stout", "I am fair" etc, are at once intelligible. For the self-conciousness represented by 'I', coexists with the attributes of stoutness, fairness etc, in the substratum (the body). If however the Naiyâyika says that he can prove by Inferential Reasoning (अनुमानम्) the existence of a soul distinct from the body, my reply is as follows: The object of the Naiyâyika could be gained only if it be possible to prove Reason (हेतुः) to be an instrument of right knowledge (प्रमाणम्) in the strict sense of the term; but it would not be possible. For, Reason (=middle term= (हेतुः) as recognised by the Naiyāyikas, is such an object that, on perceiving it in a certain place (=minor term=पक्षः), we are led to conclude the existence in the same place of another object (major term=साध्यम्) closely connected with the first-perceived object. For instance, when we observe smoke (हेतुः) issuing from a mountain(पक्षः), we at once conclude that fire (साध्यम्) also must exist in the same mountain. Here the conclusion refers to the existence in the mountain of fire, and no other object, because fire alone is supposed to be invariably connected with smoke. Thus it would appear that those who maintain the authority of Reason (हेतुः) as a source of right knowledge, must necessarily accept that the possibility of a valid conclusion regarding the existence of the major term (साध्यम्) is evidently based on the existence of the relation of invariable concomitance (व्याप्तिः) between the major term (साध्यम्) and the middle term (हेतुः) from which the conclusion is drawn. It is also accepted as equally important by the Naiyāyikas that, unless sufficient care be taken in selecting the mark (हेतुः) the validity of the conclusion is sure to be vitiated if the mark in question admits of a condition (उपाधिः) in relation to the major term. For instance, the inference of smoke from fire is bound to be invalid because of the non-existence of smoke in a piece of red-hot iron which is evidently due to the condition (उपाधिः) in relation to fire and smoke as middle and major terms respectively. Here the condition is the contact of wet fuel (आर्द्रेन्धनसंयोगः) which, as defined by the Naiyāyika, is invariably

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concomitant (व्यापकः) with the major term smoke, and not so (अव्यापकः) with the middle term; i. e. the major term smoke is invariably concomitant, not with every kind of fire (middle term), but with such fire as is in contact with wet fuel (=a particular condition). Thus in instances like this the Naiyāyikas themselves admit that a condition (उपाधिः) of the aforesaid nature does really exist and evidently vitiates the validity of Reasons like fire as Instruments (प्रमाणानि) leading to the knowledge of the existence of major terms like smoke. It would therefore follow that, even according to the Naiyāyikas, the validity of Inference depends upon (1) the middle term (हेतुः) being *absolutely free* from any condition (उपाधिः), either accepted (निश्चितः), disputed (विप्रतिपन्नः) or even suspected (संदिग्धः) (2) the existence of the middle term (sign or हेतुः) in the minor, and (3) the middle term being invariably connected (व्याप्तः) with the major. This invariable relation (व्याप्तिः) is helpful in causing Inference, not by virtue of its existence, but by virtue of its being *known*.

What then is the means of knowing this relation? It cannot be perception. For perception can produce the knowledge of only such objects as come in direct contact with the corresponding senses. But the invariable relation in question subsists between the objects not only of the present which can no doubt come in contact with the senses, but also of the past and the future which can by no means come in contact with the senses. So perception cannot be the means of knowing this invariable relation (व्याप्तिः).

Nor can Inference (अनुमानम्) be the means of knowing this invariable relation. For, before we apply Inference as a means, we should require another Inference to establish it; and this Inference will have to be established by a third Inference, and so on, and hence there would arise the fallacy of an *ad infinitum retro-gression* (अनवस्था)

Nor can oral testimony (शब्दः) be the means thereof. For, (1) according to the Vaiśeśika system of Kaṇâda oral testimony is included in Inference, inasmuch as it depends on the recognition of a middle term (हेतुः) in the form of 'the language used by an old man in the presence of a child', (2) Further, when we Cârvâkas deny the existence of past authorities such as Gotama, etc, there is no use of

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depending on them for believing that smoke and fire are invariably connected. (3) In case oral testimony were to be accepted as the only means of knowing this invariable relation, the following would ensue; a man who has not been made by another to understand the subsistence of the invariable relation between smoke and fire, would never be able to infer the existence of one thing (as fire) from the perception of another (as smoke).

Nor can comparison be the means for the knowledge of this invariable relation. For (1) Comparison has been included by Kaṇâda in the topic of Inference on the ground that it also depends on the recognition of a middle term (हेतुः) in the form of 'Similarity' (2) Comparison itself aims at producing the knowledge of quite a different connection, viz, the relation of a name to something so named. Thus it can be said that there is absolutely no means for the knowledge of the invariable relation on which, according to the Naiyâyika, the validity of Inference depends. In regard to the first afore-said requisite of a valid Inference it has already been pointed out that the absolute absence of a condition is the indispensable element in the definition of invariable relation; but such absence of a condition can never be known, because it is impossible to establish that all conditions must be objects of perception (योग्याः). Some of them may be non-perceptible (अयोग्याः). So, although the absence of perceptible (योग्याः) conditions may be itself perceptible, the absence of non-perceptible conditions must be itself non-perceptible (अयोग्यः). So there is always a doubt that non-perceptible conditions may somewhere exist in relation to the middle and the major terms in question. Although the relation of invariable concomitance between the middle term (as smoke) and the major term (as fire) is seen to hold good in the one thousand instances examined by us. Still there remains the doubt that there may be an instance where the relation fails (व्यभिचारः). We also realise in our experience that what holds good in ten cases (sweetness in a mango) may not do so in the eleventh.

Moreover, condition or upâdhi, (contact with wet fuel) as already defined, is that which constantly accompanies (व्यापकः) the major term (smoke) and which does not bear such relation to the middle term (as fire). From this definition it is clear that an accurate knowledge of a condition depends upon the knowledge of the Invariable connection (व्याप्तिः) between what is to be ascertained as the condition and the major term. But the Invariable connection (व्याप्तिः) essentially required as the basis of Inference is such a connection between the middle term and the major term (as smoke and fire) as is distinguished

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by the absence of any such condition. The knowledge of the absence of a condition should necessarily be preceded by the knowledge of that condition. Thus it is only when there is the knowledge of the condition that the knowledge of the Invariableness (व्याप्तिः) of the relation is possible. The knowledge of a condition has just now been understood as depending on the knowledge of the Invariable connection (व्याप्तिः). Thus the opponent is exposed to the fallacy of अन्योन्याश्रयः reasoning in a circle.

Of course, as a matter of fact, immediately after observing one thing (as smoke), the person thinks of another thing (as fire) connected therewith, and proceeds to the spot with the hope of finding it. But it can be accounted for in either of these two ways—(1) After having previously observed the two things (as smoke and fire) together in a few familiar places (Kitchen, brick-kiln, Steam Engine etc.), one may simply conjecture that they might exist together in a fifth place also. Or, on the basis of their co-existence as observed in the first four familiar places, one may peremptorily assume the thing observed (as smoke) as an authoritative mark serving as a middle term. But the conjecture as well as the peremptory assumption of authority may prove to be an illusion in some cases; and in those few cases wherein they prove true, it is only due to a mere *accident*, just like the cure effected by *chance*, through gems, charms etc. Hence, by the impossibility, as shown above, of knowing the invariableness of the relation which is held to be absolutely essential to Inference, it becomes impossible to establish the authority of Inference. When Inference cannot be an authority, it would easily follow that little or no authority can be claimed for oral testimony and Comparison both of which have already been referred to as included in Inference by the Vaisśeshika. Thus it is assertively declared by us that none but perception (प्रत्यक्षम्) can be an Instrument of right knowledge (प्रमाणम्). This is the position held by the Cārvākas in respect of the Instrument of right knowledge (प्रमाणम्). With a view to refute the Cārvāka's position and to establish the authority of Inference the Naiyāyika adduces the following arguments:—

(1) The Cārvāka declares 'Nothing but perception can be an authority (प्रमाणम्)' ("नाप्रत्यक्षं प्रमाणम्.") Evidently he directs his attack against Inference, verbal testimony, Analogy etc. which are all different from Preception. Well, how has he arrived at this conclusion? He must have arrived at this through some intellectual process. In case he has been led to this conclusion—viz., 'Inference is no authority'—by observing analogy (similarity) as subsisting between Inference and

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something else that has been accepted (निश्चित) by all to be no authority, it is quite the same thing as concluding the presence of fire in a smoking mountain on the ground that; in respect of smoke, the mountain is quite analogous to the kitchen which has definitelv been known to have fire. Obviously the intellectual process he must have gone through is no other than what we recognise as Inferential reasoning.

(2) Again the Cārvāka has, in the course of his reasoning, distinctly said that it is due to a mere conjecture (संभावना) or illusion (भ्रमा) on the part of the person if, on observing one thing (as smoke) in a certain place, he at once thinks of another thing (as fire) connected therewith. He has also said in connection with condition that, though the absence of perceptible conditions is clearly ascertained, a doubt (संशय:) still remains to the effect that non-perceptible conditions may exist. Now how has the Cârvâka been able to ascertain these specific forms of thought—viz., conjecture, illusion and doubt? They are not within the range of Perception. He must have ascertained them by some other evidence than perception i. e., he must necessarily admit that, apart from perception, there are also other instruments of right cognition. He has just now been shown to have, of necessity, admitted the authority of *Inference.*

(3) Further, in regard to the Cârvâkas' assertion 'nothing but perception can be an authority' the following question is put to him: i. Is this statement of yours an authority (प्रमाणम्) ii or not? In the first alternative there is a clear indication of his accepting the authority of oral Testimony. Also it would be incumbent on the Cârvâka to maintain the authoritativeness of his statement by some valid reason. If so he is clearly admitting the force of a reason (हेतु:) in leading to a right conclusion. A reason capable of leading to a right conclusion is just what is recognised by us as an Inferential mark or middle term (लिङ्गम् or अनुमानम्). If however the second alternative be accepted, his statement 'nothing but perception, can be an authority' would become a non-authority (अप्रमाणम्); i. e. it would appear as if the Cârvâka means by way of implication that, apart from perception, there are other valid instruments of right cognition (प्रामाणानि) It has already been shown that he must necessarily admit the authority of Inference. If he should still persist in rejecting the authority of Inference, it can be shown that he would land himself in insurmountable difficulties even in regard to perception which he holds to be a unique authority. For, authority (प्रामाण्यम्) is an attribute which can be ascertained only by Inference, but not by perception. So, if the

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authority of Inference be not accepted by the Cârvâka, even perception would become quite untenable as an authority. If however the Cârvâka should try to defend himself by holding that authority or validity (प्रामाण्यम्) is selfevident (स्वतोग्राह्यम्), then it would be impossible to account for a doubt (संशय:) which naturally arises in the form whether a particular cognition ('it will rain to-morrow') is right or not. So validity has to be accepted as being ascertainable only by Inference. (For instance, a cognition of the form 'there is water in yonder place' is valid because it leads to fruitful activity, i. e, whoever goes to that spot surely finds water.)

Thus has the Naiyâyika been able to marshal his arguments in such a way as to convince even a formidable opponent like the Cārvāka of the necessity to accept the authority of Inference. Analogy and oral testimony have already been proved to be acceptable as authorities or instruments of right cognition. One might however bring forward the following objection:—the four aforesaid instruments of right cognition do not at all represent the whole field of knowledge. This is just the reason why the Mīmāmsakas and other schools of thought felt the necessity for some more evidences, and accordingly recognised, in addition to these, some instruments of right cognition, (1) Presumption (अर्थापत्ति:) (2) Non-perception (अनुपलब्धि:) (3) Inclusion (संभव:) (4) Tradition (ऐतिह्यम्) and (5) gesture (चेष्टा.) Hence the Nyâya theory is defective.

This objection has no force as against us, the Naiyāyika replies. For the objector is evidently mistaken in thinking that presumption and other evidences are essentially of quite a different nature from the aforesaid four recognised by the Naiyāyika. It is possible to prove that presumption and other evidences clearly admit of being included in one or the other of the four aforesaid instruments of right cognition. For instance, presumption is applied in cases like this; when it is known that a person like Devadatta has become fat without eating during the day-time. the conclusion is drawn that he must have been eating at nights. This process can easily be put in the form of a syllogism thus (major premise) whoever becomes fat without eating in the day-time must be eating in the night. (minor premise) Devadatta is a person who becomes fat without eating in the day. (Conclusion) Therefore Devadatta must have been eating at nights. Hence what is known as presumption is no other than Inference. Similarly it would be quite possible to include Inclusion (संभव:) in Inference, Non-perception in the the perception of non-existence, Tradition and gesture in verbal Testimony. Thus the Nyâya theory of knowledge has been proved to be fully comprehensive.

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HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE PURANAS[1]

By S. BHIMASANKARARAO, B. A.

For a long time past, it has been the prevailing impression and also the accepted opinion of many orientalists that the puranas contain little or nothing of any real historical value and were merely fairy tales proceeding from the fertile imagination of grateful bards to glorify their royal patrons. These puranas have been altogether abandoned as useless for all historical purposes though some attempts have been made now and then to construct some satisfactory system of Indian historical chronology but they have not succeeded, owing to the lack of knowledge in studying and interpreting them properly. The events narrated in these puranas have been much discounted and were altogether ignored unless they were supported and corroborated by other sources. They are regarded as purely legendary containing as they do, descriptions of Superhuman beings and of the other worlds and are discarded altogether. It was only during the last quarter of a century that there has been a reaction and a growing belief that these works deserved more serious attention at the hands of the orientalists and that they were unduly neglected. The present attitude of the modern scholar-ship towards these documents has been changed and it was reserved for a Bengal Civilian High Court Judge the late Mr. F. E. Pargiter to rescue them from oblivion and to appraise their real historical value in 1913 by his publication of "Historical Tradition" which gives us the researches carried on by him into this neglected field of Puranas for many years. He has demonstrated that underneath the mass of legend there lies a fairly coherent skeleton of historical tradition mainly representing the standpoint of Kshatriyas and not seldom contradicting the orthodox Brahmanic texts and this he has, with great skill endeavoured to reconstruct. It had been shown that these puranas contained valuable historical information and the description of ancient monarchs and their realms given in them are trustworthy and his publication of the Dynasties of the Kali age in accordance with the historical facts narrated in the puranas, has opened the eyes of all orientalists and a critical study of the puranas on modern scientific lines has been inaugurated. It is still in its infancy and when this important branch of ancient literature is examined by modern scientific methods such as have been applied to the Vedic age and its literature much valuable historical material is no doubt expected. Even Mr. L. D. Barnet a most

1. Read before the Society's general meeting held on 17-1-27.

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uncompromising and unsympathetic historical critic and orientalist has said "though many of them are not prepared to accept the conclusions of Mr. Pargiter yet we must recognise the profound far-reaching effect of his historical criticism in general." He stated "though no doubt the ancient legend-mongers are utterly unreliable, ready to concoct an utterly false pedigree and when they were honest they were lamentably wrong in putting contemporary dynasties one after another and filling the gaps with wild speculation, yet after making due deduction for an abundant margin of error, the skeleton of an old tradition remains and it is no longer permissible for historians to ignore it and they must collect and analyse legends, trace them to their sources, test their credulity and classify them organically into groups." This seems to be the best testimony for the historical value of puranas. Very recently we had a further confirmation of the historical value of the puranas. It appears that the ancient Indians had extensive commercial dealings with Africa and in the course of their commercial ventures they had to find out the very sources of the river Nile in Egypt and a lot of geographical information was embedded in the Puranas which nobody could discover till now. The discovery of the sources of Nile engaged the attention of many British explorers who could not succeed. It was only very recently Lt. Col. Speke was able to discover the sources of the Nile from a map which was constructed on the information given in the Puranas by Col. Wilford in his Asiatic researches. In his book "on the discovery of the sources of the Nile" Lieut. Speke, the modern discoverer of the origin of the river Nile, stated that the information which the puranas contained about the sources of the river Nile was so accurate that when planning his discovery of the sources of Nile, he secured best information from a map reconstructed out of the Puranas based on a map drawn by Col. Wilford from the information contained in the Puranas. This map traced the course of the great river Nila-Kristna, through Kusadipa, the ancient Indian name for Africa, from a great lake in Chandrasthana. It has therefore been abundantly proved that the statements contained in the puranas with regard to the various places of the world, with which the ancient Indians had commercial dealings are geographically correct. Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, the eminent South Indian historian referred to the fact in his article on South Africa published in the Hindu.

That the puranas, as a class of literature, had a hoary tradition behind them, does not admit of any doubt at the present day. We first hear of Itihasa purana as a class of literature with this general title in the 15th mandala of the Atharvana Veda and in the seventh chapter of Chandogyopanishad. We need not enter into a detailed examination of the growth and development of these puranas but from the manner in which they were introduced to the notice of the people, it is abundantly

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clear that they are of Kshatriya origin. The orthodox tradition is that Vyasa was the reputed author but it has been asserted that the name was only a Euphemism for a compiler. These puranas were said to have been narrated by Sûtas at the sacrifices performed by Rishis and Kings. It was Lomaharshana and his son Ugrasravas that were the reciters of the puranas during the performance of the great sacrifices by Kings and Rishis. These Sûtas would appear to be the accredited custodians of the traditional lore comprising the heroic deeds and exploits of Aryan *Rajanyah* who fought with Non-Aryans and established the Aryan supermacy in Bharatvarsha and it was usual for these Sûtas to recite songs of their praise before the assembled audience during the great Aswamedha sacrifice performed to commemmorate a big Digvijayam, which is nothing more than a defeat of the Non-Aryan forces. These Sûtas seem to be a secular institution in ancient India at the time of the Brahmana period and they were entrusted with important functions in the royal households. He seems to be a triune officer being the royal herald, minstrel and probably also master of the horse and had a seat in the king's cabinet of ministers being one of the kings *Ratnani* and corresponds approximately to the present day Lord Chamberlain. In the ancient law books he is described as the son of a Kshatriya by the daughter of a Brahmin and his chief function seems to be the chronicler of the Kshatriya kings in the heroic age when they occupied a position of considerable influence and power when the Aryan Brahmin-priest-hood was still in inferior position, and social status being dependent on Aryan Kshatriya nobility as we gather from the earliest Upanishadic, Jain and Buddhistic literature. During the Brahmana and the Epic periods, National life centred round the court of the king whose royal power was very influential and was at such a period the Epics and puranas came into existence and were essentially of Kshatriya origin and complexion. Consequently it is said that the Epics and the puranas emanated from the throne rather than from the altar. But when the priestly power eventually asserted its supremacy, all the Kshatriya literature has become Brahmanised and both the Epics and puranas underwent transformation at the hands of the Brahmin heirarchy. When this literature passed from the hands of the royal bards to the Brahmin Rishis, their whole form has been changed and the record of the lineage of princes disappeared and in its place, endless legends about holy places and thirthas and hymns in praise of Divinities were substituted and were made the subject of sectarian propaganda. While Vedas and Brahmanas were well protected from textual corruption by the elaborate devices designed by the priestly class, the Epics and puranas have adopted themselves to the changes which have taken place in the social and religious life of the people. Just as Mahabharata, which was originally the story of a great war

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between Kuru Panchalas was turned into Dharma Sastra inculcating morals, so these Puranas also were changed for purposes of imparting religious and moral instruction to the public and for the purpose of spreading the Siva and Vishnu cults, the two great Divinities who share the allegience of Aryavarta. That these puranas are altogether concoctions of the middle ages by the selfish Brahmin priesthood for the perpetuation of their power and influence, cannot at all be maintained and as has been rightly observed, it is too great a strain on one's credulity. These puranas even in their changed form represent an independent tradition coming down from the Vedic period and was handed down from one generation of bards to another and was solemnly promulgated on occasions of the great sacrifices. The preservation of the dynastic lists and the lineage of kings was due to their being associated with the sacrifices at which they were recited and there can be no question of their historical character.

It was in the reign of Parikshat who was celebrated as the great king of Kurus in the Atharvana Veda, that Parâsara the grandson of Vashista, the rishi to whom the 7th mandala of Rigveda is ascribed, first recited the Vishnu purana, the Purana par excellance. Then we have the recitation of the puranas by Ugrasrava suta son of Lomaharshana to the Rishis who were performing the 12 year sacrifice in the Naimesha forest on the banks of the sacred river Drishadvati. That there was a common tradition underlying all the puranas is certain and it is also certain that 18 versions of a common tradition have developed at different centres of religious activity where local events were inserted subsequently. Thus the Brahma purana represents the Orissa version, Padma purana that of Pushkara, the Agni purana that of Gaya, the Varaha purana that of Mathura, the Vamana purana of Thaneswar, the Kurma purana of Benares, the Matsya of the Narbada Brahmins. It is not possible to state, at what period these 18 puranas have assumed their distinctive appellations but this must have been, after they ceased to be regarded as repositories of historical information for they are grouped in the traditional lists according to their religious character. Mr. Pargiter was of opinion that Bhavishya purana was the source of Matsya, Vayu and Brahmanda and gives quotations from them in support thereof. There are clear indications that some of these puranas, Matsya, Vayu and Brahmanda were originally composed in Prakrit but were subsequently sankritised. The Vishnu, Bhagavata and Garuda were composed directly in Sanskrit.

According to the classical definition, a purana must treat of five topics, viz., Sarga, Prathi sarga, Vamsa, Manvanthara and Vamsanucharitha (Creation, Secondary creation, genealogies of Gods and rishis and groups of ages and history of royal families.)

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Most of existing puranas do not conform to this ideal scheme and they differ in varying degrees. The Brahma purana stands first and it is called Adi purana and Vishnu purana stands 3rd in the list. Some are of opinion that Vayu was the oldest. We are not concerned with the first four topics treated in the puranas, but we are concerned only with the 5th section which treats of royal genealogies. That is the historical portion of the puranas. This last section gives us an account of the kings on earth and the earliest portion of these genealogies, like most of the chronicles of other nations are of a legendary character. They trace their descent from sun, and moon, and we have the two well-known lines of kings of Surya vamsa, Chandra vamsa. Such kind of pedigrees are pieced together from fragments of religious lore in accordance with old world traditions. We find from Sathapatha Brahmana a legendary story about Ila, the daughter of Manu from whom the lunar family derived its name. In the same way we had another tradition about the solar family tracing its descent from Manu, through Ikshwaku, who was born from the sneeze (Kshwa) of manu as stated in Vishnu purana. Such kinds of traditions are common to all nations of the earth but they are all beyond the province of sober history. But when the Tribal names are found in the genealogical lists we can regard them as authentic and conclude that those names really represent a people whose kings are named after them. In the Vedic literature the Ikshwakus were a family of princes belonging to the Solar dynasties of Kosala and other kingdoms to the east of Madhyadesa. There seems to be some conflict between the statements made in the Vedic literature and those made in the Puranas and as stated by the writer of the Cambridge History the chain of evidence is wanting to remove the apparent contradictions. There are certain well-known landmarks both in the Mahabharata and the Puranas which undoubtedly fix the events with definite chronology and we may accept them as truly historical, for instance Parikshat was appointed as king of Hastinapura 36 years after the great war and Adhi Seema Krishna the great-great grandson of Parikshat is represented in the puranas as a contemporary of Divakara of Kosala and Prasenajit of Magadha. From this we can clearly deduce a fairly correct chronology of the period. The puranas give us detailed dynastic lists with regard to the three royal families of Purus, Ikshwakus and the kings of Magadha. This history is confined to three regions, Puru kings of Hastinapura and Kurukshetra; Ikshwakus of Kosala-Videha and Brihadradhas of Magadha, i. e. the Puranic history is confined to the regions now represented by the United provinces, Oudh, and South Behar.

The Puru dynasty begins with Bharata Dushyanti, the great conqueror of Kurukshetra whose victories on the Ganges and Jumna were commemorated in Satapatha Brahmana and from whose name the

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country was styled Bharatavarsha. His successor Satrajit Satanika extended his conquests as far as Kasi. The puranic lists contain the names of 29 Puru kings who reigned at Hastinapura which is usually identified with a ruined site at Meerut in the old bed of Ganges. When this capital Hastinapura was destroyed by a great inundation of the Ganges in the reign of Nikhakshus the succeessor of Adhi seema Kristna, the capital was removed to Kausambi the present Kosam in Allahabad (Madhya Desa) which played an important part in subsequent history. Another capital is the well-known Indraprastha where the modern Delhi stands. The Kuru kings therefore ruled a large portion of territory comprising the United Provinces and Agra from Meerut in the north to Benares in the south. The last of the dynasty was Kshemaka according to the Puranas who reigned after Udayana, the contemporary of Buddha. Coming now to Kosala, the Ikshwakus who were originally a branch of the Purus ruled over the Modern provinces of Oudh and their capital was Saketa. Ayodhya was a famous city of Kosala being the capital of Dasaratha and Rama who were both historical characters relegated by the puranas to a dim and distant age but there is a school of oriental thought, prominent among whom is the well-known South India historian Dr. Krishna swami Iyengar who hold that the events of Ramayana took place after the great Mahabharata war. In the puranic lists Hiranya Nabha and Para Atnara, probably father and son, were mentiond as kings who performed Aswamedha sacrifice. During Buddha's time Kosala was a predominent kingdom of northern India but it was gradually eclipsed by the growing power of Magadha. The last of the Ikshwaku kings was Sumitra, a contemporary of Buddha and both the Puru and Ikshwaku dynasties disappear and the historical interest of puranas was then centred round Magadha which became the suzerien power in Madhya desa *(i. e.)* in northern India.

The Magadhas were unknown to Rigvedic literature and perhaps they inhabited the present Patna and Gaya districts of south Bihar. The Magadhas along with their neighbours the Angas who lived in the present Monghyr and Bhaglpur districts of Bengal were mentioned in the Atharvana veda as a people living on the extreme confines of Aryan civilization. Their kings trace their descent through their great conqueror Vasu chadya mentioned in the Rigveda and his son was Brihadratha the founder of the dynasty known by that name. The Magdaha empire is famous both in ancient and medieval India. Twice in its history it established great empires, the Mauryan empire in the 3rd and 4th centuries B. C. and the Imperial Gupta empire in the 4th and 5th centuries A. D. The puranas give us eight dynastic lists with a statement of the number of years and the duration of their reigns. The dynasties 8 in number are Brihadratha, Prodyota, Sisunaga, Nanda, Maurya, Sunga, Kanva and Andhra dynasties. It is not possible with

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the short compass of this paper to give even a brief account of the above dynasties as they cover a long period of more than 10 centuries. The Historical portion of the Purânâs stops with the rise of Imperial Gupta power and the Puranas state that the Gupta Monarchs were reigning at Patalputra at that time. The Puranic account thus closes with 319 A.D. and there it stopped. We find therefore that it was during the period of Gupta monarchy when the Brahmin heirarchy regained their lost supremacy, they undertook the redaction of the puranas and especially the Vishnu and Vayu Puranas were edited then and it is these editions that are now current in present use. Some doubts have been raised with regard to the dynastic lists mentioned in the Puranas. Some dynasties were put forward as successive while others were contemporary and vice versa. The 63 manuscripts which were examined by Mr. Pargiter are rarely in agreement with regard to the number of years of each dynasty and the duration of their rule and consequently there has been much confusion in fixing their chronology accurately.

The general conclusions of Mr. Pargiter with regard to the Puranas are as follows:

1. Matsya, Vayu and Brahmânda present a remarkable similarity and they themselves declare that they were taken from Bhavishya.

2. The Vishnu and Bhagavata are very much in common and their various versions are in much more condensed forms. Some portions of Vishnu are in the ornate classical prose style.

3. All the accounts profess to be prophetic. Vishnu Purana professes to have been narrated by Parasara and sets about the Pururava genealogy from the standpoint of Abhumanyu's son Parikshat and deals with Ikshwaku and Brihadratha dynasties from the time of the great war Mahabharata.

4. It was in the reign of Adiseema Krishna that the great 12 year sacrifice was performed by Rishis in Naimesha forest and it was then that Suta recited these Puranas.

5. Matsya, Vayu and Brahmânda, were originally in Prakrit, subsequently Sanskritised and Mr. Pargiter gives 6 reasons for the said conclusions. It is hoped that further research and study of the Puranas would enable the Orientalists to give a more satisfactory chronology.

6. The subject matter and textual peculiarities enable us to fix the times. The dynastic portion terminates with the downfall of Andhras about 236 A. D. Matsya brings the narrative to the middle of the 3rd century.

Vâyu, Brahmânda, Vishnu and Bhâgavata carry the narrative up to the rise of the Guptas who were mentioned as reigning at Prayag, Saketa and Ayodhya and Magadha. The fact that Samudragupta's

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conquests were not noticed is proof positive that the puranic account closed by 335 A. D.

There are many difficult questions arising from the historical account of the puranas. The Prodyota dynasty which was identified with Punika family mentioned by Bana in the Harshacharitra were kings of Avanti in western Malwa and the puranas state that Punika the founder, slew his master Ripunjaya, the last of the Brihdrathas and anointed his son in his stead. Then the Saisunagas stepped in and took possession of Girivraja the capital of Magadha empire. Different statements were made as to whether the Pradyotas of Avanti held sway over Magadha. It was an accepted tradition that Puranas made mention only of those kings who reigned at Magadha and none others found a place there. It has been stated that both the Pradyotas and the Andhras never ruled at Magadha and how is it that their kings were mentioned in the Puranas. The intrusion of the Pradyotas and the Andhras, in the puranic list of kings was explained as the result of the suzerainity which they successfully wrested from their enemies, though they have not actually reigned at Magadha. Kharavela, the king of Kalinga and his dynasty had found no place in the Pouranic lists because he could not secure the imperial suzerainity of Magadha though he made some unsuccessful attempts.

The puranas which give the best historical information are Vâyu, Vishnu and Matsya, while Vâyu is considered to be the oldest. There can be no question that these puranas have been very greatly tampered with and added especially during the reign of Pushyamitra, the first Sungà king about 182 B. C. when there was a reaction against Buddhism. But so far as the historical portions are concerned, no doubt can be thrown upon them. With a view to combat the principles of Buddhism which were prevalent then, a good deal of sectarian things were incorporated in them such as the Avàtars of Vishnu, the cosmogony of Gods and the rules for their worship. These puranas may be divided into two broad divisions às Siva puranas and Vishnu puranàs but the historian need not trouble himself with these religious classifications. The Kûrma purana while dealing with the Avatars of Vishnu gives an extensive account of the ancient world then known and gives us much geographical information. The Padma purana contains a good number of stories which formed the foundation for all subsequent Sanskrit kavya literature. The history of the Andhra kings and of their dynasties was given in Matsya, Vayu, Vishnu and Brahmanda Puranas and the Andhrà kings generally go by the name of Sata-karnis which seems to be their family title. There have been many discrepant statements with regard to the number of Andhra kings that in the various Puranas and it has been held on close examination of all the manuscripts that there were 30 Andhra

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kings who ruled over the Andhra empire for a period of 460 years according to Matsya and of 411 years according to Vayu and of 456 years according to Brahmânda, Vishnu and Bhâgavata, for a period of 4 centuries from 2nd century B. C. to 2nd century A. D.

The break up of the Mauryan and Kushan empires during the 2nd century has given an opportunity for the Andhra and Kalinga empires to shake off their dependent position and assert their supremacy. The Andhra empire made rapid strides and during the reign of the Goutami Putra Yajna Sri about 167 B. C., they wrested the imperial suzereinity of the Magadha empire. This is not the place to give a detailed history of the great Andhra empire which flourished for 4 centuries continually and no other empire had lasted for such a long time. The Andhra empire came to an end about the year 225 A. D. and upon its ruins the Imperial Gupta Empire rose. The Puranas state that the Andhras were succeeded by Yavanas and Sakas.

Much of the history of the Andhra Empire and its kings is obscure and enshrouded in darkness and it is the imperative duty of our society to rescue it from oblivion and construct a real and authentic history of the Andhra empire and its dominions. Our association can only justify its existence if it gives to the public a real history of the Andhra people during the several periods. Serious doubts have been thrown about the origin of Andhras. It has been said that Andhras were Non-Aryans and formed a portion of the Dravidian population. It is only by making a systematic and scientific study upon modern historical lines into the neglected field of Puranas that we can only be able to construct a good history of the Andhra people. The historical importance of the puranas, especially with regard to the Andhra history has been abundantly testified by Dr. Vincent Smith himself who stated that the statements of Puranas with regard to Andhra history are correct and accurate. The value of inscriptional evidence is very much discounted at present because they were the compositions of grateful benefeciaries and court poets, whose object was to glorify their royal patrons and not hand down a correct record of the events to posterity and as such the statements contained in them are much exaggerated and prejudiced. Consequently inscriptional evidence is not valued highly under the Canons of modern historical criticism. I do not mean to say that they must be eschewed altogether not but only I desire, to give to it undue weight. There is no use of dabbling in inscriptions recorded under circumstances, of which we have no definite knowledge. Barring inscriptional evidence, we have to fall back upon Puranas and other contemporary literature and explore all the avenues which would give us accurate historical information. The standards of historical criticism have of late been made very stringent and it is difficult no doubt to satisfy its canons. But a straight endeavour must be made to

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construct an accurate Andhra history. Particular periods may be taken up and dealt with in a thorough manner. I therefore put forward an earnest plea for the study of the Puranas from a historical point of view. I hope and trust that adequate measures would be taken up by our Andhra Historical Research Society to bring into existence a true and authentic history of the Andhra Empire and its Peoples.

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"THE PATHLESS COUNTRIES OF THE LÂDHAS"

By B. SINGH DEO, B. A.

Modern scholars very often use 'Lâdha' as the corrupt form of Râdha. Such misuse has led the research scholars to create a mountain of a mole hill. A little consideration of the matter may easily clear our mis-apprehension. The dispute on the word Lâdha has reached its zenith in commenting upon the adventures of the mother of Simhabahu, the prince of north Kalinga. On her way to Magadha, she had to cross the territory of Lâdha. Here we find the first mention of this country. Again it is written in the Jain Aryanga Sutta that the Mahâvîra "travelled in the pathless countries of the Lâdhas in Vajjabhumi and Subbabhumi"[1] The use of the above sentence very clearly shows that Vajjabhumi and Subbhabhumi were the respective names of the two countries which were inhabited by the people called 'Lâdhas.' I have shown in my note on Vajjabhumi and Subbhahhumi[2] that the Lâdhas are a hill tribe and they are still predominant in Dhalbhum, Singbhum, Mayurbhanj (Vanjabhumi) and Bumra. Formerly, both Vanjabhumi and the present district of Singbhum were part and parcel of ancient Utkala. And that portion of it which was specially inhabited by the Lâdhas was designated as Lâdha. Therefore, we may safely assert that Lâdha comprised both Vanjabhumi and Simhabhumi together. As the country of the Kalingas was called Kalinga, that of the Dosarnas as Dosarna, so also the land of the Lâdhas was known as Lâdha. If you look at the map of Seraikella state in Singbhum, you can easily see the Lâdha-hill, which is still presided by the tribal Diety of the Lâdha called Lâdha-pat. The aboriginal tribes still worship the above hill-god with much pomp and grandeur. At the foot of the said hill is a village called Lâdha which was formerly occupied by the Lâdhas who are almost extinct now in that state. But their number is note-worthy in Mayurbhanj (Vanjabhumi) and the Kolhan Government estate of Singbhum which from the border line of Seraikella on the east and the south respectively. "Bengali historians generally identify Lâdha with Râdha or west Bengal. Others locate it in Guzrat, and others again combine the two, and find in the legend an indication of two streams of Aryan colonisation of Ceylon one from Kalinga and another from Guzrat side. But the Râdha of west Bengal first finds mention in the Bhavisya Purana written not earlier than 6th century A. D.[3]. While Dr. Aiyangar holds

1. J. A. S. B. (New Series), Vol. IV, pp. 285-86.
2. J. B. O. R. S., March 1927.
3. J. A. H. R. S., July 1927.

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that "the Lâdha, under reference, is eastern Prakrit form of Râdha, a division of Vajjabhumi on the banks of the Sone and the Ganges, what might be called in Modern language West Bengal." Like Mr. M. M. Chakravarty, Dr. Aiyangar too takes no account of the Lâdhas as a hill tribe whose existence is still visible in the above mentioned countries. Mr. Chakravarti's mis-interpretation of Jaina account is solely responsible for the mis-guidance of the later scholars in identifying Lâdha with Râdha.

If Mr. Chakravarty's interpretation is accepted, then we cannot but come to the conclusion that Râdha was in existence at the time when the Mahâvira lived and propagated Jainism. But nobody finds any mention of Râdha at that time. On the other hand, the learned author gives no account of Vajjabhumi. Only he says that it has been 'graphically described.' Again, from the said account it is known that after visiting Vajjâbhumi and Subbhabhumi, Mahavîra came to the country of the Utkalas. The very descriptions of the Jaina preachers say that it was a rude and unreclaimed forest land. In my opinion, the wild tribes of this forest tract were addressed by the Aryans as Ladhas. Because, it comes from the original Sanskrit word "Lubdhaka" i. e., a hunter. Briefly, they were a wild tribe who lived on hunting wild animals, birds and other forest products. A similar mis-interpretation of an account has been detected by Prof. Radha Govinda Basak in the Rampal Charit edited by M. M. Haraprasad Sastri. And it is a matter of great regret to say that even a scholar like R. D. Banerjee accepted the said mis-interpretation in the said book without any the least hesitation. The thing is, our scholars often fail to undergo difficulties in visiting the practical fields of research and make a thorough study of the disputed subjects as generally the European Scholars do. They are very fond of sitting in libraries and writing out articles after comparing this and that view. When we find in the Jaina literature an account of the Lâdhas as a rude people amongst whom the Jaina preachers preached their relegion and which account cannot but be considered as much earlier than that of the Bhavishya Purana, it is rather ludicrous on our part to try to establish a firm connection between Lâdha and Râdha. "Even during the early period of the 11th Century A. D., the name Lâdha occurs for the tract in the Tirumali Inscriptions of Southern India though the name Râdha was then fully current in Bengal."[4] From the above hypotheses, we may draw the conclusion that Lâdha was a separate country and it existed from very ancient time without having any concern with Râdha or west Bengal. That Lâdha is West Bengal or Râdha is therefore out of the question. In another article, I shall make an attempt to write something on the Lâdhas.

4. 'Aboriginies of Central India,' p. 44.

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ASVI PLATES OF THE EARLY YADAVA IRAMMADEVA

A feudatory of the Deccan Châlukya Vikramâditya VI. of Saka 1020

By D. B. DISKALKAR, M. A., Rajkot.

These plates were discovered in the village Āśvi in the Sangamner Taluk of the Ahmednagar District in the Bombay Presidency. Subsequently they were acquired by the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Mandala, Poona and Published in Marathi in the third volume of the Quarterly Journal.

These are three plates held together by a copper ring and containing a sanskrit inscription in Nāgari characters of 85 lines of writing. The record opens with an invocation of the God Śankara. Then the geneology of the early Yādava family to which the donor of the grant belonged is given thus. There was a king named Dṛḍhaprahāra, who hailed from Dvārāvati Pattana and founded a town named Chandrādityapura. His son was Seuṇachandra who founded a town named Seuṇapura in Sindinêra. His son was Dhāḍiyappa. After him the following kings—Bhillama, Śrīrāja, Vaḍḍiga, and Bhillâma II ruled successively. Bhillama II's wife was Lacchiyavvā and son was Vesuka, whose son was Bhillama III, also called Mallika. In his family was born Seuṇachandra, who defeated several kings and freed his kingdom from enemies after the death of Bhillama. Seuṇachandra's son was Irammadeva, who conquered the kingdom of seven divisions, which king Bhuvanaikamalla could not conquer and handed it over to king Paramardin. Irammadeva's wife was Yogallā.

The inscription then states that on monday, the 15th of the dark half of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 1020 Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Irammadeva ruling over Seuṇadeśa during the victorious rule of the Chālukya sovereign Tribhuvanamalla Paramardideva, issued a grant from Narmadāpura on the bank of the Narmadā.

The donees were thirty-one Brahmaṇas, the chief of whom was named Kûkalapaṇḍita, of Kāsyapa gotra who had migrated from Karahāra. The property granted to him consisted of the village Koṇkaṇegrāma (modern Konkaṇagaon) situated in the Sangamnar sub-division of 84 under Śrīnagara division of one thousand in the Seuṇadeśa. The grant was written by Palakaraṇi Harischandra.

Three grants of this early Yādava family of Seuṇadeśa were so far known: the Sangamnar grant of Śaka 922 of Bhillama II, *(Ep, Ind. Vol. II p. 212)*, the Kalas-budruk grant of Ś. 948 of Bhillama III

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(Ind. Ant. Vol. XVII p. 117) and the Bassin grant of Ś. 991 of Seuṇachandra *(Ibid. Vol. XII p. 119)*. The present grant of Ś. 1020 of Irammadeva is the fourth and the last. Except of course the formal matter it is almost identical with the Bassin grant of Seuṇachandra, the father of the donor of the present grant.

Irammadeva, the donor of the present grant is no doubt to be identified with Parammadeva (probably a mis-reading for Irammadeva) the son and successor of Seuṇachandra as recorded in Hemādris *Vratakhanda* (*Bombay Gaz Vol. I-II. p. 235)*. The Yādavas of Seuṇadeśa, as their grants suggest, were loyal feudatories of the Deccan Chālukya sovereigns, though in the long list of their feudatories, the name of the family is not found. *(Ibid. p. 451)*. A record of A. D. 1088–89 speaks of the Chālukya sovereign Vikramāditya VI crossing the Narmadā and conquering the kings on the other side of the river and another of A.D. 1098 shows that again he was in the northern part of his empire on the banks of the Narmadā *(Ibid. p. 452)*. The present inscription confirms in clear words this account and shows that the northern extremity of the empire of this greatest Chālukya sovereign was the river Narmadā defended by the feudatory Yādavas of Seuṇadeśa.

The plates will in due course of time be edited in the *Epigraphia Indica.*

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

By P. V. JAGADISA AYYAR.

It has been laid down by a specialist in the study of the Hindu customs and religion that even the most unimportant and simple of the numerous rites and observances of the Hindus are based on some religious principle or other and that nothing is left to chance. Everything is laid down by rules based on the foundation of religion pure and simple. Temples are considered to be "hallowed grounds and great teachers or piety" to all classes of persons. Hence the sages of old have laid down that a temple is a *sinequanon* in all villages and towns and men and women should never live in a place not made holy by the radiating influence of a central shrine. A study of what is given below in general terms regarding Hindu temples and what they are intended to signify would show one why so much importance was attached to Hindu shrines by the Indian ages of old. A custom or rite, a religious treatise or a sacred edifice have each a lesson to teach and a purpose to serve people in various stages of advancement. In sacred treatises like the Indian Epic *Râmâyana* it is laid down in the very first chapter the benefits that would accrue to individuals of different grades in advancement and temparament by a careful study of the same. The same is said to be the case with the wonderful work "*Bhagavat gîta*" or the Lord's Song. They say that the work can inspire and instruct an advanced *Yôgi* as well as a layman, of course on their respective levels even as a plot of ground does to different individuals of different professions. A Geologist will naturally be attracted to it and view it from his scientific standpoint while a ryot at the same time would deduce in his own mind that the soil would be fit for the cultivation of this or that kind or grain. An artist viewing the splendours of the sunset would envy nature since he could not with all his skill transfer the same in toto to his canvas while one devoid of aesthetic tastes and artistic temperament would see nothing of the beauties referred to above, nor would he feel even a tithe of the enthusiasm and rapture of the other though he was standing by his side under conditions exactly similar.

The same may be said of Indian Temples also. To a philosopher it is pregnant with meaning and symbolical representation of the highest truth, while to an ordinary man or woman it is nothing more than a holy place inhabited by the deity of his or her religion resorting to which one could escape from evil or obtain benefits mundane or heavenly. Treatment of the subject on hand from any point other than

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ordinary man's stand point might fail to achieve the end in view. So philosophical and other higher level deductions of truth and explanations have been carefully excluded from here.

Within easy reach of all and provided with a tank, a temple was the resort of the villagers during the cool evening hours not only to perform their evening ablutions in the temple tank but also to pass in calm meditation and contemplation an hour or two at their disposal after perhaps a hard day's labour. Further, the water in the temple tank was considered not only holy by the magnetised water poured on the deity being allowed to gather in it, but also capable of curing ailments corporeal of the devotees caring to take baths in it on account of the rain water falling over and passing by gardens full of plants of medical properties accumulating in it. Goat's milk is considered to possess special medical virtues by reason of the animal eating any and every kind of plant. Further, the food the cattle lives on is considered to be of immense use and effect in the quality and property of the milk supply obtained from those animals. Hindu physicians are of opinion that the milk from a cow or a goat obtained today may be quite different in effect tomorrow on account of the difference in the fodder they were fed upon.

The same principle may be applied to the supply of water to a tank, river or a lake. Hence water saturated with the principles of the sacred plants cultivated in the temple gardens as well as the air impregnated with the odour from such plants should have specific effects on men and women systematically using them day after day.

The *Sthânîka* or the temple priest holding hereditary office and enjoying not only the produce and income from the temple land set apart for the purpose but also the portions of the offerings to the deity by the villagers has to keep the temple open and perform pooja or worship for the deity and offer offerings of cooked rice, cocoanuts, plantain fruits, flowers, pan-supari and so on in the morning, at noon and in the evening after sunset. When any of the villagers approached the deity to make obeisance and solicit blessings, the priest should offer him spoonfuls of holy water, flowers taken from the deity and pinches of holy ashes or red-saffron. If available food, cakes, fruits, sandal-paste and other offerings offered to the deity are also freely distributed to the devotees resorting to the temple.

Pious people in ancient times had set apart land or wealth so that the income derived therefrom may be utilized for the above purpose. And it is used to be a common sight that crowds of piligrims and the hungry were gathered in temples awaiting the hour of distribution of the offerings placed before the deity. This is akin perhaps to the Christian custom of saying grace before food is served on the table for those assembled.

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India is a land of people holding sectarian customs and beliefs and as regards the temple they resort to and worship, they may be classed under devotees of Siva, devotees of Vishnu and devotees paying impartial reverence, obeisance and worship both to Siva and Vishnu alike. To suit the taste and temperament of these devotees, different temples had to spring into existence in different places in the land. But there are temples too in the land that are supposed to be divine in origin and *not* man-made, though he might have taken active part in their initial erections and subsequent additions and improvements.

According to the main classification of devotees into saivites or followers of Siva and Vaishnavites or the followers of Vishnu and the temples they resort to, the temples themselves may be sharply divided into Siva temples and Vishnu temples. It goes without saying that the Saivites frequent Siva temples and the Vaishnavites the Vishnu temples, while the class of devotees of even temperament — that is, neither strong saivites rejecting Vaishnavas and their temples and going by the name of Veerasaivas nor strong Vaishnavites despising the Saivites and their shrines and going by the name of Veera Vaishnavas attend both the temples and offer offerings and pay homage and obeisance to the deities therein impartially.

Though the main temples in the land are dedicated either to Siva or to Vishnu we have yet innumerable other temples dedicated to this or that deity—to wit, the elephant headed deity called Vinâyaka and Pillayâr and Hanumân kovil or temple dedicated to that messenger follower and disciple or Śrî Râma the hero of the Indian epic *Râmâyana* to quote one from the side of Saivities and another from that of Vaishnavites out of a very large number. There are also temples to village and miscellaneous deities generally worshipped by the lower caste people of the land. The worship in such temples are generally performed by non-brahmans and certain peculiar ceremonies undertaken by piligrims to such temples are fire-walking, *kâvadi*-bearing, piercing sharp metallic wires into the body, walking on sandals with sharp pins, *karagam*-carrying on the head etc. But the temples to these minor deities are very simple though in the case of other saivite and vaishnavite temples, according to the "*South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*" pages 2 and 3, they "consist of a cell called the *Garbha-griha*,—the central shrine, surmounted by a spire or dome, with a hall in front, called *Mukha-Mandapa* and a narrow passage or vestibule connecting the two, called the *Ardha-mandapa* which is open on two sides to permit of the priestly worshippers circumambulating the central shrine. In the *Mukha-mandapa* or just outside it will be placed the image of the deity's chief vehicle, the Nandi-bull in Siva temples and the Garuda bird in Vishnu temples. This is generally the limit up to which the non-Brahman classes are allowed to come. Round and outside of these are the *Mahâ-mandapa*, the big hall, and other pavilions

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in which on special occasions processional images of the diety are placed and worshipped. Next after the *mahâ-mandapa* there will be two raised platforms, one behind the other, on one of which is planted the flagstaff or *dhwaja-stambha*, made of stone, wood or metal, and on the other is offered what is called the *Srîbali*, where sacrificial cooked food and flowers are offered to the minor divinities or powers who have to be appeased in order to ward off all evil and to prevent disturbances to the ordinary conduct of daily worship. It is only up to this limit that foreigners are allowed to enter the temples by the orthodox Hindu.

In temples of any importance there will be a separate shrine for the goddess, but generally on a smaller scale than that of the chief deity. There are separate places for the kitchen where the offerings are prepared with scrupulous regard to ceremonial purity; there are store-houses where the articles required for a year's consumption in the temple are stored; and there is generally a fresh water well which is often the best source of drinking water in the village. The whole group of buildings is surrounded by high *prâkâra* walls, whose gate-ways are surmounted by the characteristic towers which lend distinction to a temple city. In some cases there will be outside the temple a big pleasure tank, generally square in size, built round with stone steps on all sides, and with a central *mandapa*, where once a year the god and goddess are taken in procession for the floating festival."

In both the siva temples and the vaishnava temples, there are shrines set apart dedicated to the respective goddesses—the consorts of Siva and Vishnu. But as Vinâyaka and Hanumân are eternal celibates it goes without saying that their temples are of bachelor ones and hence there are no shrines of female deities attached to them.

There is an Indian proverb which says that one should not go visiting kings, deities in temples and elsewhere, his *guru* or preceptor, a child or a pregnant woman empty handed. So people when they go to temples take with them the necessary materials for an ordinary *pûja* or worship of the deity and a brief description of which will not be out of place here but prove highly interesting.

The deity is first given a bath and then decorated with clothes, jewels and garlands of flowers. Then scented smoke, lighted wicks and lighted camphor are offered. Then the offerings of cocoanuts, fruits, cooked rice, cakes etc., are offered. These they say are symbolical of the five elements fire, air, earth, water and space. As everything in the universe comes out of Him and merges in Him as a verse in an *upanishad* says, it is but proper that the elements out of which everything visible or capable of being sensed has come into existence are offered to Him by the people in the fulness of their heart's gratitude. This accounts for the temples dedicated to the five elemental Gods viz:

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Conjeevaram for earth, Tiruvannâmalai for fire, Jambukêswaram for water, Kâḷahasti for air and Chidambaram for ether, being held in high esteem. A detailed description of these temples appears in my work on *South Indian Shrines*.

The devotees attending a temple generally perform what is called *pradakshanam* or Circumambulation. They go round and round a temple or the temple *prâkâra* (Court) a number of times. The object with which this is being done is not clear. Many people go to the temples with a view to get themselves cured of certain ailments and perhaps this exercise was purposely designed for them and stamped with the seal of religious obligation. This is all the more probable since in villages people very rarely have opportunities for taking systematic physical exercise, and the open space in the temple scented with the frangrance of flowers from the temple gardens is best suited for the purpose.

Systematic observance of a practice adopted after deep and mature consideration is considered to be the first step in the ladder of progress in the path leading to *Mukti* or freedom from birth and death. Day after day, week after week, and year after year an aspirant for *mukti* should, without break, carry out a practice he has resolved to follow. What else but a temple can give him a better opportunity to test the strength of his resolution?

In addition to what has been set forth above, a temple may be said to be instrumental in bringing about social gathering and enjoyment. The annual and periodical observances of festivals in temples furnish men, women and children, gala days and they flock to the temples to participate in the festivities, and the rejoicings during those occasions. Temple images are brought out to be taken round in procession through the main streets of the towns and the villages either on *vâhanams* or vehicles belonging to the several deities, to wit, Bulls, Elephants, Brahmani-Kite, and so on or on cars dragged through by the people with great zeal and enthusiasm, pipers piping, drums beating and the holy brahmans reciting in chorus sacred vadic hymns and philosophical verses going by the name "*Thêvâram*", "*Thiruvâimoli*" etc: in tamil. Periodical float festivals are also held in temple tanks or in lakes near. The temple images of deities are placed on beautifully decorated rafts and rowed round and round with immense enthusiasm and delight. To break the monotony of life we find temples affording excellent opportunities as set forth above.

It is human nature that it craves for some means or other to show forth the innate love by concrete physical actions. People blessed with children show that unselfish love towards them in various ways such as fondling them and providing them with toys, cakes, jewels, dresses and so on. But people not blessed with children as well as people whose temperaments are such that children could not draw out of them

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any such love, have in temples an object in the deity whereon their love and affection could be bestowed in the shape of devotion and offerings. This showing forth to the temple deity of love and affection is termed *Bhakti* in mystic parlance.

That Temples are edifices of great public utility in other ways also may be evinced from the fact that many a public meeting and religious discourse, discussion and lecture have been held in the temple *Mandapams* or halls. It is said that when Haidar Ali had camped at Chidambaram, the famous religious centre in the south Arcot district, he held his durbâr in the thousand-pillared mandapa or hall of the temple for days together finding it sufficiently accommodating and convenient.

That the welfare of the village and the people dwelling in it depends upon the welfare of the temple is a belief of every true Hindu from time immemorial. A great deal of care is taken in choosing the plot and the plan of erection of even an ordinary house to insure the happiness and welfare of the would-be dwellers therein. If any of the principles of house building in the right manner as laid down in the *silpa-sâstra* or the science of Architecture is violated and the building erected, then there is the danger of the owner of the house as well as the dwellers therein coming to grief. A faulty building is supposed to have caused not only misery but also death to successive owners of the same. A house when completed violating the principles laid down, brings harm only to one person or family, while a temple so constructed brings ruin and disaster on the whole village. Such indeed is or at any rate was the belief of the Hindus. The construction of a temple in the right manner is said to bestow on the donor merit immeasurable whereas woe to the architects and originators of faultily built temples!!!

The same may be said of images made and installed in temples with proper rites and ceremonies that make the locality a centre of radiating influence. If properly made and installed, they bestow happiness and prosperity on all, especially on the village and the villagers. Otherwise they bring on untold misery and wretchedness to all concerned.

Power and wealth in the hands of the good and the virtuous are boons and blessings indeed bestowed on humanity, whereas the same in the possession of the wicked and the unscrupulous would prove a veritable curse to all. The same may be said to be the case with the influence radiating from well-conceived or ill-conceived temples and temple images. Just as there are two uses for everything namely good use and bad use, temples and images in them have also two influences benignant and malignant is a fact believed in by the people of India. They, of course, try to avoid the latter and encourage the former by taking all possible care.

The citing of a few instances of the benignant and malignant influences exerted respectively by well-formed and ill formed images of

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Gods and Goddesses would surely be a fitting *coup de grace* to this aspect of the subject of enthralling interest. Let us say in passing that the images installed after the due performance of *Prânaprathista* or life-giving rites and ceremonies have a sort of craving for the finest ethereal portion of physical food stuff and this feeling may be compared to the feeling of hunger in men.

Just as hunger is appeased by the food taken by men, the life instilled images are also satisfied if food is but placed before them as offerings. Big grown up men require more food while young children are satisfied with a small quantity of it. The same is the case with images life-instilled small and big. The bigger the image the larger should be the quantity of food, etc placed before it as offering to fully satisfy the ethereal craving resembling our hunger. Hence it is that small images only are placed in houses where only a small quantity of food is cooked, whereas very big images are placed only in temples and very large quantities of food are placed before them as offerings.

This fact may be seen if one takes the trouble to go to the famous *Natarâja* temple at Chidambaram and witness one of the *pâvâdai* offerings to the deity. The report of the Madras Epigraphical Dept. for the year 1913–14 mentions on pp. 18 and 89 about the temple. Most of the inscriptions copied during the year refer to the later chôla kings and register grants of land for flower-gardens. In a few cases, gifts of land are also made for maintaining worship, offerings and festivals in the temple, for feeding houses, for founding streets' an *agrahâra* or a new shrine, and for providing "special food offering known as *pâvâdai* which is observed even to this day. Boiled rice of determinate quantity is spread evenly over a plate measuring about 6 feet by 4 feet and offered in front of the *Natarâja* image."

Coming to the malignant influence exerted by ill-formed images the following instances are interesting to note. An ill-formed image (or it may be a properly formed one but proved dangerous being insufficiently fed or not fed at all) causing misery and death to the villagers was thrown out and was made use of by a butcher to keep the meat on. When the same image was reclaimed on a subsequent occasion and installed in a temple it is said to have expressed its desire through human agency by obsessing one, that it liked very much to go back to the butcher and enjoy the treat of meat showering on him in return untold wealth in the shape of profit in his bloody trade!! In another instance an image received by a brâhman as a gift was said to have caused him untold misery and sickness. When he disposed of it by gifting it over to another, the new recipient also shared the fate of the first recipient. When he placed the image in a temple to get rid of it, the temple priest had to undergo difficulties and troubles untold. Eventually the image was said to have been dropped into an out-of-the-way well.

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A well-formed image is said to have raised a poor soldier to a very high rank in the army!!

With such beliefs it is but proper that temples and images must be brought into existence in strict accordance with the principles laid down in the Hindu *sâstras* for the good of the people and the king.

TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

"Architecture" is the art of building according to principles which are determined not merely by the ends the edifice is intended to serve, but by considerations of beauty and harmony. It is not the art of building simply or even of building well. The end of building as such, is convenience and use, irrespective of appearance, and the employment of materials to this end is regulated by the mechanical principles of the constructive art. As an art, the end of architecture is so to arrange the plan, masses, and enrichments of a structure as to impart to it, interest, beauty, grandeur, unity and power. Architecture thus necessitates the possession by the builder of gifts of imagination as well as technical skill.'

'Like the other arts, architecture did not spring into existence at an early period of man's history. The ideas of symmetry and proportion which are afterwards embodied in material structures, could not be evolved until at least a moderate degree of civilisation has been attained. The efforts of primitive men in the construction of dwellings must have been at first determined solely by his physical wants. Only after these had been provided for, and materials amassed on which his imagination might exercise itself, would he begin to plan and erect structures, possessing not only utility, but also grandeur and beauty. We can hence say that the evolution of man and the evolution of Architecture have been brought about *pari passu*.'

Everywhere, the temples as public places of worship are the common property of all. Hence the evolution of temple architecture is very interesting to study. In fact, that the temples are the most magnificent edifices in every country is an acknowledged fact. It is said that the grandest architectural efforts of the Egyptians are shown in their built temples. In other countries also, the grandest efforts are shown in temple architecture. The reason for this is obvious. In ancient times, the function of a ruler was combined with that of a religious preceptor of the people in one individual. Hence he was able to command vast sums of money and immense labour for improving and refining temple architecture. Further, the religious aspect of the undertaking induced the workman to throw their religious fervour into their work. In fact very great inspiration has come to many of the temple architects, because of this fervour which has lifted them to very high levels of imagination. Even now the famous pipers of southern India are at their best not among the multitude assembled on marriage occasions,

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but in the service of Gods in temples on festive occasions when they are full of religious enthusiasm.

We have heard of people who have endowed fabulous wealth to the services of God and the way in which these sums were utilised was in erecting temples of fine architectural design. We have also heard told that women in moments of religious fervour have made a present of all their ornaments to temple images of Gods. On certain festive occasions like the *Brahmôtsavam* festival of the deity presiding over the temples, jewels worth many lakhs of rupees are collected from the wealthiest of the place to decorate the images of the God and the Goddesses. Garlands formed of many ear ornaments set with brilliants together with innumerable other ornaments set with very valuable precious stones decorating the images on those occasions, are lent by the people with a religious fervour, really admirable and purely Indian one can say.

Work of art should be exhibited only in places thronged by people, if it should be properly appreciated. What other place, but the temple visited daily by hundreds of people not only local, but also coming from the different parts of the land, is best suited for the purpose? The most important sacred places are Chidambaram, Madura, Rameswaram and Conjeevaram and in these places the temple architecture is a sight worth seeing indeed. The other places such as Hampi, Halebid, Mahâbalipuram &c., have also fine temples built at tremendous cost and labour. Thousands of masons have worked for years together to erect the lofty spires. Thousands of sculptors have carved the images on the walls and pillars and the niches of these temples. The trellis work designs on rock gates of temples are really works of art we can say. The porticos in the several *prâkâras* (Rectangular or circular pathways in the temple) can accommodate several thousands of people on festival occasions. The steps of the sacred tank of the temple, the porticos surrounding the tank for the devotees of God to sit and meditate on him, the mandapam in the middle of the tank itself to which the deity is taken annually, have all received their due share of care and attention to beauty, harmony, grandeur, unity and power.

God as the supremest being in the universe, must have a dwelling suitable for his dignity. God as a being eminently beautiful, must have everything around him highly beautiful. God as a being of might, must have a building grand and powerful. As God has created the universe well, his temple must be well built. This has been the ideal of the people.

Great philosophers and poets have graphically described the various forms seen in the universe to be really portions of one grand design. Some philosophers have also compared the universe to a tree and the various forms seen there to the various parts of the tree such as trunks, twigs, leaves, flowers, flower-buds, fruits and so on. So a grand design is a *sine qua non* now in all temples.

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The lofty spires in temples represent not only the triumph of God, but they also represent the lofty levels from which inspiration &c are brought down. When going from below, we may say that men should rise to a very high level to understand God and bring the knowledge down to the lower levels. Every work must have a design archi-typal in the mental level to be crystallised in this physical world. An Engineer before erecting an edifice first forms a picture of it in his mind and then brings it down to the physical as an accomplished work. Similarly a man must rise beyond the mind even to understand God and materialise the knowledge in the lower levels.

A temple has towers on all the four sides. At the base of these towers, there are entrances. Surrounding the temples there are cities. This is symbolical. God manifests himself in every direction is shown by such a design. The design also means that people can approach God from every direction, since he is everywhere. God goes out to people in the cities through the various directions and people go to him entering his dwelling from the different directions.

The building of a public temple is considered to be a charity of great merit and virtue in India. Hence Kings of old spent a large portion of the revenue to build or renovate temples. They set apart portions of land for the upkeep of such temples. Even now the temples at least many of them depend on such gifts of land made by the former kings for their upkeep. People willingly and gladly subscribe large sums if they are approached for subscriptions for building new temples or renovating the old ones. The Nâṭṭukkôṭṭai chetties of southern India have spent and are still spending vast sums because of this belief though it is to be regretted they do not care to understand the principles laid down in the *silpa sâstra* for such renovations and follow them. Almost all the important temples are pulled out and rebuilt in a grand scale by them.

A temple building has a design of its own. There must be a particular symmetry and arrangement in the structure. Any deviation from the established order in the design, any alterations in the symmetry and proportion of the several parts have to bear to one another, is supposed to cause death to the planner and the builder!! Even the village or city on which it is situated goes to ruin if the established rule is violated!!!

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JUDICIAL PROCEDURE IN ANCIENT INDIA

By J. RAMAYYA PANTULU, B. A., B. L.

The charge is generally brought against graduates that they are not sufficiently acquainted with the past history of their country and its institutions; and the accusation is not wholly unfounded. The conditions of study in our Colleges are not quite favourable to the acquisition of ancient learning and when we leave the portals of the University and enter those of life, the struggle for existence occupies most part of our time and energy and very little of either is left to be spent upon so unfashionable and non-lucrative an occupation as the study of the past. It is, therefore, no wonder if some of us have come to think that we have no past worth knowing. But this attitude is quite untenable. We, as a nation, are, after all, what our past history has made us and however successfully we may attempt to improve upon that foundation, we cannot act as if we have had no past. That is to say, we cannot, to borrow a much hackneyed simile, begin with a clean slate. Our slate has been considerably scribbled upon. We may perhaps form new figures and pictures by lengthening, broadening or deepening the old lines or drawing fresh lines where there is space left; but we cannot wipe off the old lines with a single application of the sponge. The proper thing would be to engraft the new learning upon the old so as to make them both grow into an organic whole. To put it in another way, the practical teaching of the modern culture should be superimposed on the spiritual basis of the ancient Indian culture, so that, on the one hand, the activities which the former is calculated to stimulate—not by being employed in pursuit of unsatisfying and cross purposes run to waste—may be properly directed and guided by a knowledge of the true goal towards which all human action must converge and, on the other hand, the latter may be prevented from degenerating into fatalism, superstition and inaction. If this be so, it is imperatively necessary that we should be in touch with our national literature and culture.

For some years past, there have been signs of a reviving interest in the ancient culture of this country. This is partly due to the spirit of enquiry and comparison which the modern education inculcates and partly to the examples set by the great Orientalists of the West from Sir William Jones downwards.

This paper is based chiefly on Mâdhavâchârya's Vyavahâra Kânda. This treatise purports to be a part of Mâdhava's Commentaries on Parâsara Smriti but is not really based on that Smriti, for, Parâsara did not treat of law at all. Mâdhava has supplied the omission by

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collecting what is said on the subject in the other smritis and his dissertation is a digest of jurisprudence based on those Smritis. The book treats of the substantive as well as the adjective law and I have chosen the latter as the subject of this paper, because it is the less known of the two. For, while a portion of the ancient substantive law of the land is still administered by our Courts, the judicial procedure prescribed in the Smritis was centuries ago, superceded by the Muhamadan law which, in its turn, has given place to the modern law of British based on English law.

Mâdhavâchârya had no little share in laying the foundations of the Vizianagar Empire at the commencement of the 14th Century of the Christian Era. At that time, the Muhammadans had not yet succeeded in extending their rule South of the Krishna River. We may, therefore, fairly presume that the procedure which I am going to describe was in use in Mâdhava's time-in Southern India, at any rate.

Chapter 5 of section 4 of Śukranîtisâra also deals with jurisprudence. This is an epitome of what is more elaborately treated by Mâdhava and does not add much to what we find there.

The author begins by stating that it is the duty of the King to administer justice according to law and impartially.[1] The function of the King is to protect the people committed to his care and one of the most important ways of doing this is by proper administration of justice. While the Smritis insist on the King performing his duties as a Judge or Magistrate, it is noticeable that they nowhere refer to him as a law giver. The idea of all law proceeding from the throne belongs to Roman jurisprudence and was unknown in Hindu India. The King should administer laws as he finds them. Where do they come from, then? They are based on immemorial customs prevalent among the people, reduced to writing by great Rshis from time to time. In fact, Dharma Śastras are codifications of the customary law of the land, condifications made, not by the King or by any one deriving authority from the King but, by some eminent lawyer of each period who was so very much superior to other lawyers of his time that his codification was accepted as binding on all until it was, in any respect, repealed by a similar subsequent codification. These codifications bear the names of their authors just as Acts of the British Parliament are sometimes named after the members who introduce them. Variations in the Smritis show that the customary law of the land changed from time to time in spite of codifications and Smritis expressly provide, as will be seen later, that customs, local as well as tribal, and family customs should be respected though they may vary from the codified general law,

1. Vyavahârân nrpah pasyêd vidvadbhih brâhmaṇais saha
Dharma śastrânusârêṇa krôdha lôbha vivarjitah

Yâjnavalkya.

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provided they are not destructive of its fundamental principles. The King has no power to alter these laws in any way but is bound to administer them as he finds them.

Vyavahâra is the comprehensive name for the administration of justice. It is defined as follows by Kâtyâyana:—

Prayatna sâdhyê vicchinnê Dharmâkhyê Nyâyavistarê।
Sâdhyamûlastu yô vâdô vyavahâras sa uchyatê।

That is when through decline of dharma, it becomes necessary for one to establish one's claim to any thing; the settlement of this claim is called *Vyavahâra*. Thus, decline of Dharma is the root of *Vyavahâra*. The word *Dharma* is used in different senses in different contexts but in its most classical sense, the sense in which it is used here, it means the duty prescribed by law. It is the chief among the three which man seeks in this world the others being *ardha*, (*purushardhas*) and *Kâma*. There is a perpetual feud between *Dharma* or duty and ardha or self-interest and this feud is responsible for all the disputes in the world. As long as *Dharma* or sense of duty holds complete sway over men's minds, the passions are kept in check and no trouble ensues but when men forget their duties and attempt to extend conflict necessarily ensues between man and man and *Vyavahâra* is the result.

It is a common subject of lament in India that there has been a gradual decline of *Dharma* in the world. Nârada says for instance, that when Manu reigned, all people were truth-speakers and all were intent on *Dharma*. There was then no hatred and no malice and therefore, *Vyavahâra*.[1] Brihaspati endorses this view and states that Vyavahâra becomes necessary on account of people being moved by avarice and hatred.[2] This is a prosaic way of expressing the familiar idea that Dharma walked on four legs in Kritayuga, hopped on three in Trêta and two in Dvâpara and is trying to stand on one in the present Kali Yuga. Whatever may be the value to be attached to this statement, there are many who think that dharma shows a tendency to decline in proportion to the advance of Modern Civilization. If increase of litigation is a sign of the decline of dharma as Nârada and Brishaspati tell us, that decline must be going on at a pretty repaid rate. Soon after I went to Russell Konda in the Ganjam District seven years ago, I was trying a criminal case in which a Khond appeared as a witness. The

1. Manuprajâpati ryasmin kâle râjyam abûbhujat
dharmaikathânâh purushâh tadasan satyavâdinah
Nârada.

2. Dharmapradhânâh purushâh pûrva mâsanna himsakâh
Lôbhadvêshâbhibhûtânâm vyavahârah pravartate
Brhaspati.

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Vakil for the party against whom the Khond was deposing, tried to inpugn his credibility, when the witness addressing the Court said "I am a Khond. I do not speak lies." The Vakil retorted that the man was only an Oriya Khond i. e., a Khond who came and settled down in the low country among the Oriyas in fact a civilized Khond!

Classes of Courts :—Sabhas or Courts are of two kinds — the regular *(Mukhya)* and the special *(amukhya)*. The latter comprise special courts intended for the trial of cases between parties belonging to special professions, trade guilds and castes, which have to be decided according to special laws or customs applicable to those classes. Provision is made, for instance, for hill Courts for hill people, Courts Martial for Soldiers, mercantile Courts for merchants, special caste Courts for special castes, Village Courts for disposal of petty litigation among villagers and so on.[1] These Courts are generally manned by persons belonging to the same special class to which the parties belong, so that they can dispose of the matter in dispute with a knowledge of all the circumstances bearing on it.

The regular Courts are either stationary *(Pratishthita)* or Circuit (*apratishthita*) Courts and these are again divided into two classes—viz—*Sastrita* or Courts presided over by the King in person and *Mudrita* i. e. Court presided over by Judges appointed under the King's seal.[2] We may suppose that the supreme Courts were, as a rule presided over by the Kings in person and that they appointed Judges to preside over provincial Courts. Manu empowers a King to appoint a substitute (*pratinidhi*) when he cannot himself preside over a Court and the Officer so appointed could exercise all the powers of the King.[3]

1. Dasasthânâni vâdânâm panca caihâbravîn manuh
nirnayâ yêna gachchanti vivâdam prâpya vâdinah.
Araṇyastu svakaih kuryuh sârtha ssarthakais tathâ
sainika ssainikairêva grâmêpyubhayavâsibhih.
Ubhayânumatam caiva gṛhyate sthânamîpsitam
Kulikâs sârtha mukhyâs ca purâ grâma nivâsinah.
Grâmapaura gaṇâ srêṇyas caturvidyâs ca vargiṇah
Kulâni kulikas caiva niyuktâ nṛpais tathâ.

2. Pratishṭhita pratishṭhî ca mudritâ śâstritâ tathâ
caturvidhâ sabhâ prôktâ sabhyas caiva caturvidhâh.
pratishṭhita purê grâmê sabha ranye pratishṭhitâ
Mudritâ dhyaksha sahita râja yuktâ ca śâstrita

Brhaspati.

3. Yadâ svayam na kuryât tu nṛpatih kârya darśanê
tadâ niyunjyad vidvâmsam brâhmaṇam kârya darśane
Sôsya kâryani sampaśyêt sabhyairêva tribhirvṛtâh
sabhâmêva praviśyâ gryam asina sthita êva ca

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What follows applies, in the first instance, to the supreme Court wherein the King dispenses justice personally and to the inferior Courts *Mutatis Mutandis.*

Court house:—The Court house should be situated in the eastern part of the King's Fort facing the East. It should be built in accordance with the laws of architecture *(Vâstu Sastra)*, surrounded by shady trees and provided with good water supply. It should be furnished with seats for the Judges and others and its walls should be decorated with the pictures of Gods etc. The atmosphere about the Court House must be kept pure and fragrant by means of flowers and incense and samples of seeds and precious stones should be stocked, apparently for use in connection with ordeals.

Court Hours:—Kâtyâyana divides the day into eight parts and setting the first apart for the performance of such daily rites as every *dvja* is bound to perform, allot the next three parts to Vyavahâra.[1] This means that, supposing the day to begin at 6 A.M. and end at 6 P.M., the Court hours are from 7–30 A.M. to 12 noon. *Sukranîti Sâra* differs from this and lays down that the enquiry should be held in the afternoon while the forenoon should be devoted to the study of the law applicable to the case. No fixed time should be observed, however, in the trial of grave crimes such as murder and theft, for, they should be tried without delay.[2]

Holidays:—No Court is to be held on the *Chaturdasis*, *Amâvasya* and *pournami*, i. e., on four days in the month. These are the regular holidays. Of course, there must have been many occasional holidays.

Constitution of the Court:—The Court consists of ten members viz. The King, the prâdvivâka, the Sabhyas, the gaṇaka or accountant, the Lêkhaka or Clerk, Smriti or the law, gold, fire, water and Sâdhyapâlaka i. e. the Court Keeper or the Court Inspector:[3] The

1. Divaso sasyâshtamam bhâgam muktyâ kâlât tayam ca yat
sakalo vyavahârâṇam śâstra dhvaṣṭah parah smrtah
Kâtyâyana.

2. Nyâyân paśyêtu madhyâhnê pûrvâhnê smrti darśanam
Manushya marane stêve sâhasê tyâyikê sadâ
na kâla niyamas tatra sadya êva vivêcanam
Sukranîtisâra.

3. Nrpôdhikṛtah sabhyas ca smṛtir gaṇika lêkhakau
Hemâgnyambu sva purushôsâdhanângâni vai dasa,
êtaddasânga karanam yasya madhyâsya pârthivah
Nyâyân paśyê kṛta matih sa sabha dhvamsa sammitâ.
Brhaspati.

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first three form the Bench. The Clerk, the accountant and the Court Keeper are the Officers of the Court while the other four elements are things which should always be kept in Court for use — the law for constant reference and gold, fire and water for swearing witnesses or parties in the same way as the Bible is now used for swearing Christian witnesses.

The seats of Judges and Officers :—The King should sit in the centre of the bench (*Dharmâsana*) facing the east, the Sabhyas including the prâdvivâka on his right facing the north, the bench clerk on the left and the accountant opposite the bench facing the west.

The relative positions of the King etc :—The King is the judge and the decision is his and must be issued under his signature and seal. The prâdvivâka and the Sabhyas are to assist him in arriving at the truth and deciding the case justly. He must administer justice impartially being influenced neither by love nor by hatred.[1]

Prādvivāka:—Prâdvivâka is a most important limb of the Court. He is next to the King both in his position on the bench and in authority. He it is who examines the parties and witnesses and helps to ascertain the truth and is called prâdvivâka on that account.[2] This Officer has to remove difficulty from the matter in dispute—by means of reason and inference, even as a surgeon removes a splinter from the patient's body with his instruments.[3] Naturally very high qualifications are prescribed for this functionary. He must, of course, be learned in law. In addition, he must not be cruel but he must be sweet-tempered, sympathetic, discerning and not avaricious.[4] He should be a Brahmin but failing to get a learned Brahmin, the King may appoint a learned Kshatria and failing him, a learned Vaisya.

Vakils:—The Prâdvivâka is sometimes used now-a-days to mean a pleader but this is not its classical meaning. A pleader or

1. tasmâd dharmâsanam prâpya râjâ vigata matsarah
śâsyât sarva bhûtêśa bibhradyêva svatâm vratam.
Yathâ yamah priya dveshyau prâpta kâle niyaccati
tatha râjâ niyantavyah prajâs taddhi Yama vratam

Nârada.

2. Vivâda samsritam dharmam pṛchehati prâk sṛtam matam
vivêcayati ca yas tasmât prâdvivâkas tu sa smrtah.

Nârada.

3. Yathâ śalyam bhishakkâyâd uddharêd atra yuktitah
prâdvivâkas tatha śalyam uddharêd vyavahâratah

Nârada.

4. Akrûro madhuras snigdhah kramâyâtô vicakshaṇah
utsâhavân alubdhas ca vâde yajyo nṛpêna tu.

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Vakil is called *pratinidhi* (agent) or *niyogi* i. e., one authorized to act on behalf of the party. But a *pratinidhi* or *niyogi* does not appear to be exactly the same as the modern Vakil. He had, for instance, nothing to do with the examination of witnesses which was done by the prâdvivâka but could and no doubt often did suggest questions to that functionary. He was in the position of an agent and appeared for the party employing him, when the party's personal attendance was dispensed with. Whatever was done by a Niyôgi was binding on the party employing him as if he had done it himself.[1] The Vakil should be well acquainted with the law and procedure. His fee should not exceed 6¼ % of the value of the subject matter of the suit and he is liable to be punished if he extorts more by avarice.[2]

This is all about duly authorized agents but a party may be represented by his near relations such as father, son or brother without a Vakalat. In cases of grave offences such as *murder, theft, adultery, seducing an unmarried girl, sedition etc*, the accused must appear and defend himself in person and cannot be allowed to appear by agent.[3]

Sabhyas:—Next to the prâdvivâka are the Sabhyas who should be seven, five or three in number. They are selected for their knowoledge of law and have to advise the King on the law applicable to the case in hand and perhaps also on the merits of the case generally. They have no power to decide. None has this power except the King but the King is bound to be guided by them in deciding the case at least in regard to law. They must have wordly experience and must be well versed in the Vedic lore and the Civil law.[4] Persons unacquainted

1. yah kascid kârayêt kiñcin niyogâd yêna kênacid
tat tênaiva kṛtam jnêyamanivâryam hi tat smṛtah
Sukranîtisâra.

2. Niyôgâtasyûpi bhṛtim vivâdat shôdaśâmsikîm
Vimśat yamśam tadartham vâ tadartham ca tardhikam
Yatha dravyâdikam kâyyam hînâhîna bhṛtis tatha
yadi bahu niyôgai syâd anyathâ tasya pôshanam.
dharmajnô vyavahârajnô niyôktavyô nyadâ navâ
Anyathâ bhṛti grhnamtam dandayêt ca niyôginâm.
Sukranîtisâra.

3. Manushya maranê stêyê paradârâbhimarśanê
Abhakshya bhakshanê caiva kanyâ harana dûshanê.
pârushyê kûṭakaraṇê nṛpa drôhê ca sâhasê
Pratinidhir na dâtavyah karttâ tu vivadêt svayam.
Sukranîtisâra.

4. Lôka vâdanga dharmajnâ ssapta panca trayôpivâ
Yatrôpavishta viprâssyu ssa yajnâ sadṛśî sabha.
Brhaspati.

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with the customs of the country or ignorant of law, unbelievers, idiots, men in distress, and those that are irritable or avaricious are unfit to be Sabhyas. [1]

Great is the merit of a righteous and just Sabhya who, by the application of law, can restore the rights of an aggrieved party by clearing the doubts in which through ignorance those rights have been involved, like a clever Oculist who, by the application of an ointment removes the cataract and restores the eyesight of a blind man. Such a man enjoys fame in this life and goes to heaven after death. [2]

Bench Clerk:—Lêkhaka is the scribe or bench clerk. His chief duty is to write down the pleadings which are made orally. The Clerk must be one who can write legibly and grammatically, a truth loving man and one who is not passionate or avaricious. [3]

The Accountant:—The gaṇika or accountant is for making money-calculations involved in suits. He must be versed in the Vedas as well as in Astronomy. [4]

Sādhyapāla:—Sâdhyapâla or Sapurusha is an officer of the Court whose duty it is to procure the attendance of parties and witnesses, to preserve order in court and execute its decrees. He should be an able bodied sudra and should be ready to carry out all orders of the Court. [5]

Law, fire, water and gold:—The other essentials of a court are the law, the use of which is obvious and fire, water and gold which are made use of in swearing witnesses.

Brihaspati compares a Court to a human body of which the King is the head, prâdvivâka the mouth, Sabhyas the arms, law the

1. Dêśîcârânabhijnâyê nasṭikâ sśâstravarjitâh
unmatta kruddha lubdhârtha na prastavya vinirnayê.

Brhaspati.

2. Ajnâna timirôpêtân sandêha paṭalânvitan
Nirîmayanyah kurute śâstrajnâna śalâkaya
Iha kîrtim avâpnôti labhatê svargatam ca sah.

Brhaspati.

3. Sphuṭalêkham niyunjîta sabda lâkshanikam sucim
Sphutâksharam jita krôdham alubdham satyavâdinam.

4. Tri skandha jyautishâbhijnam sphuta pratyaya kârakam
srutâdhyayana sampannam gaṇakam yojayên nṛpah.

5. Sâdhya pâlâs tu kartavyo râjna sâdhyasya sâdhakah
Kramâyâto dyatas sûdrah sabhyânâm ca mate sthitah.
Akaraṇe rakshaṇe ca sâkshi pratyardhi vâdinam
sabhyâdhînas satyavâdi kartavyas tu svapûrushah.

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hands, clerk and accountant the legs, fire, water and gold the eyes and Sâdhyapâlaka the feet.[1]

Taking cognisance of cases:—Having determined the constitution of the court, we are now in a position to follow the trial of cases.

It is laid down, as a general rule, that the King should only try cases on complaint made to him by aggrieved parties and not *Suo motu*. This is to prevent the King from meddling in the private affairs of his subjects actuated, it may be, by love, hate or avarice. Criminal offences are excepted from this rule, and the King is given power to take cognizance of them of his own accord. When the king is unable to take the initiative he may take cognizance of them on the complaint of a Stôbhaka i. e., aggrieved party or on information laid by a Sûchaka who is a person appointed by the King to detect crime.[2] It will be seen that this law is in accord with the modern law of this country and that the threefold method of taking cognizances of offences corresponds to the threefold method prescribed in Section 190 of Criminal Procedure Code where n a Magistrate is empowered to take cognisance of cases on complaint, or on Police report or on his own knowledge. Except in the matter of taking cognizance, in regard to punishment and in a few other respects which will be referred to in their proper places, no dintinction is made between Civil and Criminal cases in regard to the procedure. All causes seem to have been treated alike as torts which, in fact they are.

1. Têsham mûrdha nṛpôngaṇam mukhân câ dhikṛtah krtah
Bahu sabhyah smṛtir hastau janghê gaṇaka lekhakau
Hêmagnyambu dṛsau tatra padausya purushas tathâ.

2. Na râgêna na lôbhêna na krôdhêna grasên nṛpah
parairàprâpitânarthân na câ pi sva manîshayâ.
chalâni câparadhams ca pâdani nrpatis tatha
svâmêtani gṛhṇîyûs tva vêdakairvinâ.

Pitâmaha.

Yathâ chalâdîni râjâ svayam dṛastu masaktah tadâ stôbhakât sûcakâdbôdhavyâni.

Mâdhava.

Sâstrêṇa ninditam tvardha mukhyûs câ rtha pracôditah
Avêdayati yah pûrvam stôbhakas sa udâhrtah.
Nṛpênaiva niyuktôyahparadôsha mavêkshitam
Nṛpasya sûcayêd jnatyâ sûcakas sa udâhrtah

Kâtyâyana.

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Four parts of trial:—The trial is divided into 4 parts Viz—*pratijna* plaint or complaint, *uttaram* answer or written statement, *Kriya* proof and *Nirnaya* decision.

Plaint or complaint:—When the complainant or plaintiff appears in Court, he should be asked to state the case and what he states should be taken down by the clerk on a slate and after it is scrutinized and made conformable to law, it should be copied on a cadjan or other leaf [1]. The same thing is to be done in regard to the answer.

Plaint, its contents and language:—The plaintiff should be examined in the presence of the defendant. The language of the plaint should be concise (*Alpâksharam*) and free from ambiguity (*Asandigdham.*) The plaint should *prima facie* be faultless and admissible (*Niravadhyam*) and should set out the material facts of the claim (*Supratijnam*), the evidence by which it is to be proved (*Sapramânam*) and the title on which it rests. It should state, among other things, the cause of action (*Pîda*) where and when it arose, the names and castes of the parties and the subject matter of the suit (*Dravyam*). It should be free from faults and must be based on a valid cause of action. Plaints which do not give the necessary particulars such as the time and place of the cause of action or the relief sought and do not indicate the evidence on which the claim is based, should be rejected summarily; so also suits in which the relief sought is unknown to law (*Aprasiadham*), suits where the plaintiff has sustained no injury (*Nirâbâdham*) purposeless suits *Nishprayôjanam* and claims for relief which is impossible to grant (*Asâdhyam.*) In regard to the time of the cause of action, the year, the month, the fortnight and the date must be given. The names of the parties and of their fathers, their ages and residence as well as the exact place where the cause of action arose should be stated in the plaint. In suits for immovable property, the plaint must state how and when the property was acquired by the plaintiff or his ancestors [2]. A plaint in which

1. Pûrvapakshah svabhâvôktam prâdvivâkô bhilôkhayêt
pându lêkhêna phalakê tatah patrê visôdhitam.

Kâtyâyana.

2. Upasthitê tavas tasmin vâdî paksham prakalpayêt
Niravadyam supratijnam pramâdâgama samyutam.
Dêsa stâna samâ mâsa paksha haranam ajâtitah
Dravyam sankhyôdayam pîdam kshêmam lingam ca lêkhayêt.
Pratijnâ dôsha nirmuktam sâdham sat kâraṇânvitam
Niscitam lôkasiddham ca paksham pakshavidô viduh.
Alpâkshara stv asandigdho bahvardhâs câ pyanâkulah
yuktô virôdhi karaṇair virôdha pratishêdhakah.

Brhaspati.

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several causes of action which ought to be separately tried, are joined *prakîrnardhah* or in which the claim is time barred (*Atîtakâlah*) and a plaint in which two inconsistent claims are set up (*Durishtah*) should be rejected [1]. When A complains that B his neighbour is moving about in his house with the help of the light in A's house, it is an instance of a claim where there is no injury, for, A has suffered no loss by B's action. An instance of a purposeless suit is where a man is sued for singing melodiously near plaintiff's house. The complaint that the defendant laughed at the plaintiff with his eyebrows knit, is given as an illustration of a suit for an impossible remedy. It is a general rule that no suits should be entertained which are opposed to the rights of the state and to the general rights of the country or the people i. e. which are opposed to public policy [2]. A plaint may be amended at any time before the defendant is called upon to answer and not afterwards [3]. The following persons are disqualified from bringing suits—Viz. A man that is insane or drunk, a man that has been found guilty of any of the great sins (*Mahâpâtakas*) an idiot, and a very old or very young person [4].

Dêsa kâla vihînâs ca Dravya sankhyâdi varjitah
sâdhya prâmaua hînas ca pakshô nadêya isyatê.

Kâtyâyanâ.

Atra siddham nirâbâdham nirardham nishprayôjanam
asâdhyam vâ viruddham va pakshâbhâsam vivarjayêt.
Nirdisya kâla varsham ca mâsam paksham tithim tadhâ
vêlâm pradêśam vishayam sthânam jâtyâkṛtî vayah.
Sâdhya dravya pramânam ca sankhya nâma tadha tmanah
Râjnam cakra masô nama nivâsam sâdhya nâmaca.
Kramât pitṛṇâm nâmani pîḍam âhartṛu dâyakau
Kshamâlingani câ nyânipaksham samkîrtya kalpayêt

Kâtyâyanâ.

1. Bhinnakramo vyutkramârdhah prakîrnârdho nirardhakah
Atîta kâlô dvishas ca pakshô nâdêya ishyatê.

2. Râjnôpa varjitô yastu yas ca paura virôdha kṛt
Râshtrasya vâ samastasya prâkrtiṇâm tadhaiva ca.
Anyêsham vâ pura grâmamahâjana virôdhakah
Anâdeyas tu tê sarvê vyavahârah prakîrtitah.

Brhaspati.

3. Sôdhayêt pûrva vâdam tu yâvan nôttara darśanah
Avashṭabdha syôttarêṇa nivṛttam sôdhanam bhavêt.

Nârada.

4. Unmatta matta dhûrtas ca mahâ pâtaka dûshitah
Jaḍadhî vṛddha bâlas ca vijnêyassyur niruttarah.

Brhaspati.

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Answer or defence:—When the plaint is made conformable to law and the suit is entertained, the defendant should be called upon to state his defence. If he does not do so voluntarily, he should be forced to speak. Failing milder means, he is liable to be fined, whipped or imprisoned for failure to make a statement[1]. If, for a sufficient reason, the defendant applies for time to make a statement it should be granted according to the following scale viz:—If the cause of action arose on the same day on which the suit is filed, no time should be given If it is old but recent, one day should be given. Three days may be given where the cause of action is 6 years old, 7 days if it is 12 years old, 10 or 15 days if it is 20 years old, 7 days if it is 12 years old, 13 or 15 days if it is 20 years old, one month if it is 30 years old and six weeks in older cases. In the case of idiots, madmen, minors, persons suffering from chronic diseases and those engaged in the performance of sacrifices or other rituals occupying a long time (*Dîkshitah*) one year's time may be given, if necessary. Generally, no adjournments should be given for filing a statement in Criminal cases, for these cases should be tried and disposed of without loss of time. Like the plaint, the answer should be written down by the clerk and made conformable to law. The answer must traverse the entire ground covered by the plaint (*Vyâpakam*), must state the whole of the defendant's case (*Sâram*) and must be unambiguous and plain[2].

Four kinds of pleas:—The defence set up may be one of admission (*Sampratipatti*) denial (*Midhya*) confession and avoidance (*pratyavaskandhanam*) or *res judicata* (*prangnyaya*) or *purvanyaya*.

Denial:—Denial may be simple or may take the form of saying that the defendant knows nothing about the cause of action or that he was not present at the time and place mentioned in the plaint, or that he was not born then.

1. Pûrva pakshê yadarthêna na dadyâd uttarân tu yah
pratyarthi dapanîyasyât samâdhibhir upakramaih.
Priya pûrva vacassâma bhêdastûbhayadarśinah
ardha prakarshaṇam dandas tâḍanam bandhanam tatha.

Yâjnavâlkya.

2. Pakshasya vyâpakam sâram asandigdham anâkulam
avyâkhya gamya mityêtad uttaram tad vidô viduh.

Prajâpati.

Midhyâkâranayor vâpi grahyam kâraṇam uttaram.

Hârîta.

na cai kasmin vivâdêtu kriyâsyadayadi nô rdvayôh
Na ca rdha sidhi rubhayô na caikartru kriyâd yayam.

Kâtyâyanâ.

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Confession and avoidance:—Confession and avoidance is where a defendant admits the original transactions and shows cause why decree should not be passed against him as, when a defendant admits having borrowed money from the plaintiff and pleads discharge. If the defendant, without going into the merits of the plaintiff's claim, pleads *Res judicata* that, in respect of the same cause of action, there has been a prior suit between him and the plaintiff and that the plaintiff lost it, the plea is called one *prangnyaya vidhi* or *res judicata*.[1]

Burden of proof:—As soon as the answer is settled, the Court must declare on whom the burden of proof lies and call upon such party to adduce his evidence. Where the plea is one of denial, the burden of proof is on the plaintiff and in other cases it is on the defendant. The plea of *res judicata* or of confession and avoidance genarally involves the plea of denial also. For instance, if A sues B for the recovery of a cow and states "This cow is mine, It was missed on such and such a day. I have now discovered it in B's house" and B answers. "This claim is false. The cow was in my house long before the day mentioned by the plaintiff. In fact, it was born in my house", this is a mixed plea of denial and avoidance and the burden of proof is on the defendant, for, it is only in cases of pure denial that it is on the plaintiff. Burden of proof should entirely be on one side or the other but not partly on one side and partly on the other, in one and the same trial. It is not, therefore, permissible to combine in the same answer different kinds of pleas involving a difference in the incidence of burden of proof. For instance, if the complaint is that the defendant borrowed from the plaintiff a quantity of gold and also one hundred rupees and the defendant denies having borrowed gold and admits the borrowing of the rupees but pleads discharge, the burden of proof is on the plaintiff in

1. Yâvadâsêvitam kincin mat sambandha mihâ rdhinâ
tâvat sarvam asambhûtam iti midhyôttaram sṛtam.
Asyêva dêyam êvaitân nasambhavitam ardhinah
iti samprati patyâkhyam dvitîyam idam uttaram.
Dattamêva mayâ nêna kim tvasy âpi mayâ punah
prati dattam iti prôktam pratyavaskandanam smṛtam.
Asmin sangatê pûrvam prârabdhosmyaham ambuna
Jitas ca yam mayâ tatra prângnyâya vidhir ucyatê.

Prajâpati.

Ardhinâ likhitôh yârdhah pratyardhi yad itam tathâ
prapâdya kâranam brûyat pratyavaskandanam hi tat.
Asminnardhê mayâ nêna vâdah pûrvam abhût tathâ
Jitôyam iti cêd brûyât Prângnyayas sa udahṛtam.

Sukranîtisâra.

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regard to gold and on the defendant in regard to rupees. These two issues should not be tried together. Suppose again that, in the above mentioned case, the defendant pleads discharge in regard to gold and *res judicata* in regard to the rupees. Here, though the burden of proof is on the defendant in regard to both pleas, there is a difference, in kind, between the evidence to be adduced on one issue and that to be adduced on the other for, the plea of *res judicata* is to be proved by the production of the judgment in the former case or by the evidence of those that tried that case, whereas the plea of discharge is to be proved by documentary or oral evidence of a different kind. Take a more complicated case, a case in which the plaintiff claims the return of gold rupees and clothes and the defendant pleads discharge, denial and *res judicata* respectively. In all cases of this kind, the issues should be tried and disposed of separately. This rule is no doubt intended to secure simplicity of procedure. The issues should be taken up and tried in the order of their importance in the suit or that issue should be tried the disposal of which will dispose of the other isssues.[1]

Defendant exparte:—The defendant is liable to be declared to have lost his case (1) if he changes his defence after it is committed to writing and accepted by the Court, (2) if he fails to produce his witnesses. (3) if he is absent when called or absconds or (4) if he fails to state his defence when called upon to do so.[2]

Restoration of a case:—A suit which is dismissed summarily under the above mentioned rule may be restored to file on payment of fine (according to the scale prescribed). If after the pleadings are settled, the parties withdraw from the case under circumstances which amount to comtempt of Court, they are liable to be fined. But if the parties really repent and earnestly desire to enter into a compromise, the King should permit them to do so.[3]

1. Yat prabhûtâ rdha vishayam yatra vasyât kriyâ phalam
uttaram tatra tadjnêyam asankîrṇa mato nyathâ.

Hârîta.

2. Anyavâdî paṇan pañca kriyâ dvêshi panân daśa
nô pâsthata daśa dyau ca shôdaśaiva niruttarah
Ahûta vyapalâyica paṇân grahyâs tu vimsatim.

Kâtyâyana.

3. Pûrvôttarê sannivishṭê vicârê sampravartitê
prasramam yê mitho yântidapyâstê dviguṇam damam.
Pûrvôttarêpi likhitê prakrântê kârya nirṇayê
dvayô ssantaptayô sandhi syât ayah khanda yô riva
Tatra râjâjnayâ sandhir ubhayorapi śâsyatê.

Brhaspati.

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Plurality of suits and counter-suits:—No suit should be filed against a man during the pendency of another suit against him either by the same plaintiff or by another; nor can a defendant put forth a counter-claim against the plaintiff until the suit against him is disposed of. This rule applies only to Civil suits.

Proof or evidence:—The evidence is either human or divine. By divine evidence is meant the evidence afforded by ordeals and is so called because the gods are said to make use of it when they are in doubt.[1] Human evidence should be preferred to divine evidence and the latter should be resorted to only in the absence of the former or where it does not avail. For instance, it may be used in the case of offences committed in secret or where by lapse of time, human evidence has been destroyed or where it is equally balanced on both sides and no conclusion can be drawn from it.

Human evidence-oral and documentary:—Human evidence is either oral (*Sâkshi*) or documentary (*Likhitam*). A third kind of evidence is also mentioned under the name of Bhukti or enjoyment but this is not evidence in the strict sense of the term and will be treated of separately.

Witnesses:—A witness *(Sâkshi)* is one who speaks to that which he has seen with his own eyes or heard with his own ears.

Qualification of witnesses:—Witnesses should be chosen from among persons who love justice and truth, are well to do and have children, are of good family, conduct themselves in accordance with the law, are free from hatred and malice, who are independent and are comparatively young.

Disqualific tion of witnesses:—Cowards, persons who are interested in the subject matter of the suit, or in the parties or are hostile to the parties, persons who have been convicted for offences, who are afflicted in mind or body, are unfit to be witnesses. So also slaves, old people, children, women, insane and drunken persons, sanyasis, travellers by land or sea, out-castes, eunochs, sellers of poisons, snake charmers, oil mongers, astrologers, men who live by prostituting their wives, dealers in liquors, public detectives and near relations and many more whom it is unnecessary to name here. Disqualified witnesses

1. Yasmâd dêvaih prayuktâni dushkriyârdhê mahâtmabhih
paraspara visudhyârdham tasmâd divyâni nâmatah

Sukranîtisâra.

2. Dharmajnah putrinô maulah kulînas satyavâdinah
śrauta smârta kriyâ yuktah vigata dvêsha matsarah.
śrôtriya âparâdhinah sûrayas ca pravâsinah
yuvânah sâkshinah kûryah rnadishu vijânatâ.

Vyâsa.

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may be examined in the absence of qualified ones and there is no disqualification for witness in criminal cases.[1] Ordinarily witnesses should be of the same class, tribe or caste as the parties and in disputes between persons following the same profession, witnesses also should be of that profession, women should be witnesses in cases between women.[2] These rules are put rather broadly and it seems not unreasonable to presume that they were considerably modified in actual practice.

Number of witnesses necessary:—The number of witnesses necessary to prove a point is three or more but two will do if they are pious and respectable persons. One witness is not sufficient except in the case of the following special witnesses viz:—a messenger *(Dûta)* accountant (*gaṇaka*) Umpire (*Kâryamadhyagata*) the King, and the *prâdvivâka*. Vyâsa is more liberal and lays down that where more witnesses are not available, a single witness is sufficient especially in Criminal cases, provided that witness is pure-minded, loves justice and is of steady habits.[41]

1. Dâsa naikṛtakas śuddha vṛddha strî bâla chatrikâh
matt ônmatta pramatt ârta kitava grâma yâjakâh.
mahâpadhika samudra vanik pravrâjit âturah
Yugmaikas śrôtriyâcâra hîna klîba kuśîlavâh.

Nârada.

2. Asâksinô ye nirdishtah dâsa naikrt ikâdayah
kârya gauravam âsâdya bhavêyus tê pi sâkshiṇah

Nârada.

Stêya ca sâhasê caiva pârushyê sangama striyâh
râgâdînâm prayôgê ca na dôshas sakshisu smṛtah.

Nârada.

Brâhmaṇa kshatriyâ vaisyâ sûdrâ yê câ pyaninditah
prativarṇam bhavêyus tê sarvê sarvêshu vâ punah.
Srêṇishu śrêṇi purushah syêshu vargêshu varginah
bahiryâsishu bâhyassyuh striyâ strî ca sâkshinah.
Nava sapta pañca vâ syus catvâras traya êva vâ
ubhau vâ śrôtriyau khyâtâ naikam prchchêd kadâcana.
Dûtakâh khandikâ grâhi kâryamadhyâ gatas tathâ
êka êvâ pramanasyân nṛpôdhyakshas tathaiva ca.

Brhaspati.

Sûci sthirâtma dharmajnas sâkshî yatrâ nubhûtavân
pramâṇamaikôpi bhavêtsâhasêshu visêshatah.

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Challenging witnesses:—Witnesses may be challenged as jurors are challenged now and this must be done before the examination of witnesses is commenced. When a witness is challenged, he should be asked if he admits the imputation made against him. If he denies, the challenging party must prove the imputation on pain of being fined. If all the witnesses of a party are discredited, he must prove his case by some other means already indicated in the plaint or answer. Challenging is not allowed after the examination of witnesses is commenced. [1]

Swearing witnesses:—The witness to be examined should be made to stand facing the north or the east and sworn, the Brahmin on truth, the Kshatriya on his horse and weapons, the Vaisya on a cow or grain or gold and the Sûdra on the sin of telling lies. To swear a Brahmin on truth is to commend to him the virtue of truth-speaking. It will not perhaps be inappropriate to refer to some of the sentiments of the Smriti writers on this subject, now that we hear so much about the truthfulness or otherwise of the Hindus as a nation. Manu says that a witness who speaks truth is highly respected in this world and after death, attains higher life.

Merits of truth speaking:—As Brahmin is the highest of men, as the sun is the brightest of the luminary bodies and as the head is the most important part of the body, so is truth the greatest of virtues. Truth is a witness and truth supports justice. Therefore, every witness must speak the truth, whatever be his caste. Nârada says:—Truth is the greatest gift, the greatest form of tapas and the greatest of duties. On the whole, the Gods are truth and the men are untruth. Therefore, he who speaks the truth becomes a god on earth. There is no virtue greater than truth and no sin greater than untruth. Vyâsa adds the following testimony to the excellence of truth speaking when a witness is sworn to give evidence he is surrounded by the gods and by the spirits of ancestors (pitras) who are in anxiety as to whether he is going to speak truth or untruth. If he speaks the truth, they go to the higher world but if he tells lies, they go to the nether world. A witness should, therefore, speak truth otherwise he will sin against gods and ancestors. Nârada adds:—A liar says to himself "none sees me" but his lying is perceived by the gods and by his own inner self. Self is the witness of self as well as the refuge of self. Do not, therefore

1. Sâkshinôrdhi samuddishṭân satsu dôshêshu dûshayêt
adushṭam dûshayêd vâdî tatsamam danḍa marhati.

Brhaspati.

Sâkshinô dûshaṇam kâryam Pûrva sâkshi parisanat
suddheshu sâkshishu tatah pasoât kâryam visôdhayêt.

Brhaspati.

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degrade thy self by speaking untruth. The earth, the sky, the water, the sun, the moon, the fire, the air, Yama, the day, the night, the twilight and the law, all know the mind of man and cannot be duped. The Smritis also visit untruth with severe penalties in births to come.[1]

A Sûdra witness should be extorted to speak the truth by means of an enumeration of the evil consequences of telling lies. He should be told, for instance, that a liar goes to the same place as a murderer of Brahmins, children or women, an ungrateful man or a

1. Satyam sâkshyê bruvan sâkshî Lokânâpnôti pushkalân
iha ca nuttamam kîrtim vagêsa brahma pûjita
Brâhmaṇo vâ manushyâṇâm âdityûs têjasâmiva
śirô vâ sarva gâtrâṇâm dharmâṇâm satyam uttamam.
Satyêna pûjyatê sâkshi dharmas satyêṇa vardhatê
tasmât satyam hî vaktavyam sarva varṇêsu sakshibhih.

Manu.

Satyam êva param dânam satyam êva param tapah
satyam êva param dharmo lôkanâm iti srtih.
Satyam dêvas samâsêna manusyâs tvanṛtam viduh
ihaiva tasya dêvatvam yasya satyê sthitâ matih.
nâsti satyât parô dharmô nânṛtât pâtakam param
sâkshidharma visêsêṇa satyam êva vadêt tatah.

Nârada.

Sâkshibhâvê niyuktânâm devatâ niyatâ sthitah
pitaras ca avalambantê vitadhakhyâna śankayâ
satya vakyair vrajantûrdhvam adhô yânt yanyadhâ tu tê
tasmât satyam pravaktavyam bhavadbhis sabhya sannidhau

Vyâsa.

Atmaiva hyâtmanâ sâkshi gatir âtmâ tadhâtmanah
mâvamam sthastvam âtmânam nṛnâm sâkshityam uttamam
manyantê vaî pâpa kṛtto na kascit pasyatîti nah,
tams tu êvah prapasyanti svasyaivântarapûrushah

Nârada.

Brahmaghnê yê smṛtâ lôkâh yê ca strî bâla ghâtinah
Mitradrôhah kṛtaghnasya tê tê syur vâdatô mṛsha.
Janma prabhṛti yat kincit punyam bhadra tvayâ kṛtam
tat te sarvam sunô gachchêt yadi brûyas tvam anyadhâ

Manu.

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man who is false to his friend, that by speaking untruth, a man is deprived of what little virtue (*Dharma*) he may have acquired since his birth and so on.

The form of oath seems to have been prescribed with reference to what was then understood to be the mental development of the different classes of witnesses, so that they might all understand and realize their responsiblity in the matter.

A witness who fails to attend the Court without sufficient reason as well as a witness who attends but refuses to give evidence are liable to be fined [1] or even to be imprisoned.

Perjury to be punished :—Perjury (*Kûtasâkshyam*) is visited with punishment varying with the motive which prompted it. As justice must be preserved and injustice put down at all costs, untruthful witnesses may even be punished—the Brahmin witnesses from their houses and the non-brahmin witnesses from the country. [2]

Demeanour of witnesses :—The Judges are enjoined to note the demeanour of witnesses while under examination. A false witness's mind is not at ease. He talks loud and too much and sometimes answers without being questioned. He breathes hard, his forehead perspires and his countenance changes colour. His looks wander and he makes an unnecessary show of gestures etc. [3] Such a person should be known to be a false witness.

1. Sâkshi sâkshyam na cêd brûyât samandam vahêd ṛṇam
atô nyêshu vâdêshu triśatam dandam arhati
Ahûto yas tu nagachchêd sâkshi rôgavivarjitah
Ṛṇam daman ca dapyasyât triparakat paratas tu sah.

2. Dharmasya vyabhicârârdham adharma nidhanâyacâ
Kûṭa sâkshyam tu kurvâṇam strîn varnân dhârmiko nṛpah
pravśsayêd dandayitva brâhmaṇan tu vivâsayêt.

Yâjnavalkya.

3. Yas tvâtma dôsha dushṭaivêd asvastha iva lakshyate
sthânt sabhântaram gachchêd ēkaikam câ nudhâvati
Krôsatyardhêmśa ca bahulam abhîkshnam nissvâsatyapi
vilikhatyavanîm padbhyâm bahu vasês ca dhunayêt.
bhidyatê mukha varnas ca lalâṭam svidyatê tathâ
Sôsha mâgachchatas côshṭau ṛyûrdhvam tiryak navîkshatê.
tvara mâna ihâtyardham aprṣṭau bahu bhâshatê
kûtasâkshî sa vijnêyas tam pâpam vinayêd bhṛsam.

Nârada.

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Documentary evidence:— Documents are either private (*Laukika*) or public (*Râjakîya*) *Private documents* are divided into seven classes, Viz:—

1. *Bhâgalêkhyam* — Partition deed.
2. *Dânalêkhyam* — or deed of gift of land
3. *Krayalêkhyam* — or sale deed.
4. *Adhilêkhyam* — (mortgage deed)
5. *Samvitpatram* — i. e. an agreement or compact entered into by all the inhabitants of a village or a part of country.
6. *Dâsapatram* — (contract to serve)

and 7. *Runalêkhyam* — or bond. [1]

1. Laukikam râjakîyam ca lêkhyam vidyâd vilakshanam
Bhrâtaras samvibhaktâ yê svaruchyatu parasparam
vibhâga lêkhyam kurvanti bhâga lêkhyam tad ucyatê.
Bhûmim datvâ tu yat patram kuryâchchaundrârka kâlikam
anabhêdya manâhâryam dânalêkhyam ca tad viduh.
Grha kshêtrâdikam krîtvâ tulya mûlyâksharânvitam,
patram kârayatê yat tu krayalêkhyam tad ucyatê.
Jangama sthâvaram bandham datvâ lêkhyam karôti yat
gôpya bhôgya kriyâ yuktam nadhi lekhyam tad ucyatê.
Grâmô dêśas ca yat kuryân matam lêkhyam parasparam
râjâ virôdhi dharmartham samvit patram vadanti tat.
Vastrânna hînah kântârêlikhitam kurutê tu yat
karmâṇi tê karômî ti dîsa patram tad ucyatê.
Dhanam gṛhîtvâ vrdhyân tu svayam kuryacca kârayêt
yadjnâna patram tatrôktam ṛṇa lêkhyam manîshibhih.

Brhaspati.

Kâlam nivêsya râjânam sthânam nivasanam tathâ
dâyakam gṛhakam caiva pitṛ nâmnâ ca samyutam.
Jâtis ca gôtra sâkhâs ca dravyam adhim sa sankhyakam
vrddhi grâhaka hastam ca viditârthau ca sâkshinau.

Vasishtha.

Vina pi sâkshibhir lêkhyam sva hasta likhitam tu yat
tat pramâṇam smṛtam sarvam balâdadhikṛtadhyatê.

Yâjnavalkya.

Sthâvarê vikrayâdhânê Vibhâgâdya tathaiva ca
likhitêna prayât siddhim avisamvada êva ca.

Marîci.

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Private documents should contain the names, fathers' names, the gôtras and śâkhas of the parties, the exact date including the current regnal year, a description of the subject matter of the transaction and the rate of interest, in the case of bonds etc; The documents should be signed by the executant and attested at least by two witnesses and also by the writer. All the signatures should contain the names of the father of the signatories. Where a document is written by the executant himself, witnesses are not necessary. Documentary evidence is necessary in the case of transactions relating to immovable properties such as sales, mortgages and partitions. *Public documents* are of three kinds viz :—Sâsanams or grants of lands etc. to scholars, temples etc. 2. *Prasâdapatram* grant of jaghirs for military service and 3. *Jayapatrams* or judgments. Sâsanams are generally engraved on copper plates according to the formula given. Judgments will be described in their proper place later on. A fourth class of public documents, is also mentioned—namely orders issued by the King, orders issued to Governors or tributary princes called *Ajnâpatra* (commandments) and those addressed to Gurus, priests and Ritwiks *Prajnâpanapatra* (reminders).

Forged documents:—Forged documents should be detached and rejected. Documents containing obvious interpolations, as well as those whose wording is self-inconsistent, ambiguous, or irregular and those which are inconsistent within local customs should be suspected to be forged. Again documents which purport to be old but are in a fresh condition and *vice versa* and mutilated documents should not be acted upon.[1]

Invalid documents:—Documents executed by persons who are intent on committing suicide, by children, persons in fear or distress by women, drunken persons and persons strongly addicted to other grave vices and documents extorted by force or show of force, are invalid. The signatures of the executant, attesting witnesses and the writer are the chief means of judging the genuineness of a document.

Comparison of hand-writing :—When these persons are dead, their handwriting may be proved by comparison with that of other documents which are admittedly in their hand writing.

Documents more than 20 years old :—Documents more than 20 years old may be admitted even if the signatories to it are all dead,

1. Sthâna bhrashṭas sapanktishthâ sandigdhâ lakshanacyutah
yadâ samsthâpitâ varṇah kûṭalêkhyam tadhâ bhavêt.
desâcâra virudham yat sandigdham kramavarjitam
kṛtam asvâminâ yacca sâdhya hînam ca dûshyati.
Yacca kâkapadâ kîrṇam tallêkhyam kûṭatamiyâṭ.

Kâtyâyana.

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provided that they have been seen or heard of whenever there was an occasion for it, during this period. Old documents which have not been previously produced in Court when there was an occasion for their production and are produced for the first time after lapse of more than 20 years from the date of their alleged execution, shculd be rejected [1].

When a bond etc. is discharged, the debtor should endorse payment on the back of the document and the creditor should give him a signed receipt. *(Upagatam)* [2].

Enjoyment of land and limitation:—The subject of enjoyment of the immovable property and the period of limitation in suits concerning it is a branch of the snbstantive law and not of procedure. But as the Smriti writers have treated of it under the head of proof or evidence I will refer to it here briefly.

Title and enjoyment necessary ordinarily:—To sustain a claim for immovable property both title (*agama*) and enjoyment (*Bhukti*) must be proved, ordinarily. Title is like the trunk of a tree and enjoyment, the branches. As the branches cannot grow without the trunk, so enjoyment must be based on title

Atyujjvalam cirâkṛtam malinam svalpakâlikam
Bhagnônmuṣṭâkshara yutam lêkhyam kûtatvam âpnuyât.

Brhaspati.

Vividhâs sasa lêkhâsya bhrântis sanjâyatê yadâ
ṛṇi sâkshi lêkhakânam hastâtsamsêdhayêt tathâ.

Brhaspati.

Adha pañcatvamâpnôti lêkhakas saha sâkshbhih
tat sahastabhis têshâm visudhyêta na samsayah.
Ṛṇa svahastam sandêho jîvatôvâ mrtasya ca
tat svahastam kṛtai rajnyaih patrair lêkhya vinirnayah

Kâtyâyana.

1. Yatra ṛṇi dhanikô vâpi sâkshîva lêkhakôpi vâ
mriyatê tatra tallêkhyam tat svahastaih prasâdayêt.

Vishnu.

Darśitam pratikâlam ya chchrâvitam smaritam tathâ
lêkhyam siddhyati sarvatra mritêshyapihi sâkshishu.

Nârada.

2. Lêkhasya pṛshṭê vilikhêt yadvâ tad ṛṇko dhanam
dhanikôpagatam dadyât svahasta paricihnitam

Yâjnavalkya.

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Na mûlena Vinâ sâkhâ antarikshê prarôhati।
âyamastu bhavêṉ mûlam bhuktis sâkhâ prakîrtita॥

Harita.

Five things must be proved to sustain valid enjoyment. viz:—That it is based on legal title and that it is long (*Dîrghakâla*), undisputed (*Nirâkrôsa*) uninterrupted (*Niramtara*) and known to the opposite party (*Pratyardhi sannidhâna*) This is the general rule, Where there is a legal title, enjoyment even for a short period is enough but title alone without enjoyment does not avail. On the other hand, uninterrupted enjoyment confers title provided it is at least three generations long. A generation is taken to be equivalent to 20 years but some writers make it 30 and some 35 years long [1]. The principle is that enjoyment from time immemorial (*Asmârtakale*) is a valid title by itself:—otherwise it has to be supported by proof of legal title.

The period of limitation in the case of easements and mesne profits from lands in dispute is 20 years [2] and it is 50 years against Brahmachâris engaged in study—who are required to devote 12 years to the study of each of the four Vedas and the connected Sastras. There is no limitation in the case of possession obtained by fraud or crime and none against the king, children (minors), woman and pious men engaged in the performance of Vedic rites *Srôtriya*. So also there is no limitation in the case of treasure trove and boundary disputes and none in regard to property enjoyed under a mortgage. Five years is

1. Sâgamô dîrgha kâlas ca nirâkrôsô nirantarah
pratyardhi sannidhânas ca bhuktô bhôgah pramâṇavat.

Sukranîtisâra.

Bhuktis tri purushî yatra purushé stribhir êva tam
tatra naiva gamah kâryô bhuktis tatra garîyasi.

Kâtyâyana.

smârtê kâle kriyâ bhûmê sâgamâ bhuktir îsyatê
asmârtânugamâbhavât kramât tripurushâgatâ

Kâtyâyana.

2. Adhyâsanât samârabhya bhuktir yasya vighâtini
samâvimsatyavadhikâ tasya tam na vicârayêt.

Prajâpati.

Tad êtad asêdham akurvatâm phala hâni vishayam natu bhû hâni vishayam.

Mâdhava.

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the period of limitation in the case of movable property such as cows, horses and jewels.[1] There is no limitation in regard to enjoyment with the owner's consent.[2] Proof of enjoyment of a portion only of a holding is proof of the enjoyment of the entire holding. Enjoyment of land should be proved by the evidence of the cultivator, the village headman, the farmer of revenue or the Zamindar, the evidence of the earlier being always stronger than that of the later.

Decision:—Omitting the description of ordeals, we shall now proceed to the concluding part of *Vyavahâra* viz:—*Nirnaya* or the decision. Disposal may be by *Dharma*, *Vyavahâra*, *Charitram*, *Râjâjna*. Disposal by dharma is where the defendant admits the claim or the accused confesses the crime, but false confessions should be guarded against. Vyavahâra is regular trial according to law. Charitram is the technical term for custom–local, tribal or family. Where such a custom exists and is not opposed to the fundamental principles of law and public policy, it overrides the law. For instance, in southern India the marriage of a man with his maternal uncle's daughter is good according to custom though it is not good in law. Again, custom allows marriage of Brahmin girls after puberty in Kêrala. Customs such as these must be enforced though they are not authorized by law.

Where it is not possible to dispose of a case in any of these ways the King should decide it according to his own good conscience, provided that he does not act contrary to the advice of the prâdvivâka and the Sabhyas and contrary to law.

Judgment:—To the successful party the King should give a judgment (*Jayapatram*) under his signature and seal. According to

1. Adhis sêma baladhânam nikshêpô sa nidhi stri yah
râjasvam srôtriyam dravyam nô pa bhôgêna nasyati

Manu.

Srôtriya grahana manûsaktaupalakshanam.

Mâdhava.

Pañcâsatâbdikô bhôgah taddhi nasyûpakârakah
prativêdam dvâdasâbdah kalo vidyardhînam Smrtah.
Silpa vidyûrdhinâm caiva grahanântah prakîrtitah.

Kâtyâyana.

Dhênuryahyô lankaranam yâcitam prati pûrvakam
catuh pañcâbdikam dêvam anyathâ hânim âpnuyât.

Kâtyâyana.

2. Samprîtya bhôjyamânâni na nasyanti kadâcana.

Manu.

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Vasishtha, the Judgment should bear the signatures of the *prâdvivâka* and *the Sabhyas* and the King's seal. It should state concisely the case for the plaintiff, the defence, the evidence adduced, the decision and the law on which the decision is based.

Substantial justice preferred to law:—Doing substantial justice (*Dharma*) is more important than administering law and some of the Smritis give the Courts liberty to deviate from the strict letter of the law where necessary for that purpose. For instance, *Yâgnavalkya* says that where the claim of a plaintiff is made up of parts and the defendant denies the entire claim, he is liable to pay the entire claim provided any portion of it is proved against him. *Kâtyâyana* lays down, on the other hand, that only so much of the claim should be decreed as is proved. *Mâdhavâchârya* understands this rule to apply to cases in which a debtor's son pleads ignorance of his father's liabilities sought to be proved against him. Reading these two provisions together, it seems that the intention of the Smriti writers was that, although ordinarily a plaintiff should get no more than he establishes his title to, by strict evidence, he may get a decree for the entire claim though only a portion of it is proved according to law, if there are circumstances which raise a presumption that the whole claim is true.

Execution of decrees:—Decrees passed against Brahmins should be executed in a conciliatory spirit, while those against others should be executed according to custom. Offending judgment-debtors are liable to be punished.

Court fees and penalties:—In addition to the decree amount, both parties are liable to pay fees to the Court, the successful party by way of fees (*Bhrti*) and the unsuccessful one by way of penalty (*Dandam*). The fee payable by a successful party is 5 % of the decree amount which he realizes. The same is the rate of penalty to be paid by a Judgment debtor in an uncontested case. In contested cases the rate is doubled. It would seem that no penalty was levied if the Judgment debtor was poor and unable to pay.

A man who makes a false claim is liable to pay a penalty equal to double the amount of his claim. When a party is unable to pay money, he may satisfy the claim by rendering service.

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LITERARY GLEANINGS

By M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI, M. A.

Sometimes a broken line, a fragment of a quotation, mere mention of an author, or a humourous pun on a significant word, may furnish curious clues to the determination of the date of authors or at least of their priority in relation to others. Such scraps of information as are gathered in the course of our researches will be given in the following pages which may be of some use to critics and scholars. The remarks that accompany them do not pretend to finally determine the issues but they must be treated as mere suggestions to be read along with other information that scholars may otherwise possess.

1. RUYYAKA

Some scholars are of opinion that Ruchaka whose name we meet in Alankara literature is not Ruyyaka and that the author of the *Alankara-Sarvasva* is only Ruyyaka and not Ruchaka. Ruchaka in *Prakrit* form may become रुअक which degrades into Ruyaka and then into Ruyyaka. Similarly we are inclined to believe that ṭa in Mammaṭa, Lollaṭa etc., must have been a phonetic degradation for Bhaṭṭa and the words must have read once as Mamma-Bhaṭṭa and Lolla-Bhaṭṭa etc. भ in Prakrit tongues is changed into ह and the aspiration disappears in course of time. The change would be something like this:—मम्मभट्ट—मम्महट्ट— मम्मट्ट— मम्मट

It may be objected that forms like Mammaṭa Bhaṭṭa, Lollaṭa Bhaṭṭa may be wrong, for the name Bhaṭṭa occurs twice; but when Bhaṭṭa becomes an inflexion and loses its significance another significant epithet is generally added in the Indian languages, In Telugu we meet with names like *Sûramâmba* and *Venkayârya* where *ama* and *aya* are derivatives of ambâ and ârya. Similarly Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa may not be a wrong form.

Mere phonetic derivation of the form of the word Ruchaka may not appeal to critics. A commentator on the Alankâra-Sarvasva says:—

रुचकाचार्योपज्ञस्येयमलङ्कारसर्वस्वे।
सञ्जीवनीति टीका श्रीविद्याचक्रवर्तिना क्रियते॥

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again at the end of the work,

शब्दस्यासौ विषमविषयो दुर्घटार्थव्यवस्था-
व्याख्यव्याप्तिप्रकटनपटुर्न्यायचर्चागभीरः।
इत्थं भूम्ना रुचकवचसां विस्तरः कर्कशोऽयं
टीकास्माभिः समुपरचिता तेन सञ्जीवनीयम्॥

Râghavabhaṭṭa uses the word राजानक रुचक in his commentary on Sakuntala (Vide page 58 line 2).

Thus it is surmised that Ruchaka must be the grammatical and Ruyyaka the colloquial form.

2. KSHIRASVAMIN

One of the commentaries on the Amarakośa is ascribed to this author and Dr. Gaṇapati Sastri in his preface to the edition of Daiva suggests that its author (Deva) might have lived after Kshîrasvâmin, who was identified with Kshîra attached to the court of Jayâpîḍa of Kashmir. There is a work called the Nipâtâvyaya-vṛtti whose author is Kshîrasvâmin otherwise called Svêtavanavâsin, a native of Uttarameru village. The same information is given by Kshîrasvâmin who commented on the Unâdi sutras. Most probably this author on grammar may be identified with the commentator on the Amarakosa where he exhibits much erudition in grammar. In his commentary on the Amara[1] he quotes from Bhôja who lived between 998 and 1062 A.D., and in turn quoted by Krishnalîlâśuka who lived earlier than 1300 A.D.

Uttaramêru, the village mentioned by Kshîrasvâmin, is found in several inscriptions and is unanimously identified with Uttaramallur or Uttaramêrur a village 20 miles from Chingleput near Madras; a few miles near it flows the river Pâlâr which rendered into Sanskrit may mean Kshîrataraṅgiṇî which is the name given by the author to his own commentary. He is otherwise called Svêtavanavâsin the significance of which cannot be traced now. The places called Svêtavana are known in the South Arcot, Tanjore and Malabar Districts. The fact that he lived after Bhôja stands against his identity with Kshîra of Jayâpîḍa's court.

1. Some writers on history relying on antiquated research still persist in the identification of Kshîra with the preceptor of Jayâpîda with Kshîrasvâmin, the commentator of the Amarakosa. The latter quotes from Bhôja's Śṛngâraprakâśa of 1050 and hence the identity is not tenable.

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In a drama called the Abhinavarâghava quoted in the Nâtya-darpaṇa by Râmachandra, a pupil of Hêmachandra, Sthâpaka says—

आर्य चिरस्य स्मृतम्—

अस्त्येव राघवमहीनकथा पवित्रं
काव्यं प्रबन्धघटनाप्रथितप्रथिम्नः।
भट्टेन्दुराजचरणाब्जमधुव्रतस्य
क्षीरस्य नाटकमनन्यसमानसारम्॥

and Râmachandra in introducing the above quotation says—

यथा क्षीरस्वामिविरचिते ऽभिनवराघवे.

A question may arise whether this Kshîrasvâmin is the same as the grammarian mentioned. We know that Bhaṭṭêndurâja was a Kashmirian and tutor to Abhinavagupta and brother of Hêlaraja, who commented on the well-known grammatical work of Bhartṛhari. Bhaṭṭêndurâja was a great grammarian and poet. Whether Kshîrasvâmin, the pupil of Bhaṭṭêndurâja, was a native of Kashmir or a southerner is not known and if he is identified with the commentator of Amarakôsa, how could he, being a pupil of Bhaṭṭêndurâja who lived in 1000 A. D., quote from Bhôja's work which must have been written a few decades later? Śâradâtanaya, author of the Bhâvaprakâśa says that he was a native of a village Mâṭharapûjya near Merûttara in Âryâvarta where there were a thousand brahmin houses.

आर्यावर्त्ताह्वये देशे स्फीतो जनपदो महान्।
मेरूत्तर इति ख्यातस्तस्य दक्षिणभागतः।
ग्रामो माठरपूज्याख्यो द्विजसाहस्रसंमितः॥

These two names Uttaramêru and Merûttara will throw further confusion regarding their identity. Merûttara, it may be suggested, is the modern Meerut in Hindustan, i. e., Aryâvarta. I remember to have met with a quotation, which I am now unable to trace out, where Mêrûttara was spoken as a town in Kashmir itself. If that is true and if Kshîrasvâmin uses Uttaramêru as a synonym for Mêrûttara he might be taken as a Kashmirian and pupil of Bhaṭṭêndurâja and it may be held that he might have written his commentary on Amara in his later life when Bhôja's *Ashtâdhyâyî* and the first part of Śṛngâraprakâśa, where he deals with grammar *in extenso* were published. But if the identity of the two towns with Meerut is held, he must have been a native of Meerut and might have even then studied in Kashmir. But lastly if Uttaramêru is not Mêrûttara then Kshîrasvâmin being a native of the south might still have gone to Kashmir and studied under

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the illustrious author. Though truth cannot be ascertained these references throw a flood of light on the history of Kshîrasvâmin and may serve as inducement for further investigation.

3. JAYAMANGALA

A number of commentaries under this name are attributed in their colophons to one Śankara and it reads in different works and in different copies in various forms as शङ्करविरचिते, शङ्करार्यविरचिते शङ्कराचार्यविरचिते, शङ्करभगवत्पादविरचिते गोविन्दभगवत्पादशिष्य भगवच्छङ्कराचार्य विरचिते, शङ्करपरिव्राड्विरचिते etc.,

These colophons do not lead us to a definite conclusion as to the real identity of the author.

The commentary on the Bhaṭṭikâvya is called Jayamangalâ and it is far inferior to that of Mallinâtha and its author known in various manuscript copies by various names, one of which is Śankara, does not show much erudition. Jayamangalâ on Sânkhyasaptati is very meagre and decidedly inferior to the commentary of Gauḍapâda or even of Vâchaspatimiśra on the same work. In the colophon, the commentator's name is found as Śankarâchârya. The Jayamangalâ on the Kâmasutras of Vâtsyâyana is now finally attributed to Śankara and Yasôdhara was only a scribe after all. In the commentary the author displays deep learning in various branches of knowledge. Jayamangalâ on Kâmandaka is of greater merit and the author shows his intimate acquaintance with a number of works on Arthasâstra which are now extinct. Jayamangalâ on Kauṭilya's Arthaśâstra is a more learned work and is indeed the best of the four available commentaries on it. There are strikingly common passages in the Jayamangalâs on Kâmandaka and the Arthaśâstra and that is not curious as the subject and the particular passages to be commented upon are the same.

Dr. Ganapati Sâstri, hesitating, to assign Jayamangalâ on Kâmandaka to Śankarâchârya, calls Śankara as Śankaravârya which is not warranted by the colophons in any of the manuscripts that we have so far examined. All these Jayamangalâs are extensively read and found in Malabar. To relieve the anxiety of some critics that the great Âchâryâ should not be associated with the authorship of these commentaries under the same name we have to search for another Śankarâchârya in Malabar who, besides being an author, must be a pupil of Gôvindabhagavatpâda. We shall try to find one to answer our purpose.

In the commentary on Vâtsyâyana one of the quotations[1] is traced to Ratirahasya of Kokkôka who belongs to the tenth century

1. "रक्तजाः कृमयः सूक्ष्माः....यथाबलम्" (II. 1 Kama Sutra)

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and in my opinion later than Śâkyabhikshu, the author of Nâgarasarvasva. Jayamangalâ on Vâtsyâyana may therefore be assigned to some period later than 1000 A.D.

There is a commentary called Yôgabhâshyavivaraṇa on Vyâsabhâshya of Pâtanjala-Yôgadarśana and it was written by one Śankarâchârya, a pupil of Gôvindabhagavân and in one of the colophons the commentary is called Bhagavatpâdîya. One is tempted to suggest that this Śankara might have been the author of so many Jayamangalâs. We have very recently come across a commentary on Śâbarabhâshya called Bhâshyapradîpa ascribed to the authorship of Śankarâchârya. At the end of one of the colophons to close the line the scribe wrote Payyur-Bhagavatpâda-virachitam—of course the manuscript once belonged to the well-known Payyur Patteri of Malabar who flourished between 1300 and 1400 A.D., or even later. Hence the Bhâshyapradîpa must be ascribed to one Śankarâchârya belonging to the family of Payyur. Tne Yôgabhâshyavivaraṇa exhibits deep learning in all the darśanas and judging from the style and mode of the commenting it appears to be the production of the author of the Bhâshyapradîpa. To support this identity an instance may be adduced.

There was a great scholar in Payyur family called Ṛshi and his son Paramêśvara was known as Mimâmsakachakravartin, whose names are respectfully mentioned in Kokilasandeśa[1] and Mallikâ mâruta[2] by Uddaṇḍa. Paramêśvara wrote commentaries on several Mîmâmsâ works as Kâś.kâ, Maṇḍana's Sphôṭasiddhi, Śâbarabhâshya, Nyâyakaṇikâ, Tattvabindu etc. Under the 27th sloka in the Sphôṭasiddhi Maṇḍanamiśra quotes a few slokas (712–717) from Slokavârtika of Kumârila and Paramêśvara in interpreting them according to the older reading changes the main line of argument. He says with reference to the 713th sloka.

तत्पूर्वं प्रतिपादनादिति पाठो रत्नाकर काशिकयोः। निबन्धनकारेण तु पूर्वं तत्प्रतिपादनादिति पाठोऽङ्गीकृतः। गवादेः पूर्वं गकारादेः प्रतिपादनादित्यर्थः व्याख्यातु यत्पूर्वं यत्प्रतिपाद्यते तत्तस्यप्रतिपादकम्' यथा प्रदीपारोहणं प्रतिपाद्यस्य घटस्येति पूर्ववद् द्रष्टव्या। Maṇḍanamiśra reads पूर्वं तत्प्रतिपादनात् in his vritti on the 27th sloka. Even Umbêka in his commentary on Slôkavârtika follows the same reading. Later on owing to some difficulty in maintaining the Mîmâmsaka's position against Bhartṛhari a different reading was probably adopted.

Paramêśwara's commentary in maintaining the Sphôṭa here tacitly agrees with the view taken in Yôgabhâshyavivaraṇa where the

1. तन्मीमांसाद्वयकुलगुरोः सद्म पुण्यं महर्षेः
2. उक्तं च मीमांसकचक्रवर्तिना ऋषिपुत्रपरमेश्वरेण

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existence of Sphôṭa seems to have been maintained, while great Śankara in his Śârîrakabhâshya in the Dêvatâdhikaraṇa rejects it. The similarity of discussion ensures the belief that Paramêśvara must have been directly inspired by the views of his uncle or preceptor, Śankarâchârya, as expressed in Yôgavivaraṇa and who was also his tutor. In the Yogabhashyavivaraṇa (Vide page 241 in the Ms. in G. O. Mss. Library, Madras) the same verses were commented upon and the readings are suggested as given by Maṇḍana in favour of sphoṭa. For example Sankara suggests in it—तस्मादयमपि श्लोक एवं पठितव्य:— "प्रतिषेधेत य: स्फोटं वर्णधीरमनन्तरम्। दृष्टबाधो भवेत्तस्य शशिचन्द्रनिषेधवत्। वर्णार्था वर्णधीरिषा तज्ज्ञानान्तरोद्भवात्" Parameśvara works upon this suggestion in his commentary on Sphoṭasiddhi.

Paramêśvara commented on the Nyâyakaṇikâ and a colophon reads as follows:—

इति श्रीमदृषिगौरीनन्दनश्रीमद्भवदासपितृव्य श्रीमच्छङ्करपूज्यपादशिष्यपरमेश्वरकृतौ स्वदितंकरण्यां तृतीय: श्लोक:।

and at another place,

कालप्रत्यक्षतावादमेवं व्याख्यदृषेस्सुत:।
भवदासपितृव्यस्य प्रसादादेव केवलात्॥
कायवाङ्मनसां सम्यक् प्रह्वीभावेन शङ्करे।
अन्यथाख्यातिभावेऽपि स व्याख्यातुं समुद्यत:॥

This shows that Śankara must have been one of Paramêsvara's relatives and his tutor. For, in a work called Śivodaya the author Vâsudêva, one of the eight brothers of Paramêśvara, describes his family and mentions Śankara as one of his uncles. Payyur family, though well learned in the Vedânta devoted themselves to the resuscitation of Mimâmsâ. Almost every work of both Bhâṭṭa and Prâbhâkara schools was commented upon by the members of this family. Nârâyaṇa, one of his brothers, commented on the Bhâvanâvivêka and Vibhramavivêka of Maṇḍana. Paramêśvara probably hints at the suggestion that Payyur family descended from Maṇḍanamiśra or his pupil in the following words at the end of his commentary on Sphoṭasiddhi.

मण्डनाचार्यकृतयो येष्वतिष्ठन्त कृत्स्नश:।
तद्वंश्येन मयाऽप्येषा रचिताराध्यदेवताम्॥

He commented on the Tattvabindu also. His grandson commented on the Nititattvâvirbhâvâ of Chidânanda. His cousin Nârâyaṇa commented

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on Nayatattvasangraha, a work of Vishnu, who also belonged to the same family. Bhavadâsa, his uncle, wrote a number of commentaries on the Kalpasûtra works.

Thus Bhâshyapradîpa and Yôgabhâshyavivaraṇa are decidedly the compositions of one and the same Sankarâcharya, who, as said by Vâsudêva, was the pupil of Gôvinda-Bhagavatpâda. We are inclined to think that all the Jayamangalâs must have been the productions of this Śankara.

In writing this essay we are at a great disadvantage in not having in our possession here the manuscripts of the works or the printed works referred to and hence the actual passages or even the page reference could not be given.

4. VINDHYAVASIN

Vindhyavâsin is one of the few great writers whose works are not still available anywhere. There are several references in Sanskrit to his views in some of the leading works on Mîmâmsa, Grammar, Alankâra, Yoga etc.,. Several critics made good attempts at his identification with any known author or to locate his position in the chronology of literature. Even Western and Japanese critics have thrown to light some matter leading to his identity. There are some critics, among whom the editors of Mâṭhara-vritti may be mentoned with honour, who consider that Vindhyavâsin is only an appellation given to Vyâḍi, the author of *Sangraha* on grammar mentioned by Patanjali (1-1-64). Lexicographers like Kêśava, Hêmachandra etc., give Vyâḍi and Vindhyavâsin as synonyms. Further light on this identity has been thrown by a passage quoted under Vyâḍi and Vindhyâvâsin by Umbêka *alias* Bhavabhuti in his commentary on Slôkavârtika. Dr. Keith in his *Sânkhya system* identifies Vindhyavâsin with Isvara-krishna the author of Sânkhya Kârikâs and again in his *Karma Mimamsa* he considers that Vindhyavâsa is different from Vindhyavâsin on the supposition that one is a Mîmâmsaka and the other a Sânkhya. An attempt is made in the following lines to establish that Vyâḍi and Vindhyavâsin refer to the same author, that the two names Vindhyavâsa and Vindhyavâsin are mere synonyms and lastly that Vindhyavâsin and Isvarakrishna must be two different persons.

1. Vindhyavâsin is the same as Vindhyavâsa, for when Kumârila says,

तेन नात्यन्तभिन्नोऽर्थः सारूप्यमिति वर्णितम्।
ग्रन्थे विन्ध्यनिवासेन भ्रान्तैः सादृश्यमुच्यते॥

(Slokavârtika-Akrtivâda)

Umbeka the commentator remarks:—

किंच विन्ध्यवासिनोऽपि पिण्डसारूप्यमपि सामान्यमिति वदतो नायमभिप्रायः

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and thus uses Vindhyavâsin as a synonym of Vindhyanivâsa found in the original of Kumârila.

Secondly Kumârila has

अन्तराभवदेहस्तु निषिद्धो विन्ध्यवासिना

while Medhâtithi in his commentary on Manusmṛti I-55 referring to the same doctrine of the rejection of an intermediary body between death and re-birth says:—

सांख्या अपि केचिन्नान्तराभवमिच्छन्ति विन्ध्यवासप्रभृतय:

Thus Kumârila and Medhâtithi mean that the two names refer to the same person.

2. Identification of Iśvarakrishna with Vindhyavâsin by Dr. Keith is based on Takakusu's identity of Vârshaganya. This has not been accepted by the Sanskrit scholars. In addition to their arguments one quotation from Abhinavagupta's commentary on the Nâtyaśâstra will suffice to dispel the illuson of the learned Doctor

अत्तपादो युगपज्ज्ञानानुत्पत्तिर्मनसो लिङ्गमिति। मनसस्त्रिविधोभाव इति। वैशेषिका दिदृशि मनस्संयोगजो य आत्मन इच्छाद्वेषमाध्यस्थलक्षणो स मनस इत्युक्त:। कापिलदृशि तु विन्ध्यवासिनो मनस एव। ईश्वरकृष्णादिमते मन: शब्देनात्र बुद्धिप्रह्लादनेन श्रोत्रस्येत्यादिकं विषयग्रहणक्रिया वभीष्टविषयत्वे मिश्रयितव्यम्। (XXII-32).

Here Isvarakṛshṇa holds a different conception of *manas* from that of Vindhyavâsin. An examination of Sânkhya Kârikas reveals that its author must have lived later than Vindhyavâsin.

3. Regarding the important identity of Vindhyavâsin with Vyâḍi further evidence is adduced by Umbêka who gives out the following introduction to Kumârila's verse—

सारूप्यमेव पिण्डानां सामान्यं येन कल्प्यते।
तेन सारूप्यशब्देन किं पुन: प्रतिपाद्यते॥

अत्र व्याडिराह—पिण्डसारूप्यमेव सामान्यमिति। तत्रायं सामान्यशब्द एकपर्यायो वा स्यात्। यथा देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तयोः समानधनमेकधनमित्यर्थः। सदृशपर्यायो वा। अस्ति च सदृशपर्याय:। यथा देवदत्तेन सह समानरूप: सदृशरूप इत्यर्थः। तदत्र किंवचनोऽभिप्रेत इति परमतमनुभाष्य पृच्छति सारूप्यमिति

and again under Kumârila's verse—

व्यक्तितश्चातिरेको ऽस्य स्यान्न वेति विचारिते।
सामान्यमेव सादृश्यं भवेद्वा व्यक्तिमात्रकम्॥

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Umbeka says—

किं च विन्ध्यवासिनो ऽपि पिण्डसारूप्यं सामान्यमिति वदतो नायमभिप्राय: सादृश्यरूपं सामान्यमिति। किं तु पिण्डरूपमेव सामान्यं न पिण्डव्यतिरिक्तमित्यभिप्राय:। भ्रान्तैस्तु तदीयमभिप्रायमजानानैरन्यादृशमेव तद् व्याख्यातमित्याह—

तेन नात्यन्तभिन्नो ऽर्थ: सारूप्यमिति वर्णितम्।
अन्ये विन्ध्यनिवासेन भ्रान्तै: सादृश्यमुच्यते॥ इति

Thus Umbeka in his quotation "पिण्डसारूप्यं सामान्य" मिति under two authors Vyâḍi and Vindhyavâsin establishes their identity beyond any doubt.

This identification of Vindhyavâsin with Vyâḍi has been rejected by some critics on the ground that the latter lived earlier than Patanjali and is known as a grammarian while the former, a writer on Sânkhya darśana, was an opponent to the Buddhist writer Buddhamitra, the teacher of Vasubandhu. The Chinese annals of the Buddhist teachers are after all traditions as collected by some Chinese scholars who travelled through India and their statements before taken as authority must be corraborated by other evidence. Vindhyavâsin might have defeated some Buddhist writer of the name of Buddhamitra who was identified with the teacher of Vasubandhu or there must be an error in giving the date of Vasubandhu himself.

Coming to the identity of Vyâḍi with Vindhyavâsin the nature of references may lead our way. Kumârila mentions the latter as a Vyaktivâdin and discusses the meaning of the word *Sârûpya* as to its significance of sameness or similarity of form. This discussion comes under Ākṛtivâda (conception by species or commonness). Of course the term Ākṛti in Mimâmsâ means what is called Jâti by grammarians. Wherever Vyâḍi is mentioned he is called a *vyaktivâdin* who holds that *padârtha* denotes *dravya* taken in a particular sense. Patanjali, Bhartṛhari, and his commentator, all mention Vyâḍi's views in this connection. Helarâja, defining the broader denotation of the word *Dravya* introduces Bhartrhari's verse—

आत्मा वस्तु स्वभावश्च शरीरं तत्त्वमित्यपि।
द्रव्यमित्यस्य पर्यायास्तच्च नित्यमिति स्फुटम्॥

with the following remarks:—

वाजप्यायनदर्शनेन जातिं विशेषणभूतां पदार्थं व्यवस्थाप्य व्याडिदर्शनेन विशेष्यरूपं द्रव्यमपि पदार्थं व्यवस्थापयितुं यथादर्शनं तदेव पर्यायान्तरैरुद्दिशति आत्मेति

and then says

आकृतिद्वारेण चान्ये शब्दा द्रव्ये वर्तन्ते॥

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Bhôja in his Srngâraprakâśa (VI. P.) discussing the denotation of the three terms *Jâti*, *Akrti*, and *vyakti* as used by Gautama in his Nyâya-Sûtras mentions the theories of both Vâjapyâyana and Vyâḍi for the maintenance of *Jâti-Vyakti* conceptions as given by Patanjali and Helarâja, and concludes it in the following words:—

आकृतिरेव पदार्थ इति विन्ध्यवासिमतगन्धीयाः,

where the term *Akrti* means only *samsthâna* or the identical shape and not species or *Jâti* as Mîmâmsakas used it. Bhôja explains the word *Akrti* from a quotation from Nyâyamanjarî:—

तत्राकृतिपदेनेह संस्थानमभिधीयते।
लोके शास्त्रे च दृष्टत्वान्न जातिर्जैमिनीयवत्॥

Thus Bhoja when he mentions Vindhyavâsin means only Vyâḍi whose views he was discussing. Bhoja quotes the following verses under Vyâḍîyâh on the same topic:—

यथा जलादिभिर्व्यक्तं द्रव्यमेवाभिधीयते।
यथा द्रव्यैरभिव्यक्ता जातिरेवाभिधीयते।
यथेन्द्रियगते भेद इन्द्रियग्रहणाद्दते।
इन्द्रियार्थेष्वदृश्ये ऽ पि ज्ञानभेदाय कल्पते॥
विनारूपग्रह.... व्यक्तयस्तथा।
सामान्ये ज्ञानभेदानामुपयान्ति निमित्तताम्॥

इति व्यक्तिरेव शब्दार्थ इति व्याडीयाः।

Śâlikanâtha commenting upon *Akrti* Sûtra (I-3-33) says

अतो "व्यक्तयभिधानी मन्यते" (इति) व्याडिरिति निदर्शितम्

(the words in quotation are of Prabhâkara) while the same व्यक्तिवादी is considered as Vindhyavâsin by Kumârila in his *Akrtivâda*.

Thus in conclusion Vyâḍi or Vindhyavâsin was a Sânkhya writer who flourished before Patanjali.

Since writing the above paragraphs Dr. Bhattacharya's article on Vindhyavâsin published in the Journal of Indian History, April 1927, attracted my attention; where the Learned Doctor rejects the identity of Vyâḍi with Vindhyavâsin probably on the ground of chronology which I am disposed to think is dubious and questionable at every stage. The doctor gives the real name of Vindhyavâsin as Rudrila. Some of the great writers are known by more than one name. Bhavabhûti was called Umbêka, Surêśvara and Viśvarûpa, in different

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stages of his activity. Vyâḍi and Vindhyavâsin may appear to be nicknames of Rudrila. Vyâḍi, a ferocious elephant and Vindhyavâsa, a resident of the Vindhya forest, may after all be applied Rudrila.

Regarding his date, he seems to have flourished in the second or third century before Christ. Dr. Bhattâcharya also supposes that Isvarakṛshna lived later than Vindhyavâsin. Mâṭhara was according to Itsing a contemporary of Asvaghôsha. Isvarakṛshna, whose work was commented on by Mâṭhara, may be assigned to the first century of Christ. Is Isvarakṛishna the same as Jesus Christ? One is tempted to ask it if he reads "*The Unknown life of Jesus Christ*" which relates that Jesus learnt Sânkhya under a brahmin teacher at Jagannatha. Even Suśruta follows Sânkhya doctrines and Vindhyavâsin in his Sânkhya work must have discussed the denotation of Śabdârtha and his views were held in high respect by Patanjali, Bhartṛhari etc.,.

5. BHIKSHU

The commentators on Slokavârtika of Kumârila frequently refer to one Bhikshu as the opponent whose opinions Kumarila is considered to criticise. The identity of Bhikshu will go far towards the elucidation of certain problems in the history of the Nyâyadarśana. Kumbhakarṇa in his Sangîtarâja frequently quotes from Bhikshu and Śâkya-Bhikshu, and the quotations are now traced to Nâgarasarvasva of Padmaśrî, a Buddhist monk. But Bhikshu of Kumârila appears to be Dharmakîrti, who defined *pratyaksha pramâna* in the terms of

प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढमभ्रान्तम्—

and Jayanta Bhaṭṭa criticises the definition and says:—

तस्माद्यत्कल्पनापोढपदं प्रत्यक्षलक्षणे ।
भिक्षुणा पठितं तस्य व्यवच्छेद्यं न विद्यते ॥
अभ्रान्तपदस्यापि व्यावर्त्यं न किंचन तन्मतेन पश्यामः ।
इति सुनिपुणबुध्दिर्लक्षणं वक्तुकामः
पदयुगलमपीदं निर्ममे नानवद्यम् ।
भवतु मतिमहिम्नश्चेष्टितं दृष्टमेत-
ज्जगदभिभवधीरं धीमतो धर्मकीर्तेः ॥

This Bhikshu seems to have written a work called Bahyârthasiddhi. Two references to this work are traceable one in Prakaraṇa-Panchikâ:—

अप्रकाशात्मन एव प्रकाशः संभवतीति बाह्यार्थसिद्धावुक्तम् ।

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The second is found in Jayamiśra's commentary on his father's Slokavârtika. In condemning अपोहवाद the *Purvapaksha* forming the opinion of Dharmakîrti is summarised thus :—

अथ तत्र साधकप्रत्ययेन मिथ्यात्वग्रहणादसत्यत्वमबाधितरूपे तु सत्यत्वमिति विवेको दृश्यते। तदस्मत्पक्षे ऽ पि यत्र नेति प्रत्ययो ऽन्यतरं न भवति तत्र पारम्पर्येण प्रतिबन्धो ऽस्ति। यत्र तु भवति तत्र तु नेति गम्यते। यथोक्तमस्माभिर्बाह्यार्थसिद्धौ—

यथाविधं घटं दृष्ट्वा द्वैतवादी न चेष्टते।
ज्ञात्वा ताथाविधं ज्ञानमद्वैतीकिं न चेष्टते॥
तस्मादयमिति न दोषः। एतेन शब्दापोहो व्याख्यातः।

And then Jayamiśra concludes it:—

इत्यन्यापोहशब्दार्थौ कल्पितौ शाक्यभिक्षुणा।
गतानुगतिकैरन्यैः कष्टं तावनुवर्तितौ॥

Bahyârthasiddhi may be a section of Dharmakîrti's work as it is customary that authors in those days named sections instead of works to facilitate reference.

Anyâpoha theory so ably propounded by Dharmakîrti was attacked by Bhâmaha who criticises also the definition of प्रत्यक्ष as given by Dingnâga. In stating पूर्वपक्ष of Dharmakîrti स्फोट is mentioned as condemned by the Buddhist logician. Bhâmaha refers to Diñgnâga and Dharmakîrti thus:—

प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढं ततो ऽर्थादिति केचन।
कल्पनां नामजात्यादियोजनां प्रतिजानते॥ (Against Diñgnaga)
अन्यापोहेन शब्दार्थमाहेत्यन्ये प्रचक्षते।
अन्यापोहस्य नामान्यपदार्थे विकृतिः किल॥ (Against Dharmakîrti)

Diñgnâga's definition of Pratyaksha given in his Nyâyapravesa may be the aim of Bhâmaha's criticism:—

तत्र प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढं यज्ज्ञानमर्थे रूपादौ नामजात्यादिकल्पनारहितं तदक्षमक्षं प्रतिवर्तत इति प्रत्यक्षम्।

We have elsewhere stated that Râmaśarman, a friend of Dandin and a poet, must have been the author of Achyutôttara referred to by

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Bhâmaha who was an elder contemporary of Dandin. Maskarin, the commentator on Gautama Dharma Sutras calls himself the son of Bhâmaha at the end of his work:—

गौतमीयच्छलेनेदं सर्वस्मृतिनिबन्धनम्।
क्रियते ऽद्य मया भाष्यं सूनुना भामहस्य तु॥

This in conjunction with his attack on the two Buddhist logicians will surely discount the opinion that Bhâmaha was a Buddhist.

6. VIDYARANYA AS A WRITER ON MUSIC

It would be a surprise to scholars that Vidyâraṇya doubly bent upon the Darśanas especially Mimâmsâ and Vedanta should write on music. Of course his activities were multifarious, and in the midst of his ministerial duties it is really no wonder that an inspired genius as his worked also in the fine arts. King Raghunâtha of Tanjore while summarising his authorities for his composition of his Sangita-sudhâ respectfully says:—

संगीतसारं समवेद्य विद्यारण्याभिधश्रीचरणप्रणीतम्।

and again when analysing the *râgas* has the following:—

निरूपिता लक्षणतो विविच्य रागाश्चतुष्षष्टयधिके शते द्वे।
कर्णाटसिंहासनभाग्यविद्यारण्याभिधश्रीचरणाग्रणीभ्यः॥

and closely follows the sage's method. In enumerating the *doshas* in tunes the same author says:

दोषांश्च तेषां प्रवदामि विद्यारण्याभिधश्रीचरणोपदिष्टान्।

again,

स्वरूपमेषामिह लक्षितानां संगीतसारे विशदीकृतं च

and still later on,

चतुर्विधैः श्रीचरणैर्निरुक्तं शारीरमेतत्प्रविभज्य सम्यक्।

The work Sangitasâra was studied throughout South India and was amply quoted by name by Chikkadêvarâya of Mysore in his Bharata-sârasangraha and by Nârâyaṇadeva of Parlâkimidi in his Sangita-nârâyaṇa. Among the quotations by the former a reference to the number of *tânas* reads as follows:—

इत्येकाशीतिसंयुक्तं सहस्राणां चतुष्टयम्।
तानानां पुनरुक्तानां पूर्णापूर्णैः सह क्रमैः॥
लक्षत्रयं सप्तदशसहस्राणि शतानि च।
नवत्रिंशद्युतानीति ज्ञानोपायो ऽत्र कथयते॥

and bears agreement with the enumeration given by Abhinavagupta.

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There is a manuscript in the Maharaja's Library at Bikanir called Sangitasâra which consists of about 160 slokas without its author's name. The work maintains the theory of Nandikeśvara, who, we know from Aumâpata, enumerates 264 ragas. Whether the work is a summary or a fragment of Vidyâraṇya's production has yet to be decided. But some of the points dealt with in it appear to be developments in music attained in the 16th or the 17th century and lacks in the grandeur that we usually find in Vidyâraṇya's works.

7. 'AVANTISUNDARI' IN SVAPNAVĀSAVADATTA

In the first edition of Svapnavâsavadatta on page 59 Vidûshaka says

मा दाणिं भवं अत्ताणं ओहसित्थं कादुं। किन्तु इमस्सिं राजउले अवन्तिसुन्दरी णाम जक्खिणी पडिवसदि ॥

The word *Avantisundari* with its epithet *Yakshini* is curious and may signify, in the opinions of those critics who assign the present form of Svapnavâsavadatta to the Pallava Court, that it must refer to the heroine of Dandin's Avantisundarî-kathâ. In that work a series of stories unveiling their previous births are related and Mandâkinî and Târâvalî are described as Yaksha women who were born on the earth owing to some curse. Both Râjavâhana and Avantisundarî appear to be Yakshas in their earlier births. Dandin seems to conclude his story with the completion of the curse with the incident that Râjavâhana was transformed into a lotus and was washed by the waves of the sea at the feet of God Trivikrama at Mâmallapura where Dandin saw the lotus becoming a divine being at the touch of the God's feet when the curse was over.

Some of the dramas now ascribed to Bhasa seem to be adaptations for the stage in the times of the Pallavas and not in Malabar. 'Râjasimha' at the end of some of the dramas may refer to Râjasimha I, or even Simhavishṇu who was called Râjasimha in an alliterative attribute used by Dandin. Some critics fancy that the presence of Malayalam words in these dramas in the Prakrit portions assign their nativity to Malabar but on a closer examination they find to be Prakrit words imported into all the Dravidian tongues and not in Malayalam alone. Thus these words alone do not prove any forgery in Malabar. It must be said to the credit of Malabar copyists that they never tampered with the originals when they copied any work in whatever condition it was available. We shall speak of Bhasa again in our edition of Sudraka's Vatsarâjacharita promised in the "Dakshiṇabhârati" Series.

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8. SĀNKHYANĀYAKA MĀDHAVA

There is a reference to this Sânkhya writer in Umbeka's commentary on the Slokavârtika of Kumarila. As far as I can gather no other writer has mentioned his name. The context in which Umbeka (=Bhavabhûti) mentions him is as follows:—In the Chodanâ-Sûtra Sabarasvâmin says

"अर्थो ऽनर्थश्चेति । ....कोऽनर्थः....। यः प्रत्यवायायश्येनो वज्रः इषु रित्येवमादिः।....कथं पुनरसावनर्थः हिंसा हि सा"

In this context Kumârila in his Vârtika raises an objection or pûrvapaksha as—

क्वचिदस्या निषिद्धत्वाच्छक्तिः शास्त्रेण बोधिता।
प्रत्यवायनिमित्तत्वे विधिना नापगच्छति॥
शास्त्रेण न हि शक्तीनामभावापोद्वापनक्रियाः।
विद्यमाना हि कर्य्यन्ते शक्तयो द्रव्यकर्मणाम्॥
तथैव चेदं कर्मेति शास्त्रमेवानुधावता।
हिंसादीनामधर्मत्वं कर्य्यते नानुमानतः॥"

Umbeka introduces the above Pûrvapaksha thus—

सांख्यनायकमाधवस्त्वाह विहायानुमानादीन्विधिप्रतिषेधत्वनिबन्धनत्वमेव धर्माधर्मयोरवलम्ब्याग्नीषोमीयादिष्वधर्मतामाह—क्वचिदस्येति—

अयमर्थः—सत्यं विधिप्रतिषेधनिबन्धनावेव धर्माधर्मौ। तौ तु विधिप्रतिषेधौ तयोरिष्टानिष्टशक्तिज्ञापकौ न पुनः कारकौ। ततः किमिति चेदिदं ततो भवति—हिंसा तावदेका व्यक्तिस्त्रैलोक्येऽपि। तस्याश्च क्वचिल्लोके ब्रह्महत्यादिषु 'न हिंस्यात्सर्वभूतानीति प्रतिषेधादनिष्टसाधनत्वशक्तिरवगमिता न च प्रतिहता। सेदानीं विधेयेष्वग्नीषोमीयादिषु हिंसा या विशेषान्नापगच्छति। न हि तेषां विधेयेष्वग्नीषोमीयादिषु ब्रह्महत्या-दिषु वा कश्चिद्विशेषः। तत्र यदि नामाग्नीषोमीयादिषु विधिरपरः प्रतीयते किं तावदपूर्वप्रभिता शक्तिरपगच्छतिरः। तत्र न हि विधेरपगतानिष्टसाधनशक्त्यपगमे कश्चिद्व्यापारः तत्र विधितः श्रेयः साधनत्वावगमात्अतः। सर्वशास्त्रानुसारादेव हिंसादीनामधर्मत्वं कल्प्यते, न पुनरनुमानतः इति स्थितमग्नीषोमीयादिष्वधर्मत्वम्॥

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This is the argument of Mâdhava in dealing with the force of vedic injunction which he seems to accept as only a ज्ञापक and not as कारक and in the apparent inconsistency of विधि and प्रतिषेध the validity of vedic injunction will be thrown out and अनुमान has to be accepted. Kumarila and also Prabhâkara and his pupil answer this objection properly.

Mâdhava with his title Sânkhyanâyaka must be a great Sânkhya writer probably later than Śabarasvâmin. In the catalogue of the Mss. in the Jessalmere Bhandar published in the Gaekwad series of Baroda a doubtful entry has been made of a commentator on Sânkhyasaptati where the initial letter मा alone is given. The learned editors naturally conclude that the letter may indicate माठर a well-known commentator on the same. It will be happy and bold conjecture that the work referred to is a commentary of Mâdhava. A trial at the identity of that manuscript may not be unprofitable for research scholars.

(To be continued)

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CHEEDIVALASA PLATES OF DEVENDRAVARMA

By R. SUBBA RAO, M. A., L. T.

An article on these copper-plates, prepared by Mr. Karri Sambamurti Sastri of Narasannapeta, Ganjam Dt., was read in Telugu before the Telugu academy meetings held at Cocanada on 30th January 1927. It was later on edited in telugu by the same scholar in the Journal of the Academy dated March 1927. It is said that the present set of plates was discovered by a ryot, while digging earth in Cheedivalasa, a hamlet two miles off Narasannapeta. It was secured for the teachers' association, Narasannapeta by the then Deputy Inspector of schools there. At the request of the association, Mr. Sambamurti Sastri edited the same. I am thankful to Mr. Sastri for kindly sending over the plates to the society and for allowing me to edit the same in English in the Society's research Journal. I must also express my gratitude to my friend, Mr. G. V. Sithapati of Parlakimidi for giving me rivised readings of the plates. These readings differ from the original readings of Mr. Sastri in several places.

The present set of plates is three in number. On the first side of the first plate, nothing is written except that a conch-shell, one inch long, is carved out on it. The second side of the third plate contains only three lines of subject-matter relating to the inscription. One inch below the same is carved out a lotus creeper containing a flower and two buds on either side of it. The flower as well as the buds have long stems of over an inch. The second side of the first plate contains nine lines, while the two sides of the second plate and the first side of the third plate contain ten lines each.

Each plate measures nine inches in length, three and half inches in width and one-fourth of an inch in thickness. At a distance of an inch from the edge of each plate, there is a hole three-fourths of an inch in diameter through which runs a copper ring. The ring holding the plates is half an inch thick and 15 inches in circumference. Its diameter measures 5 inches. The two ends of the ring are soldered into a circular seal which is three-fourths inch thick, three-inches in diameter, and eight inches in circumference. The lowest part of the seal contains a lotus flower with its long stem and on it is fixed a seat and on the seat lies a couchant bull facing proper left. At the topmost part of the seal, there is a crescent and below it the legend 'Sri Devendravarma, inscribed in old Devanagari characters. The seal and the various figures found on it seem to be cast.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, but the village names are all in old telugu language. The ring with seal weighs

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62½ tolas and the three copperplates together weigh 157½ tolas. Thus, the total set weighs 220 tolas. The rims of the plates and of the seal are raised so as to keep the writing and the figures intact.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit but the village names are all in old telugu. The use of the prakrit word 'Samvachchhara' is significant. The inscription contains eight anushtubh slokas, one indravraja vritta and one viyogini vritta. The rest is in prose. The subject matter of the inscription seems to be composed, by Mudhapa, though it is stated that he is only the scribe. It would appear from the inscription that it was examined by two scholars Bhatta Srîdhara and Bhatta Yazu. However, the defects which are usually found in mediaeval Sanscrit inscriptions are also found in this, as, for example, the use of 'visarga' and 'dvittva' in places where it ought to be found is not to be found and also the 'samdhi' rules are not observed in the 'gadya' portion.

The writing on the plates is in a good state of preservation, though in some portions of the plates we see some traces of old writing superimposed by new matter. The alphabet used is old Devanagari. The chief points that call for orthographical notice are the following. 1. No difference is observed between a and â, e and ai, da and ḍa, va and ba, ca and ta, la and ḷa, etc.

2. Vowels like u i, e ai and au do not occur independently and separately.

3. The doubling of consonants is not done in several places.

4. The letters pa, ya and sa resemble one another closely.

5. The guttural nasal is used instead of anusvara.

6. The use of lingual for palatal nasal as in manjari, puṇja etc., is seen.

DATE

The date of the inscription is given in lines 40 and 41 both in words and numbers. It is "pravardhamana vijaya rajya samvacharanam sata traya saptadhika navati" ankenapi 397, Evidently, this refers to the 397th year of the Gangeya era. Please read the note on the same at the end of the article.

THE GRANT

The present grant is very important for the following reasons:—

1. It is the longest grant yet discovered of the early eastern Ganga kings consisting of 42 lines.

2. It gives the pedigree of the early Ganga line to four generations unlike the other records.

3. It is the only record discovered so far in which we get gifts made by early Gangas to Vanga or Bengal brahmins.

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4. It is so far the latest record of the early Ganga dynasty discovered. The donor's father unlike the donors of earlier grants possesses titles like Maharadhiraja Paramesvara and Parama Mahesvara which prove his paramount supremacy. Such titles were taken for the first time in the Eastern Chalukya dynasty by Vijayaditya, the second (800-843, A.D.)

The inscription records a grant of Sividi—Pradesa in the village of Kandalivâda, made by Bhupendravarma's son Sree Devendra varma on the occasion of the solar eclipse to the villagers of Sipidi by name Aditya bhatta, Yajubhatta and Sendidevabhatta, etc, who were of Vanga country (Bengal) and who were of Bhâradvâja gotra and who were eager in performing sacrifices and reciting Vedas.

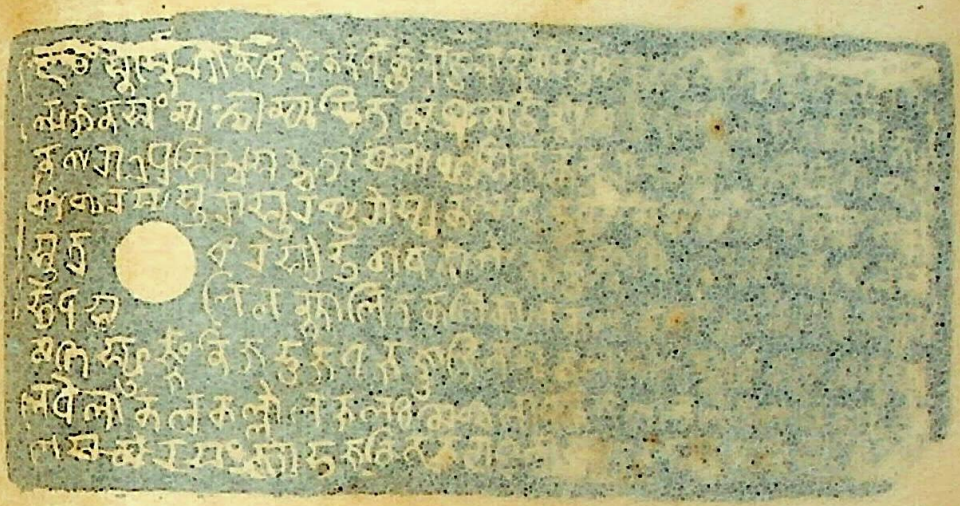
Among the boundaries of the Village granted, we get the following names of the villages:—In the N. E. quarter Sividi, Bhâdivâda and Kandalivâda; in the N and N. W. quarter, Sividi, and in the western region, Nâpitavâda, Kôlampari and Kandalivâda.

The donees seem to be brahmins of Bengal who probably settled in Sividi and got the Royal help. The village of Sipidi or Sividi which was granted probably became Seedi or Cheedi, (present Cheedivalasa) where these plates were discovered. Some of the Kalinga brahmins have got gôtrams and names ending in Bhatta and it is possible that they are the descendants of the ancient donees.

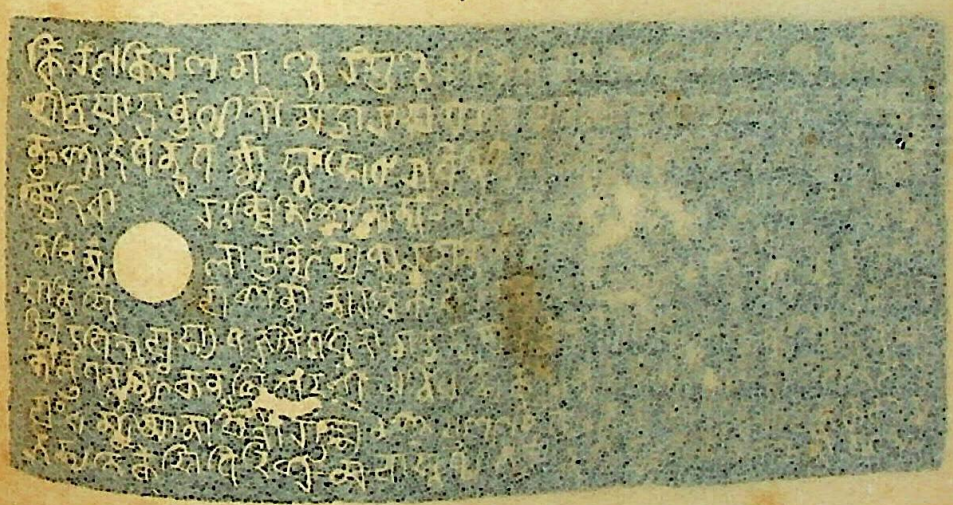
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First plate, First side



First plate, Second side



Second plate, First side

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4. It is not for the latest record of the early Ganga dynasty discovered. The donors father unlike the donors of earlier grants possesses titles like Maharadhiraja Paramesvara and Parama Maheswara which prove his paramount supremacy. Such titles were taken for the first time in the Eastern Chalukya dynasty by Vijayaditya, the second (661-682, A.D.)

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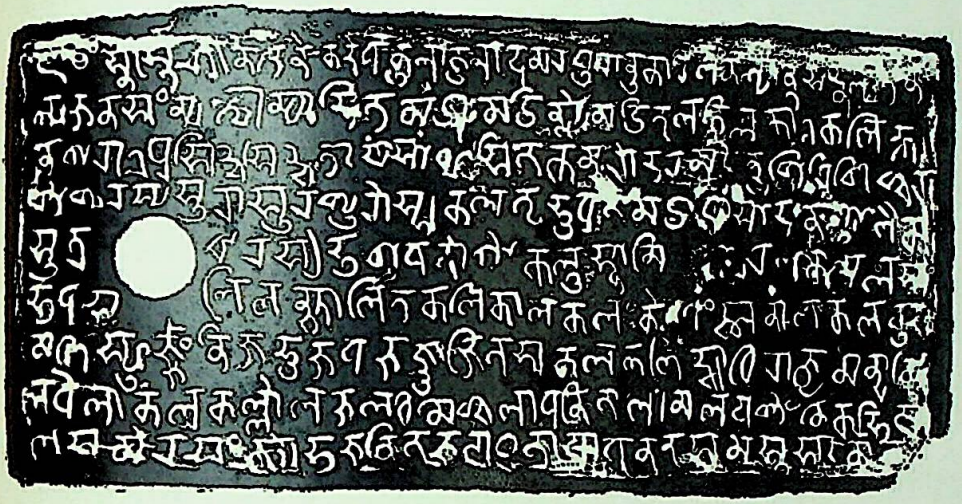
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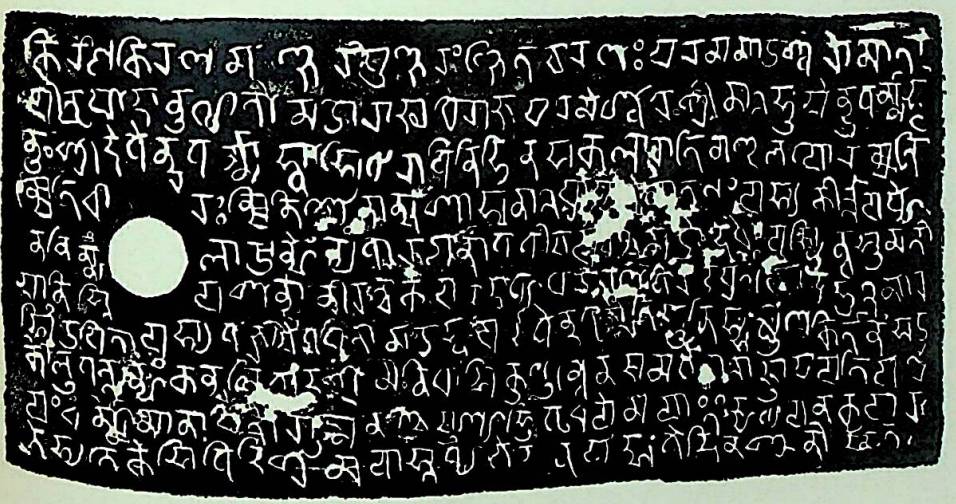
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First plate, First side



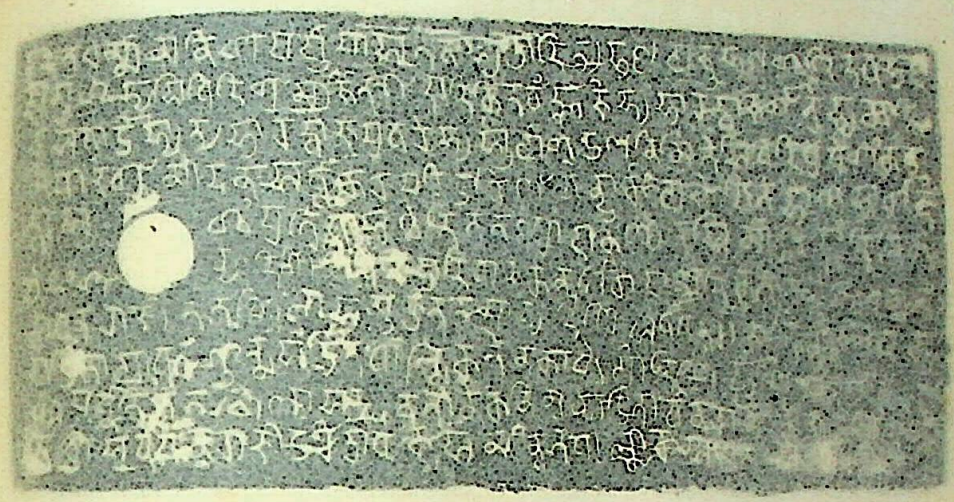
First plate, Second side



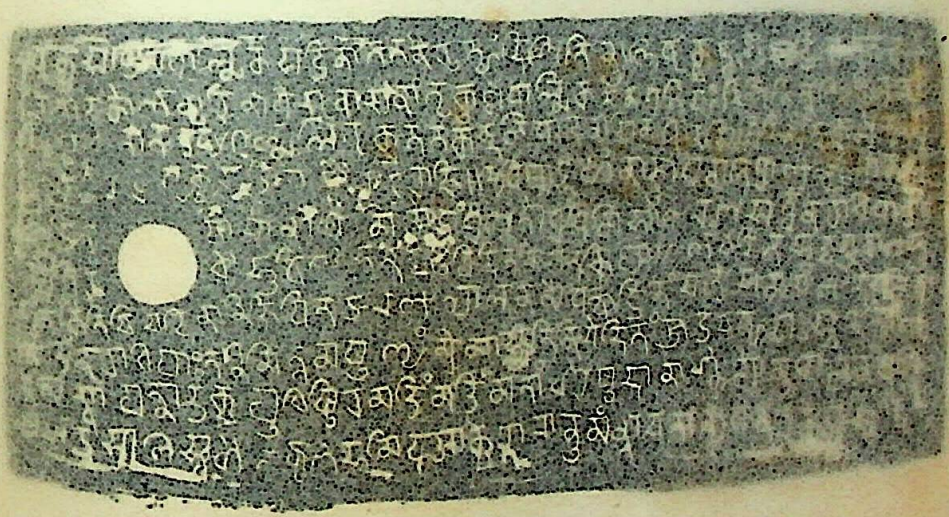
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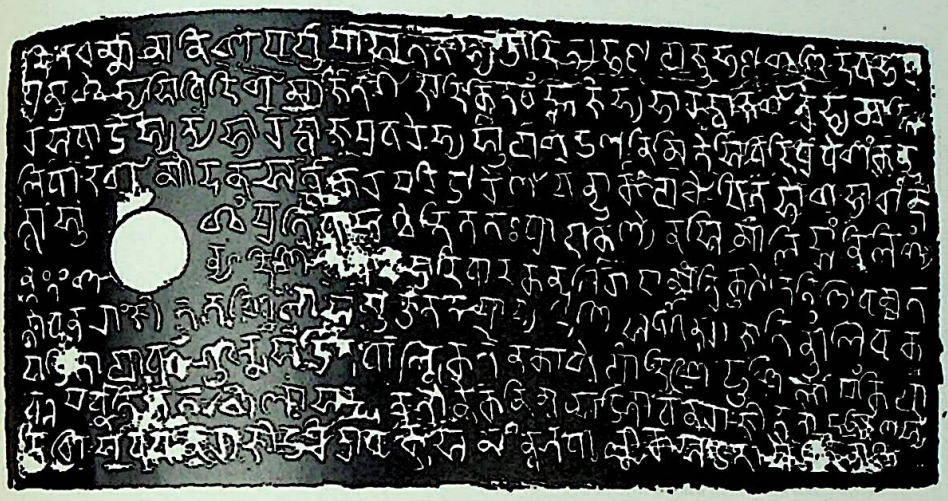
Second plate, Second side



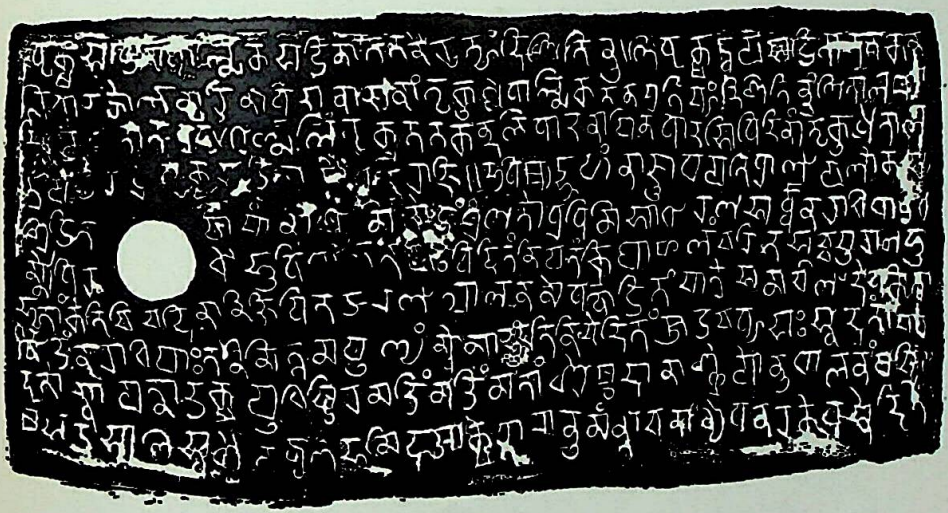
Third plate, First side

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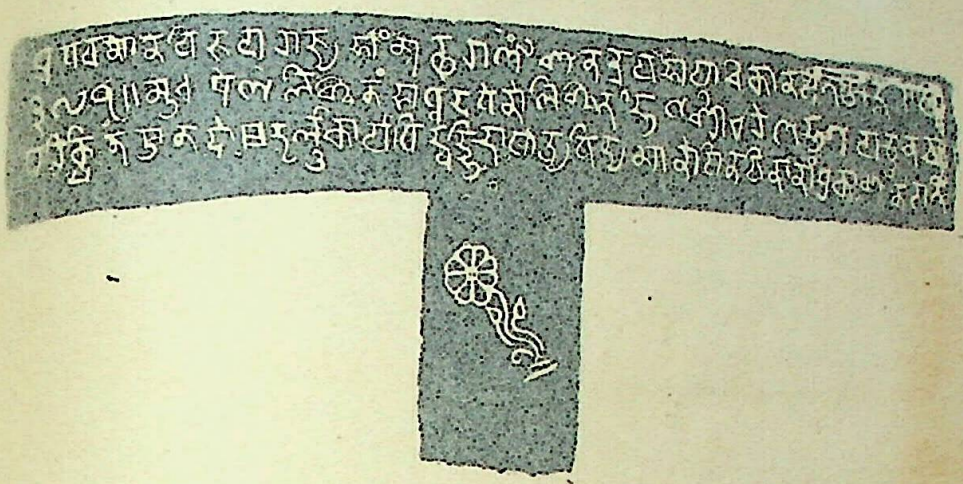
Second plate, Second side



Third plate, First side

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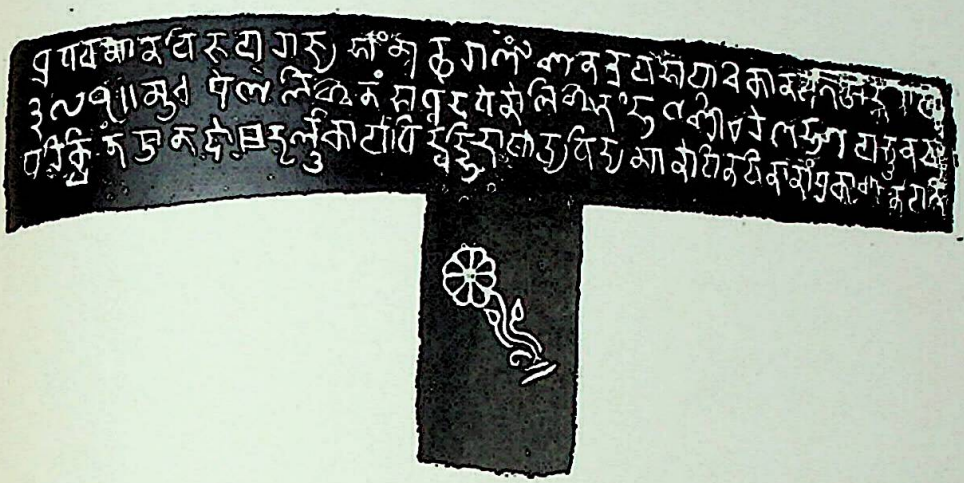
Third plate, Second side



Seal

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Third plate, Second side



Seal

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TEXT

First Plate, First side.

It contains no letters but the figure of a conch-shell, nearly one inch long, is inscribed on it.

First plate, second side.

1. Om svasti srîmadanêka dêvakulakulâd amarapurânukarinâ[1]
   kalpânta sankalpitâna-
2. -lpa jana sam[2]râjya môhita mahâmahimnômahitala[3] tilakât
   kaliñga
3. nagarât prasiddha siddha tâpasâdhyâsita kandarôdara mahêndra
   girisikhara
4. sêkharasya surâsura gurôs sakala t[4]rubhuvanamahâprasâda
   nirmâṇaika
5. sûtradhârasya bhagavatôgôkarnasvâmi(nas ca)ranakamala sam
6. bhava salilakshâlita kalikâla kalaṁko gangâmalakula cu(ḍa)[5]
7. -maṇi sphuriam[6] nijabhuja vaja[7] bhrâjita sakalakaliṁgâdhi râjya
   maṁdâni
8. -la vêlâkula kallôla jaladhi mêghalâ vanitalâmala yasônêka
   bhisa[8]
9. -ṇa samara saṁkshobha janita jayapratâpâvanata samasta
   sâma(nta)

Second plate first side.

10. kiritta[9] kirana manjari puṇja raṇjita caraṇah parama mâhesvaro
    mâtâ
11. pitru[10] pâdânudhyâtô mahârâjâdhirâja paramêsvara srîmad
    bhupêndra[11] varmma su-
12. -nuh srî Dêvêndra varmma svâsidârâ vinibhina[12] sakalârâti
    maṇḍala[13]yô rakshiti
13. kshitidhîrah[14] kshitsô[15] nânya sâsanat prâp(ta vela)tata yasya
    kirtaya[16] phê
14. -na nirmalâ anyônyam vârayantiva vicayasca mahodadhih
    yasmin vasumati

1. Read 'kârinah' 2. Read 'sâm' 3. Read 'mahitala' 4. Read 'tribhuvana' 5. Read 'cuḍâ' 6. Read 'sphûrjam' 7. Read 'vajra' 8. Read 'bhîsha' 9. Read 'kirîta' 10. Read 'pitru' 11. Read 'bhupêndra' 12. Read 'vinirbhinna' 13. Read 'mandalah' 14. Read 'shitim' 15 Read 'kshitiso' 16. Read 'kirtayah

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15. pâti stêya sabdô nirardhaka(h) paradravyâpaharaṇa viraha(h) pratyayâd abhutta Mâra

16. simha pitâ yasya Vajrî caiva pitâmaha svayam Dêvêndra varmêti sutis[1] sadguna kirtanam[2] saha

17. kôluvarttanyâm kandalivâda grâma nivâsi kutumbina[3] samavêtan âjnâpayati yathâ

18. -yam dharmô mâtâ pitrôr atmanas ca punyâbhi vrudhayê[4] mayâ ijyadhyayana kruyârâ[5]

19. tebhyâte[6] kê sipidi grâma vâstavyâ[7] vêda vedânga vêdina [8] sruti smṛt(yu)

Second plate, second side.

20. -ditam dharma manisam paryupâsat têbhya[9] âditya bhaṭṭa yajñubhaṭṭa khandidêva bhaṭṭa

21. pramukhêbhya[10] sividi grâmârjita gôjâ dîkshita vañgajêbhya[11] bharadvâja gôtrêbhya angi

22. -rasa bârhaspatya bhâradvaja pravarêbhya[12] sûryagrahaṇa nimittê sividi pravêsam[13] kanda

23. -livâda grâmô data[14] sarvakara parihârêṇâ candrârkam yathôcita bhôga bhâgam da

24. ttvâ sukham prativasathêti tatah prâdâkshinyêna simâ[15] linkhani likhyam[16]

25. -nte isânyadisi sividi bhâdivâdakandalivâḍâṇam trikuṭê tintrini vrksha[17] ta

26. -tôta vana râji[18] tatas silâ samudra[19] tata[20] prâcyadisi saiva vanaraji tintrîni[21] vṛksha

27. sahitâ yâvad gulma sahitâ vâlmika[22] tata agnêyô disi bhusita[23] pamkti yâ

28. vat parvvati tata[24] silâ sangha[25] tatô nêka nimba sahitâ vanaraji tatô dakshiṇasyâm

29. disi saiva vanaraji haridrâ vṛksha samanvita vâlmika sahitâ (saiva) tintrîni[26]

1. Read 'sûtis' 2. Read 'kîrtanam' 3. Read 'kutumbinah' 4. Read 'vṛdhayê' 5. Read 'kriyârâ' 6. Read 'têbhyah' 7. Read 'vâstavyah' 8. Read 'vêdinah' 9. Read 'têbhyah' 10. Read 'pramukhêbhyah' 11. Read 'vanga' 12 Read 'pravarêbhyah' 13. Read 'pradêsam' 14. Read 'dattah' 15. Read 'sîmâ' 16. Read 'likhya' 17. Read 'vṛkshah' 18. Read 'râji' 19. Read 'samudrah' 20. Read 'tatah' 21. Read 'tintriṇi' 22. Read 'vâlmikah' 23. Read 'bhûsilâ pañktih' 24. Read 'tatah' 25. Read 'sañghah' 26. Read 'tintriṇi'

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Third plate, first side.

30. vṛksha sahita vâlmîka sahitâ tata(h) nirutyâm disi tintriṇi vṛksha dvaya sahitâ tata kanda

31. -livâḍa khôlampari nâpidâvâdânaṁ[1] trukuṭṭe vâlmîka[2] tata[3] praticyâṁ[4] disi tintrîni tâla pa

32. -nkti (sahita) tata śâlmali vrksha tata kandalivâda nâpita vâda sipidinâṁ trukuṭṭe[5] tâla

33. -traya (haridra) vrksha sahitâ saiva vana râji bhavishyad bhupan âjnâpayati prânâya lôkasya

34. grihita[6] câpâṁ nâgâminô ham praṇatô bravîmi sâdhârana[7] sarvvanarâdhipânam dha

35. -rmô virudhô bhuvi(pâlanîyôh) viditam niyatam kriyâ phalam carita(m) sacca purâṇa bhû

36. bhrtâm katicicdi[8] nâ niji pitaharaṇât pâlanamêvavôhitaṁ pâtrê samarpanâdêvakritâ[9]

37. -rdhô ham narâdhipâh tanimitta[10] ma punyaṁ vi mâbhudîti niveditam âha ca vyâsah svadatam[11] para

38. datamvâ[12] yatnâd raksha yudhisthira mamiṁ mahiṁ matâṁ srêshṭha dânâscrêyônu[13] pâlanam shashṭhi

39. (var)sha sahasrâṇi svargê tishthati bhumida âkshêptâ câ numantâ ca tânyêva narakê vasêditi

Third plate, second side.

40. Pravardhamâna vijaya râjya samvacharânâm[14] satatraya saptâdhikâ navati ankenâpi

41. 397-muḍhapêṇa likhitam savvadapênô[15] likhitam bhata[16] srî dharêṇa bhata yajnêna câ

42. parikshitam ata[17]dôsha trunnîkâryâ vidvadbhi dôsôdr[18]ya vidya mânâpita catânam prakâsatayati

1. Read 'nâpita' 2. Read 'vâlmikah' 3. Read 'tatah' 4. Read 'pratîcyam.' 5. Read 'trikuṭê' 6. Read 'gṛhîta' 7. Read 'sâdhâranah' 8. Read 'katicicadi' 9. Read 'krutâ' 10. Read 'tannimitta' 11. Read 'svadattam' 12. Read 'dattam' 13. Read 'dânâchchrê' 14. Read 'samvatsarâṇâm' 15. Read 'savvadapênô' 16. Read 'bhaṭṭa' 17. Read 'atra' 18. Read 'dôshô'

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BRIEF ABSTRACT OF THE CONTENTS

Lines 1–18:—Om. Hail! from Kalinganagara, which is filled with many temples of great prosperity, which is equal to Amarapura (in glory), whose great power is enchanted by the great sovereignty created at the end of kalpa, which is the jewel of earth, he, who has had the stains of the Kali age removed by waters arising out of washing of the feet of Divine (God) Gokarnasvami, who is the śilpâcârya or the master architect of the three worlds, who is the Guru of the Dêvas and the Asuras, and who is the crest jewel of the summit of the mountain Mahêndragiri, whose caves are the abodes of illustrious Siddhâs and Tâpasas, who is the crowning diamond of the Ganga dynasty, who enjoys 'Kalingadhirajyam' protected by his bright shoulders resembling diamonds, he, whose pure fame has spread over all the earth, surrounded by sea, the coastal waves of which are caused by cool breezes, and he whose feet are brightened by the lustre of diamonds in the crowns of all vassal kings who are subdued by the power arising out of victories in several battles, he, who is a most devout worshipper of the god Mahesvara, who meditates on the feet of his mother and father, who is a Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêsvara-Sri Dêvêndravarma, son of the illustrious Bhûpêndravarma, whose father is Mârasimha and grandfather Vajri (Indravarma) whose reign has not witnessed a single theft, whose white fame resembling foam and spreading to the coast of the great sea is rivalling the waves, and whose unexampled command rules all the earth, his sword having cut down all enemies,—commands all the assembled cultivators of Kandalivâda village in Kôluvartani vishaya.

Lines 18–23:—Know ye all that this gift is made for the increase of the merit of myself and my parents. This grant of Sividi in Kandalivâda village is made by me on the occasion of solar eclipse to Adityabhatta, Yajubhatta, Sendidevarabhatta and others, who are of Bengal and who observe Gôjadîksha in Sividi village, who are of Bhâradvaja gotra with Āngirasa, Bârhaspatya and Bhâradvâja pravara, who are eager in performing sacrifices and studying Vedas, who are residents of Sividi village, who are well versed in Vedas and Vedangas and who always practise Dharma as described in Śrutis and Smritis.

Lines 23–24:—Let this gift, which is granted free from all taxes and obstacles, be enjoyed so long as moon and sun endure, with all the usual rights and shares.

Lines 24–33:—Then follow the boundaries of the village granted viz., Sividi.

Lines 33–37:—Then follow three verses which request future rulers not to interfere with the gift.

Lines 37–39:—Then follow the two usual verses of Vyasa.

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Line 40:—This grant is made in the augmenting victorious year 397.

Lines 41–42:—Written (composed) by Mudhapa, inscribed by Savvadapa, and examined by Bhatta Sridhara and Bhatta Yaju.

A NOTE OF THE GANGEYA ERA

So far, 18 copper plate inscriptions of the early Ganga kings have been published and with this grant, the list reaches 19. The impressions of one more unpublished copper plate grant of Maharaja Mânanda varma, son of Anantavarma dated in the 100th year of Gageya era Pravardhamâna Vijayarajya Samvachchara Śatê have just been received from the Yubraj of Tekkali, Sree L. N. Deb, M. R. A. S., From a critical examination of the several inscriptions, we get the following list (arranged in order of date) of early Ganga kings who ruled over Kalinga:—

1. Hasti-varma of Urlam plates, who granted the village of Urumalla in the 80th year of the Gangeya era.

2. Indravarma (Rajasimha) of Achyutapuram plates and Tekkali plates both dated in the 87th year and of Parlakimidi plates dated in the 91st year of the Gangeya era.

3. Mânandavarma, son of Anantavarma of Tekkali plates dated in the 100th year of the Gangeya era.

4. Indravarma of Kalinga plates (two sets found in Chicacole) dated in the 128th and 136th years respectively.

5. Danarnava's son Indravarma of Purli plates and Tekkali plates dated in the years 137 and 154 respectively.

6. Gunaranava's son, Devendravarma of Chicacole and Siddhantam plates dated in the 183 and 195 years respectively.

7. Devendravarma's son Anantavarma, who in the 204th year of the Gangeya era gave Thalathere to a vedic scholar at the instance of his brother Jayavarma.

8. Anantavarma's son, Devendravarma of Kalinga plates and Vizag plates dated in the 251st and 254th years respectively.

9. Rajendravarma's son, Anantavarma of Alamanda plates dated in the 304th year of the Gangeya era.

10. Rajendravarma's son, Devendravarma of Tekkali plates dated in the 308th year and of Bangalore Museum plates "dated probably 700 A.D." (vide Ep. Carnataka, Bangalore volume).

11. Devendravarma's son, Rajendravarma of 342nd year of the Gangeya era. (vide J. B. O. R. S., vol. 12 page 101)

12. Devendravarma's son, Satyavarma of Chicacole plates dated in the 352nd year of Gangeya era.

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13. Bhupendravarma's son, Devendravarma of Cheedivalasa plates dated in 397th year of Gangeya era.

Hence, the following genealogy may be arranged:—

Hastivarma (80th year)

Indravarma (Rajasimha) (87th and 91st years.)

Anantavarma

His son, Manandavarma, (100th year)

Danarnava

His son, Indravarma, (128, 136, 137 and 154th years)

Gunarnava

His son, Devendravarma, (183rd and 195th years)

Jayavarma — Anantavarma (204th year)

His son, Devendravarma (251st and 254)

Rajendravarma

Anantavarma (304th year) — Devendravarma (308th year)

Rajendravarma (342nd year) — Satyavarma (351 yr.)

(Indravarma) Vajri

Narasimha

Bhupendravarma

Devendravarma (397th year)

(All the years belong to Gangeya Era)

E. GANGA CHRONOLOGY

The chronology of the Early Gangas presents insurmountable difficulty. Scholars have suggested already several dates for the beginning of the Gangeya Era. An unknown writer who edited Hastivarma's Urlam plates in Andhra Patrika Ugadi Sanchika dated May 1920, stated that Hastivarma of the Urlam plates must be the same as the Hastivarma of Vengi, who was defeated by Samudragupta. He also stated that Hastivarma of Urlam plates lived in 340 A.D. Further, since Hastivarma of Urlam plates has mentioned

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80th year of the Gangeya era, he wrote, that date would synchronise with Samudragupta's invasion about 350 A.D. Finally, he concluded by writing that about 270 A.D. (350—80), the Gangeya era was started. But, the writer's arguments are open to serious objection because, the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta expressly states that it was Hastivarma of Vengi and not Hastivarma of Kalinganagara that was defeated by him. It must also be remembered that the Hastivarma of Vengi was a Salankayana, while the Hastivarma of the Urlam plates was a Gangâmalakulatilaka. Hence, Hastivarma of Urlam plates cannot be the same as Hastivarma of Vengi and so he cannot be held to be a contemporary of Samudragupta. Thus, the writer's argument that the 80th year of the Gangeya era would be equaivalent to 270 A.D. falls to the ground.

In an article, on the chronology of the Early Ganga kings of Kalinga, published in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa research society (Vol. IX) dated 1923 by my friend Mr. G. Ramdas B.A., the theories put forward by Dr. Fleet to settle the epoch of the Gangeya era, (Vide Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI) were closely examined. In editing the Parlakimidi plates of Maharajah Indravarma, Dr. Fleet stated that *the Epoch of the Gangeya era still remained to be determined.* However, while previously publishing the Chicacole grants, Dr. Fleet stated that the clue to the date might perhaps be found in the mention of the eclipse of the moon in Indravarma's grant of the 128th year. Also, he stated that the Indravarma of the grant of 128th year might possibly be identical with the Adhirajendra who otherthrew Indrabhattaraka, a younger brother of the Eastern Chalukyan king Jayasimha I (A.D., 633–666) Mr. Ramadas availed himself of the clues supplied by Dr. Fleet but after a detailed astronomical calculation, stated that the years suggested by Dr. Fleet to determine the beginning of the Kalinga Ganga Era would not stand the test and that Indravarma of 128th year could not be identified with Adhiraja Indra' mentioned in the Godavari Grant of Raja Prithvimula.

Mr. Ramdas stated that, from the use of the phrase "Vijaya râjyasamvatsara" found in all the Ganga grants, the Vijayam or the victory alluded to, signified the independence of Kalinga, from out of the hands of the Pishtapura kings, who formerly ruled over Kalinga but who were defeated by Samudragupta about the middle of the fourth century A.D. He has also instituted a comparison between the characters of the plates of Early Gangas and those of the plates of Guptas and opined that the initial year of the Kalinga era should be placed between the years 330 and 400 A.D. Further, he has stated thus:—"Since the exploits of Samudragupta belonged to this period and since he defeated Swâmidatta, Kalinga might have passed under his control and then he must have shown mercy by placing one of his followers on the throne of the conquered country, namely. Kalinga".

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This follower according to him was a Ganga prince who out of gratitude must have founded the Ganga era. Further he added "Taking the 351st year of Gangeya Era to be the last year of Satyavarma's reign, Kamarnava I (founder of later Gangeyas) seems to have ascended the throne 351 years after the founding of the era.....It is seen that Kamarnava I came to throne in Saka 651. So, the earliest date that can be allotted to the founding of the Era is Saka 300 or A.D. 378". This falls within Saka 251—301, the dates of Samudraguptas accession and death respectively.

Finally by a series of astronomical calculations, based on the solar and lunar eclipses mentioned in Ganga grants he came to the conclusion that the Saka year 271 or A. D. 349 would be the year when the Gangeya era was initiated.

The above conclusions of my friend do not bear the test of time, owing to the discovery of the Cheedivalasa grant of Devendravarma which is dated in the 397th year of the Gangeya era. If, according to my friend, the Gangeya era was founded in Saka 271, Devendravarma of the present grant would have ruled in the Saka year 668 or A.D., 746 i. e. 17 years after Kamarnava's accession to the throne of later Ganga dynasty according to my friend's calculation. and 23 years according to other calculation.

In other words, the donor of the Cheedivalasa grant and Kamarnava the first, the founder of the later Ganga line would not only be contemporaries, but would also rule from the same place viz. Kalinganagara. This would be hard to accept. Under the circumstances, it must be said that the era could not be founded in 271 Saka as stated by my friend. From a study of the Palaeography, the alphabet of the grants of the early Ganga kings cannot be held to belong to such an early date, as is suggested by the chronology of my friend. Also, the internal evidence of the several grants precludes us from accepting the arguments of Mr. Ramdas that the Eastern Gangas were placed on the throne by the Gupta Emperor, Samudra Gupta. Not only do they fail to tell us the same but they also proclaim that the Early Ganga kings established their power over Kalinga by their own prowess. Further, it must be noted that the Gupta era was not at all recognised but on the other hand the "Augmenting Victorious Gangeya era" was started just like the "Augmenting Victorious Gupta era." If the Gangas had been placed on the Kalinga throne by Samudra Gupta, they would have adopted the Gupta era dating from 319—320 A.D., and they would not have ventured to start an independent era of their own. As would be pointed out in this article, the Eastern Ganga kings started their era only after the decline and fall of the Imperial Guptas in the latter half of the fifth century.

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Synchronisms help us in fixing dates. Prithvimula's Godavary plates tell us that Adhirajendra of the N. E. region defeated the Indrabhattaraka of the S. W. region. This Indrabhattaraka is identified with the younger brother of Jayasimha (933—666 A.D.) by Drs. Fleet and Burgess. If this is correct, then Adhiraja-Indra of 87th and 91st years of the Gangeya era would be contemporary of the Eastern Chalukya Indrabhattaraka of 667 A.D. Several Eastern Chalukyan grants mention that he succeded Jayasimha and ruled for a week only. Adhiraja Indra would thus live in or about 667 A.D. It must follow on this hypothesis, that the Devendravarma who made the Cheedivalasa grant would live in the latter half of the 10th century A.D., a position which is inconsistent with the accepted chronology of the later Gangas as given in their grants. Hence, we will have to look for Indrabhattaraka in a different dynasty viz. Vishnukundin which ruled over South Kalinga and Vengi in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D.

From the Ipur plates (two sets) Ramathirtham plates and Chikkulla plates, we get the following geneology of Vishnukundin kings:—

Mâdhava I (Founder-probably ruled about 400 A.D.)
|
Dêvavarma
|
Mâdhavavarma II (Donor of Ipur plates, 1st set)
|
Gôvindavarma
|
Mâdhavavarma III (Donor of Ipur plates, 2nd set 37th year)
|
Vikramêndravarma I (Born to a Vakataka queen)
|
Indrabhattâraka, or Indravarma
| (Donor of Ramathirtham plates 27th year
| Probably ruled from 525 A.D. to 555 A.D.)
Vikramêndravarma II (Donor of Chikkulla plates) 10th year.

The Indrabhattaraka or Indravarma of Ramathirtham plates gave a gift of Pêruvataka Village, in Pazhaki vishaya which is also mentioned in the Chipurupalli or Cherupuru copper plate grant of Kubja Vishnuvardhana, founder of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty (615 A.D.) It is situated in the Vizag Dt. Thus Indra-Bhattaraka may be said to have been defeated by Adhirajendravarma of Kalinga. Prithvimula, son of Prabhakara in his Godavari plates mentions that an alliance was formed by Adhirajendra against Indrabhattaraka, whose elephant Kumuda (of S. W. Region) was struck down by Indra-Adhiraja who was mounted on his own elephant, Supratika (of the N. E. Region). The Ramatirtham plates tell us that Indrabhattâraka

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won several victories against the Chaturdantis (Airavatas or elephants of the eastern region.) Evidently, the Vishnukundins and the Eastern Gangas were fighting for the control over South Kalinga.

Before the Eastern Chalukyans established their power over Vengi and Kalinga in the beginning of the 7th century A.D., the Vishnukundins ruled over Vengi and South Kalinga, North Kalinga being under the rule of the Eastern Gangas. These Vishnukundin kings ruled for a little over two centuries. Their grants are written in southern alphabet, closely resembling those of the Pallavas, Salankayanas and the Early Gangas. The language of all their plates is Sanskrit, with Prakrit and a little Telugu mixture. The scribes of the grants seem to be Telugu scholars. From the Ramatirtham plates, we learn that their rule extended first over South Kalinga (modern Vizag) and then spread southwards over Vengi, as proved by the grant made in the Chikkulla plates, from their capital Lenduluru near Ellore. They were the worshippers of Sriparvatesvara, performers of Horse sacrifices and relations of the Vâkatakas, who were related to the Guptas. They seem to be a Northern people who gradually spread to the south along the east coast and ruled over South Kalinga and Vengi in the 5th and 6th centuries, until their dynasty was overthrown by the Eastern Chalukyan Emperor Vishnuvardhana I, who established his strong rule over both Vengi and South Kalinga and ruled between 615 and 633 A.D.

The archaic script of the early grants which resembles that of the Pallava and Salankayana grants, the use of prakrit words and other internal evidences enable us to conclude that the earlier grants (Ipur plates, 1st set) belong to 450 A.D., or thereabouts. While editing the Peda-vegi plates of Nandivarma II in the Society's Journal (Vol. I Pt 21. pp 92–102) I stated on page 95, that Vikramendravarma or his father Madhavavarma defeated the Salankayanas and overthrew their dynasty. It is probable that Madhavavarma who married a Vâkataka princess and obtained the support of the Vâkatakas overthrew the Salankayanas of Vengi and set up Visnukundin rule over that region also, about 475 A.D. His claim to the performance of horse sacrifices can thus be understood. It is equally probable that this southern advance was found necessary owing to the increased power of the Eastern Gangas in the north. It is significant that they changed their capital from Puranisangam—probably in Vizag Dt., to Lenduluru, modern Dendulur near Ellore.

Now, taking 400 A.D., as the closing date of the founder Madhavavarma I and granting an average of 25 years as the period of rule for every succeeding king, we get 525 A.D., as the date for the accession of Indrabhattaraka the donor of Ramatirtham plates. It must be during this king's reign, as noted already, that the Eastern Ganga king, Adhirajendra or Indravarma Rajrsimha of Kalinganagara

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of the 87th and 91st year of the Gangeya era formed a powerful alliance of the neighbouring princes and defeated Indrabhattaraka and wrested South Kalinga from out of his hands. I cannot agree with my friend Mr. G. J. Dubreuil who holds (vide his Ancient History of Dekkan) that the victory lay with the Vishnukundin king for the following two reasons:—

1. It is against the express statement made in the grant of Prithvimula.

2. It is not in consonance with the increasingly victorious rule of the E. Gangas as proved by their grant.

The Adhirajendra or Indravarma Rajasimha of the years 87 and 91 of the Gangeya era is not the same in my opinion as the Indravarma of Chicacole grants of 128 and 146 years. According to the former grants, the king acquired authority "Adhiraj" over the whole of Kalinga by the power of his sword. He calls himself 'the est blisher of the spotless family of the Gangas.' He hears the title 'Rajasimha' which is not borne by the Indra of 128 and 149 years. Probably, the latter Indra was the grandson of the former.

This Indravarma, of the Parlakimidi plates, of the 91st year of the augmenting victorious Gangeya era, judged from the internal evidence of his own grants and from the external evidence of Prithvimula's charter should be considered as the contemporary of Indrabhattaraka Vishnukundin who, as noted above, succeded to the throne about 525 A.D., and ruled for about 30 years i.e., till 555 A.D. This period therefore roughly corresponds to the reign of Indravarma I and it follows that the Gangeya era of the 91st year was started during the middle of the 5th century, i.e., in 450 or 460 A.D.

The Pedavêgi copper plates of Nandivarma II (Vide facsimile of plates in this Journal Vol. I, Pt. 2, facing page, 94) which probably belong to the middle of the 5th century A.D., were written in the early Vengi lipi, while the Urlam plates of Hastivarma (vide facsimile in Andhra Patrika Ugadi Sanchika May 1920 or in Epigraphia Indica vol. XII) are clearly later in time, though they too are written in the Vengi Lipi. The characters of the Urlam plates are more rounded, showing that they are of a later period. From a consideration of the palaeography, about a century must have elapsed for admitting this change in the lipi. The Urlam plates belong, on Palaeographical grounds, to about the middle of the 6th century A.D., Drs. Burnell and Fleet and other learned scholars state that the lipi of the several inscriptions of Vishnuvardhana I (615–633 A.D.) resembles closely the lipi of the grants of Indravarma II and Devendravarma of the 183 year of the Gangeya era. This would also support the theory that the era commenced about the middle of the 5th century A.D.

Dr. Burgess, in his volume on Tamil and Sanscrit inscriptions states that the Indravarma of 128th year of the Gangeya era may

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possibly be identified with the Adhirâjendra mentioned in the Godaveri grant of Raja Prithvimula and thinks that he killed the Eastern Chalukyan Indrabhattaraka, the younger brother of Jayasimha who according to him, ruled from Saka 549–582. "This is the period about which the present grant (of Indravarma of the 128th year) and the next two grants (of Indravarma of 146 year and Devendravarma of 251st year) on Palaeographic grounds should be referred." He also states that, on historical as well as on Palaeographical grounds, Indravarma of 136th year should be referred to about Saka 579–582 i.e., A.D. 657–660 and Anantavarma's son Devendravarma of 251st year, to Saka 696 or 774 A.D. "This is the latest period to which, on Palaeographical grounds, Devendra's grants should be referred". From this, it would follow that the Gangeya era started about 520 A.D. But his identification of Indravarma of the 128th year with the Eastern Chalukyan Indrabhattaraka is not acceptable for the reasons stated already and especially in view of the fact that the Vishnukundins who ruled over the country before their time are stated in their charters to have fought with Chaturdantas or elephnats of Indra (of the N. E. Region). I think it was only the Vishnukundin Indravarman that was referred to in the plates of Prithvi–mula. On this basis, Adhirajendra or Indravarma I has already been stated to be the contemporary of Vishnukundin Indravarma and to belong to the middle of the 6th century A.D. The Gangeya era therefore must have begun about the middle of the 5th century A.D.

According to the tradition of the Eastern Gangas, as recorded in their copper plate inscriptions, the first king and founder of the dynasty, came to the throne by defeating Baladitya (Samara sirasi sa–Baladityan nirjitya).[1] There is a Narasimha Gupta Baladitya, who built a Buddhist temple at Nalanda and who succeded Pura Gupta in 467 A.D. "*The Gupta empire perished in that year 467 A.D., though latter Guptas continued to rule over Magadha along* with another dynasty of Rajahs who had names ending in Varman and belonged to Maukhari.[2] About 525 A.D., Yasodarma, a Rajah of Central India defeated Mihirâgula and became master of N. India from Brahmaputra to the Western ocean and from Himalaya to Mount Mahendra[3]. From the above references, it is clear that the Gupta empire fell during the middle of 5th century owing to repeated Hun attacks. The Maukhari varmas and the Eastern Ganga varmas therefore rose to power and started independant eras in the latter half of the 5th century. Taking all these things into consideration, it may be said that the Gangeya era started about the middle of the 5th century A.D.

1. Korni plates J. A. H. R. S. Vol. I, Pt. 3, P. 108.
2. V. A. Smith's Early History of India IVth Edition, P. 330.
3. Ibid Page 339.

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The seal of the Parlakimidi plates of the time of Vajrahasta (Edited by Kielhorn in Epigraphia Indica Vol. III, p 222) resembles very closely that of the Cheedivalasa plates. The figures carved in relief on both seals present close resemblance. The inscription is said to begin similarly to the grants of the Eastern Ganga Maharajas, Devendravarma and Satyavarma; and it bears a closer comparison to the present grant. The palaka or the headman of the village which was granted was one Ugrakhediraja of the Kadamba family. We know that several early Ganga grants were made at the instance of the Khedi Kadambas who seem to be the relations of the Gangas. The Kadambas who were employed as Grâmapâlakas or royal officers or writers are found from the inscriptions of both the early and later Gangas to be closely related to them. From the western Ganga inscriptions and also from the Kadamba inscriptions, we learn that the Kadambas were related by marriage alliances to them. These Kadambas, as we learn from their inscriptions, meditated on Kârtikeya, son of Siva. They were lords of Banavâsi or Vaijayanti and were of Mânavya Gôtra and Hârîtiputra. They performed horse sacrifices. They married their girls to Guptas, Gângas and Râttas. Their family god was Jayanti Madhukeswara of Banavâsi and they claim to have brought brahmins from Jajpur and granted them gifts of villages. These Kadambas who were thus related to the W. Gangas in the south and to the E. Gangas (of both early and later age) in the north, give us an important clue in believing that the later and early Gangas of Kalinga must be one and the same and they were all related to the main branch of Gangas of Mysore who went to the South from the Gangetic valley. Their family name, their titles as seen from their inscriptions, their god, capital and gifts of villages which are identically same show clearly that the early and later Gangas belong to one and the same dynasty which ruled continuously over Kalinga from the middle of the 5th century to the middle of the 15th century.

It would appear from Samudragupta's Allahabad Pillar Inscription that Swamidatta was the king of Pishtapur and Mahendragiri Kothur in Kalinga during the middle of the 4th century A.D. From Ragolu plates (vide Ep. Ind. Vol. XII P. 1.) of Saktivarma, we learn that that king had his capital at Pishtapura and ruled over Kalinga vishaya and granted the village of Râkaluva (Modern Ragole, 4 miles distant from chicacole) in it, in his 13th regnal year, to the brahmin Kumaraswâmin. The grant was written by his minister Arjunadatta. The alphabet of this grant is of an early southern type and closely resembles that of the Salankayana grants and the Brihatproshta grant of Umavarma who granted Brihatproshta to the brahmin scholar Haridatta in his 30th regnal year. The alphabet and phraseology of all these grants closely resemble those of the Komarti plates of Maharajah Chandravarma who granted the village of

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Kohetura from his capital Simhapura in the 6th year of his reign and also those of Nanda Prabhanjana Varma who granted, from his residence at Sarapalli, the village of Dayavata for the benefit of a brahmin named Harischandra Swami. The text resembles the Salankayana and Pallava grants of 4th and 5th century A.D. The grant is not dated but on paleographical grounds, it can be referred to the middle of 5th century A.D. From the epithets "Sakala Kalingâdhipati" and "Maharaja" used by the above mentioned kings, we have to learn that they ruled independently over Kalinga. From the similarity of titles used by the kings, we have to learn that they all belonged to the same dynasty but unfortunately its name is not given. We might call them Kalinga kings (not Gangas) and arrange the following geneology and chronology from the internal evidence supplied by their grants:—

Swamidatta (340 A.D. Capital Pittapur)
|
Saktivarma (375 A.D. Do.)
|
Umavarma (400 A.D. Capital Simhapura)
|
Chandavarma (425 A.D. Do.)
|
Nanda Prabhanjanavarma (450 A.D. Capital Sarepalli)

There are two sets of Eastern Ganga inscriptions of Anantavarma Choda Ganga which give two different geneologies. In Indian Antiquary Vol. 18, Dr. Fleet published 3 grants of Anantavarma dated S. 1003, S. 1040 and S. 1057. The geneologies given in the grants of Anantavarma dated S. 1003 and S. 1057 agree with those given in all the grants of Vajrahasta. The grants of Anantavarma Choda Ganga, dated S. 1034 and S. 1040, however trace the geneology from the pre-historic age to Kamarnava I, who is said to be the founder and name some more kings till Gunarnava or Gunamaharnava. Mr. G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu, while editing the Nadagam plates of Vajrahasta (S. 979) in Epigraphia Indica Vol. 4 stated thus:—The geneology given in the grants of Anantavarma dated S. 1003 and S. 1057 agrees with that of the present grant. The grant of S. 1040 traces from myth to Kamarnava, who is said to be the founder. But in the other grants we do not get him and six more kings until we come to the 7th king, Gunarnava or Gunamaharnava. There are several discrepancies in the grant of Saka 1040 that make it suspicious. It does not mention Vajrahasta I. It makes Vajrahasta III, the son of Madhukamarnava, while the present grant makes him the son of Kamarnava and grandson of Vajrahasta."

The geneology and chronology given in all the plates of Vajrahasta and in some of Anantavarma Choda Ganga himself are really trustworthy. Hence, Gunarnava or Guna-maharnava would have ended his rule by 894 A.D., according to the dates

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given in all the plates of Vajrahasta and in some of Anantavarma. To the period proceding 894 A.D., therefore, belong Gunarnava and the early Gangas, who have mentioned an era of their own, which has been stated to have begun in the middle of the 5th century. There is a Gunarnava, father of Devendravarma who is dated in 183–195 Gangeya era. It is probable that Gunarnava or Gunamaharnava, whose rule would have ended in 894 A.D., might have succeded Devendravarma, the donor of Cheedivalasa plates, though not immediately. From the above account, we get the geneology and chronology of the Eastern Gangas as follows:—

(Maharaja) Hastivarma (probably 530 A.D.)
|
(Maharaja) Rajasimha Indravarma or Adhiraja Indra (537, 541 A.D.)
|
Anantavarma
|
Son (Maharaja) Mânandavarma (550 A.D.)
|
Danarnava
|
Son (Maharaja) Indravarma (578, 604 A.D.)
|
Gunarnava
|
Son (Maharaja) Devendravarma (633, 645 A.D.)

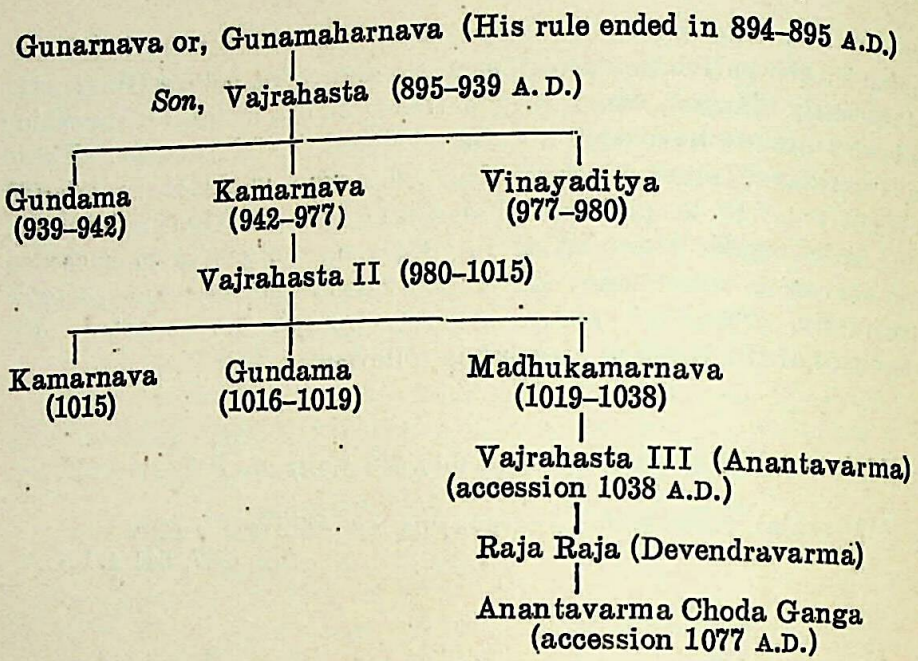
Sons, Jayavarma and (Maharaja) Anantavarma (654 A.D.)
|
(Maharaja) Devendravarma (701, 704 A.D.)
|
(Maharajadhiraja Parameswara) Rajendravarma

Sons, Anantavarma (754 A.D.) and (Maharaja) Devendravarma (758 A.D.)

Sons, Rajendravarma (792 A.D.) and (Maharaja) Satyavarma (801 A.D.)

Vajri (Indravarma)
|
Son, Marasimha
|
Son (Maharajadhiraja Parameswara) Bhupendravarma
|
Son, Devendravarma (847 A.D.)

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NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Proceedings of the General Body Meeting held at the end of the first quarter on 27-8-1927 with Mr. G. Gangadhara Somayajulu Vice-president in the chair.

Present:

Messrs.
1. G. G. Somayajulu.
2. R. Subbarao.
3. B. V. Krishnarao.
4. N. Kamesvararao.
5. C. Brahmanandamurthi.
6. S. Nagabhushanam.
7. V. Jagannadharao.
8. P. Rajagopalachari.
9. N. V. Yoganandarao.
10. A. Ramarao.
11. B. Sivaramasarma.
12. P. Mallikharjunarao.
13. A. Sankararao.
14. D. Sambasivarao.
15. Y. Parameswararao.
16. Ch. Veerabhadrarao.
17. C. Suryanarayana.
18. D. C. Kameswararao.
19. V. Apparao.
20. N. K. Venkatesan.
21. S. Bhimasankararao.

Resolutions.

1. Resolved unanimously that the following gentlemen be elected as the patrons of the society.

   The Rajah Saheb of Kallikota.
   The Rajah Saheb of Chikati.

2. Resolved that the present rule as to the quorum of the General Body meeting be retained as it is, but that there need not be any quorum for an adjourned meeting.

3. Resolved that the following gentlemen be elected as Hon. Presidents of the society.

   Rao Bahadur Sir B. N. Sarma, K. C. S. I.
   Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurthi Pantulu, B. A.

4. Resolved that the society shall have, besides the persons mentioned in Rule 4, "10. Hon. Correspondents. 11. Librarian."

N. B.—These words may be inserted between 9 and 10 and the remaining items may be renumbered.

Add in Rule 15 the words "Hon. Correspondents" after "Hon. Vice Presidents."

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5. Resolved to insert after Rule 19 the following:—

Librarian.

The Librarian shall be elected at the annual General Body meeting and shall hold office for one year. He shall be in charge of the Library in accordance with the rules framed by the Council for the governance of the Library.

6. The proposal of Mr. B. V. Krishnarao to delete the word "Historical" from the name of the society is defeated by a majority of one vote (8 to 7).

(Sd) G. G. Somayajulu.

Proceedings of the managing council meeting held on 18-10-1927.

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8. Resolved to discontinue publishing the proceedings of the managing council meetings in the Journal from 31-7-27.

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List of members who paid their subscriptions during the Quarter ending with 30-9-27.

Messrs.	Hirananda Sastri (26-27)	...	Rs. 3—0—0
	P. H. Ananta Narayana Iyer	...	3—0—0
	Rallabandi Subba Rao ...	...	4—0—0
	A. Rama Rao ...	...	4—0—0
	N. Kameswara Rao ...	...	4—0—0
	N. Subba Rao Pantulu ...	...	4—0—0
	C. Venkatachalam Pantulu ...	...	4—0—0
	A. F. A. Neudœrffer ...	...	4—0—0
	Vepa Purinah ...	...	4—0—0
	P. Bhadrayya (26-27) ...	...	2—0—0
	N. Venkataramiah ...	...	4—0—0
	K. Seetarama Rao ...	...	2—0—0
	V. Bapiraju (26-27) ...	...	1—0—0
	Yuvaraja of Tekkali ...	...	3—2—0
	P. Rajagopalachari (26-28)	...	7—0—0
	Nilakanta Das (26-27) ...	...	3—0—0
	N. K. Venkatesan (26-27) ...	...	2—0—0
	„ (27-28) ...	...	1—0—0
	V. Jaganadha Rao ...	...	2—0—0
	M. K. Srinivasa Raghavachari	...	2—0—0
	C. Suryanarayana ...	...	4—0—0
Mrs.	Y. V. Ranganayakamma ...	...	4—0—0
Messrs.	K. R. Subrahmanyam ...	...	3—0—0
	Y. Ramamurti (26-27) ...	...	3—0—0
	Second Prince of Tekkali ...	...	3—0—0
	G. G. Somayazulu ...	...	4—0—0
	J. Ganganna ...	...	4—0—0
	S. Nagabhushanam ...	...	1—0—0
	R. S. Ramachandra Rao (26-28)	...	6—0—0
			95—2—0

List of Subscribers to the Journal who paid their Subscriptions during the quarter ending with 30-9-27

Musie Guimet Paris ...	...	Rs.	3—0—0
University Library, Madras ...	...		6—0—0
		Rs.	9—0—0

Grand total for the Quarter, Rs. 104—2—0

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Treasurer.

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Editor.

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॥ श्रीः ॥

कौमुदीमहोत्सवः ।

प्रथमोऽङ्कः ।

(नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः)

सूत्र— श्रीमद्व्याघ्रचर्मास्तररचिततले स्थण्डिले संनिषण्णः
कृत्वा पर्यङ्कबन्धं फणमणिकिरणक्षारिणा तक्षकेण ।
नानात्वग्रन्थिभेत्रीं धियमिव विकिरन् दन्तकान्तिच्छलेन
ब्रह्मव्याख्याननिष्ठस्तव भवतु तमःकृत्तये कृत्तिवासाः ॥ १ ॥

(परिक्रम्य) अये! अयं समुपस्थितः सर्वजनसामान्यमहोत्सवभूतः शरत्समयसमवतारः । तथा हि—

हंसः सैकतमुत्सुकेन मनसा प्रत्यागतः प्रेक्षते
भृङ्गो मङ्गलपाठकः सरसिजं प्राप्तोदयं सेवते ।
रिक्तोऽपि ध्वनिपूरितत्रिभुवनं कृत्वा वदान्यप्रथां
पश्चादेति शनैः शनैः परिणतो मेघः परामुन्नतिम् ॥ २ ॥

अपि च,

कृष्णशारां कटाक्षेण कृषीवलकिशोरिका ।
करोत्येषा कराग्रेण कर्णे कलममञ्जरीम् ॥ ३ ॥

तदानीं तत्रभवतः पाटलिपुत्राधिपतेः सुगृहीतनाम्नो देवस्य कल्याणवर्मणः प्रतिनवराज्यलाभसंवर्द्धितदृष्टिवृद्धिपरसंकुलेऽपि राजकुले पुनरयमपरः प्रत्यासीदति कौमुदीमहोत्सवारम्भः, तदहमपि स्वकुलोचितेन सङ्गीतकसेवाधिकारेण लब्धावसरो राजकुलं प्रविशामि । (प्रविश्य) प्रयुक्तपूर्वेषु पूर्वसूरिसूक्तिविशेषेषु का पुनरभिनवरमणीया कृतिरभिनेतव्या । भवतु, यत्तदस्यैव राज्ञः समतीतं चरितमधिकृत्य (विज्ञि)कया निबद्धं नाटकम् । तदिदानीमग्रतः कृत्वा मगधराजान्तःपुरमवतरामि । तत्र मे सन्तः सहायाः—

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विरसापि कृतिः प्रपत्स्यते
मधुनिष्यन्दमयं दशान्तरम् ।
यदि नाम सतामनुग्रहः
शिशिरः प्राप्य रवेरिवातपम् ॥ ४ ॥

(विलोक्य ससम्भ्रमम्)

तपसेव विभक्तविग्रहं
किमिदं धाम गृहीतवल्कलम् ।
पुनरुक्तमिवोपलक्ष्यते
वटुवेषग्रहणं विभावसोः ॥ ५ ॥

हन्त! विज्ञातम्, अस्मत्पक्षपातात् स्वयमेव पारिपार्श्वको मुनिशिष्यभूमिकामादाय इत एवाभिवर्तते। तदहमप्यनन्तरोचितेषु करणीयेषु व्याप्रिये। (निष्क्रान्तः)

स्थापना ।

(ततः प्रविशति मुनिशिष्यः)

मु—अहो तु खलु कुलपतेराश्रमपदस्य महती सम्भावना। यतस्तदा विद्याविनीते गुरुजनानुज्ञाते समं सवयोभिः स्वकुलोचिते कर्मण्यधिकर्तुं प्रस्थिते कुमारे—

पुष्पं बाष्पजलोपमं क्षितितले मुक्तं मुहुः पादपै-
र्यावद्दृष्टिपथं तपोवनमृगैरुद्ग्रीवमुद्वीक्षितम् ।
चिन्ताशून्यधियो निमीलितदृशः साक्षाः क्षणं तापसाः
शङ्के शोककलङ्किताः कुलपतेः कण्ठे गिरः कुण्ठिताः ॥ ६ ॥

अथ वा सर्वमिदं कुमारमुद्दिश्येति नात्र विस्मयनीयं पश्यामि। कुतः—

श्रीवृक्षाङ्कमुरःस्थलं हरवृषप्रस्थानखेलं गतं
पादावङ्कुशकेतुलाञ्छिततलावाजानुलम्बौ भुजौ ।
प्राप्तं चारु मुखं ललामरचनामुन्मेषिणीमूर्णया
पर्याप्तं गुणसम्पदां नृपसुतः सङ्केतगोष्ठीगृहम् ॥ ७ ॥

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(परिक्रम्य) अये! अयं काश्यपायनः। (आकाशे) किमाह भवान्—कौत्स, कुतो भवानागच्छति—इति? कुलपतिनिदेशादाभितश्चण्डिकायतनं पम्पासरःसमीपवर्तिनि कुलक्रमागतस्य सख्युः कुञ्जरकस्य परिग्रहभूते व्याधकिष्किन्धनाम्नि दुर्गस्थाने प्रतापावसरप्रतीक्षया प्रच्छन्नोषितं कुमारं कल्याणवर्माणं सुखमहर्विहारं पृष्ट्वा प्रतिनिवृत्तोऽस्मि। किमाह भवान्—कथमितः प्रथिततरमेव वैरिवर्गाधिष्ठितराज्यप्रत्यानयनोपायचिन्तकः पाटलिपुत्रं गतो नाद्यापि प्रतापावसरमापादितवान् मन्त्रगुप्तः—इति? ननु प्रमादभीरुत्वाद्विवेकिनां कालक्षेपवत्यः कार्यसिद्धयः। किमाह भवान्—कथं च कुलपतिरेव जाबालिस्तपःप्रभावेन तां सिद्धिं नाभ्यर्थितः कुमारेण—इति? पराक्रमोपनतामेव सिद्धिमभिकाङ्क्षते क्षात्रं तेजः। किं ब्रवीषि—एवमेतत्, गच्छतु भवान्, अहमपि समित्कुशकुसुमान्युपहरामि—इति? साधयतु भवान्, अहमपि कुलपतिं द्रक्ष्यामि।

(इति निष्क्रान्तः)

विष्कम्भकः.

(ततः प्रविशति कुमारः)

कुमा—येषामारूया सहायान् गणयति गणनां नैकयाप्यङ्गुलीनां
तेषां तोयप्रदानं परिहरति रणस्वर्गिणां पूर्वजानाम्।
तेषां सुप्तेव कीर्तिः प्रतिवसति यथा स्वेगृहे सालभञ्जी
येषां शेषामिवाज्ञां शिरसि नृपतयः श्रद्धदाना वहन्ति ॥ ८ ॥

तावदस्य तपनीयाशोकतरोरधश्छायायामुपविशामि यावत् कुञ्जरकसकाशात् प्रतिनिवर्तते वयस्यवैखानसः। (तथा कृत्वा) अहो प्रवालशीतलेयं तरुतलच्छाया।

सम्प्रत्यहं भृङ्गकुलानुयातै-
र्गृहीतगन्धद्विपदानगन्धैः।
विन्ध्यानिलैः शैशवमुक्तमुक्तं
प्रबोधितः पाटलिपुत्रवासम् ॥ ९ ॥

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(निःश्वस्य) तामेव शैशवकथामनुस्मरामि। तदा हि—

सन्नद्धः कवची शरासनधरस्तातो रुषा प्रोषितो
जाता धौतकपोलपत्रलतिका बाष्पाम्बुभिर्मातरः।
एकाकी चलकाकपक्षविभवो नीतोऽस्म्यहं तापसै-
र्मिथ्येव प्रतिभाति शैशवकथा स्वप्नो नु माया नु मे ॥ १० ॥

अथ वा कृतमनया कातरजनोचितया निपातोदन्तचिन्तया। तेजस्विनो हि पुरुषस्य सम्पदुद्योतनप्रतिपक्षभूता विपदपि न च्छायेव परिहरति पार्श्वम्, न पुनरुदाराः परिहीयन्ते। कुतः—

ध्वस्तः सुन्दरपाटलो निपतितः कार्त्यायनः शक्तितः
प्राप्तं भैरवमन्धकारगहनं प्रद्योतकारागृहम्।
तेजोराशिरवाप्तवानुदयनस्तैस्तैरुपायक्रमैः
कौशाम्बीं च सुयामुनं च विजयी भूयोऽपि वत्सेश्वरः ॥ ११ ॥

भोः पाटलिपुत्रगतमन्त्रगुप्तदूतप्रतिप्रेषणावधिकमपि काललेशमत्रैव तिष्ठन्नप्रति-प्रसरवन्ध्यममर्षं धारयितुं न शक्नोमि। (निमित्तं सूचयित्वा) किं नु खलु स्फुरति दक्षिणो मे बाहुः!

स्वजने शोकसन्तप्ते प्राप्तैश्वर्येष्वरातिषु।
नाद्यापि धनुरादत्ते बाहुर्वामेतरो मम ॥ १२ ॥

(शब्दं रूपयित्वा) को नु खल्वेष कमलमधुपानमत्तकलहंसनिर्भरो निनादः श्रूयते? अथ वा नेदं कलहंसविरुतम्। कुतः—

काञ्चीकलरवोन्मिश्रं पादक्रमविलम्बितम्।
मञ्जुवाचामिदं मन्ये मञ्जु मञ्जीरशिञ्जितम् ॥ १३ ॥

भवतु, शब्दानुसारेण चक्षुर्विक्षिपामि। (तथा कृत्वा) अये! पल्लवितमिव जीवलोकं पश्यामि। का नु खल्वेषा परिमितपरिवारा तारागणपरिवृता शशाङ्कलेखेव लक्ष्यते कुमारी?

वामोरूमूरुजातां विदुरुरुजघनामुर्वशीं विश्वयोनेः
सीतां सीताप्रसूतिं श्रियमपि मथितादम्बुराशेरुशन्ति।

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न त्वस्या जन्म जाने जननयनमधुस्यन्दिनी कान्तिलक्ष्मी-
र्मध्येवेदि प्रसूतां द्रुपददुहितरं वेदिमध्यां वदन्ति ॥ १४ ॥

(ततः प्रविशति ससखीगणा कीर्तिमती काञ्चुकीयश्च)

का— इत इतो भवती ।

की— हला णिउणिए, किं णु खु पसण्णं विअ मे हिअअं ?
(हला निपुणिके, किं नु खलु प्रसन्नमिव मे हृदयम् ?)

नि— भट्टिदारिए, भअवदीए भत्तजणाणुकंपिणीए पादवंदणं करिअ णिग्गदासि, कीस ण पसण्णं होइ दे हिअअं ?

(भर्तृदारिके, भगवत्या भक्तजनानुकम्पिन्याः पादवन्दनं कृत्वा निर्गतासि, कथं न प्रसन्नं भवति ते हृदयम् ?)

की— जुत्तं तुए भणिदं, सोढव्ववेदणं दाणिं मे तादस्स अंबाए अ विओअदुक्खं भअवदीदंसणेण ।

(युक्तं त्वया भणितम्, सोढव्यवेदनमिदानीं मे तातस्याम्बायाश्च वियोगदुःखं भगवतीदर्शनेन).

नि— अइरादो पसादं वि दंसइस्सदि भअवदी ।
(अचिरात् प्रसादमपि दर्शयिष्यति भगवती).

कु — सर्वथा मकरकेतुमन्तरेण नास्याः समुत्पत्तिं पश्यामि । तथा हि—

सर्गान्तराणि सकलान्यतिवर्तमान-
मस्या वपुर्न खलु शिल्पफलं विधातुः ।
शङ्के वृषाङ्कविजयाय मनोभवेन
तप्तस्य सोऽयमनघस्तपसो विपाकः ॥ १५ ॥

की— कोकिलकंठराअकोमलगीदिसद्दो चडुलपदाआणिवहो कंचणाणिंमिदो किं एस पासादो ? (कोकिलकण्ठरागकोमलगीतिशब्दः चटुलपताकानिवहः काञ्चननिर्मितः किमेष प्रासादः ?)

नि— भट्टिदारिए, णत्थि एत्थ पासादो, एसो खु कुसुममंजरीपुंजपिंजरिअसाहास-हस्सो मंदपवणंदोलिअपल्लवपुडो महुअरमहुरुल्लावमणोहरो असोअरुक्खो ।

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एदिणा पच्चादिट्ठा दाणिं पमअवणपावपाणं समिद्धी । (भर्तृदारिके, नास्त्यत्र प्रासादः, एष खलु कुसुममञ्जरीपुञ्जापिञ्जरितशाखासहस्रो मन्दपवनान्दोलित-पल्लवपुटो मधुकरमधुरोल्लापमनोहरोऽशोकवृक्षः । एतेन प्रत्यादिष्टो इदानीं प्रमदवनपादपानां समृद्धिः).

की— हंजे, अत्थि किं इमस्स सुहसीदलं तलच्छाआमण्डलं ?
(हञ्जे, अस्ति किमेतस्य सुखशीतलं तलच्छायामण्डलम् ?

नि— को एत्थ संदेहो ? (कोऽत्र सन्देहः ?)

की— कहं तुवं दूरगदा जाणिस्ससि ? (कथं त्वं दूरगता जानासि ?)

नि— आकिदिप्पच्चएण भणामि । जइ अत्थि तदो किं ?
(आकृतिप्रत्ययेन भणामि । यद्यस्ति ततः किम् ?)

की— उंमत्तिए, परिस्संतो जणो विस्समं लभेदि ।
(उन्मत्ते, परिश्रान्तो जनो विश्रमं लभते).

नि— अंअ, परिस्संता भट्टिदारिआ । (आर्य, परिश्रान्ता भर्तृदारिका).

का— भोः परिश्रान्ता सिद्धायतनेषु वाहनारोहणातिक्रमः परिहरणीय इति पादचार-प्रवृत्ता भर्तृदुहिता । देवि, मुहूर्तमस्य तपनीयाशोकतरोरधश्छायायामुपवि-शामः, स्वयमेवोपकल्पितमावासस्थानमन्तःपुराधिकृतः सिंहलको निवेदयिष्यति।

(सर्वे परिक्रामन्ति)

कु — संप्रति चरितार्थं चक्षुः—

पादौ पल्लवकोमलौ करिकरश्रीचोरमूरुद्वयं
विस्तीर्णं जघनस्थलं तनुतरो मध्यः स्तनावुन्नतौ ।
बाहू चम्पकपुष्पदामरुचिरौ पूर्णेन्दुकल्पं मुखं
केशाः कुञ्चितमेचकाः नववधूरेषा वधूलक्षणम् ॥ १६ ॥

(सर्वे कुमारं दृष्ट्वा संभ्रान्ताः)

का— महदिदमाकारबद्धं तेजः, यदस्य दर्शने बहुदिवसाधिष्ठितराजान्तःपुरस्यापि तत्पूर्वोपनतराजदर्शनस्येव शिथिलीभूतः सत्त्वावष्टम्भः । कोऽसाविति जिज्ञा-सामानोऽपि नैनमनुपोद्घातः प्रष्टुमुत्सहे । सर्वथा तावत्—

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कर्णान्तविश्रान्तविलोचनश्री-
र्ज्यायातरेखारचितप्रकोष्ठः ।
तेजोनिधिर्नूनमसौ कुमारः
कुलस्य सारोद्धरणं नृपाणाम् ॥ १७ ॥

कु— स्वागतमत्रभवतः, अत्र पूर्वोपविष्टा वयम्, तदिहास्यतां भवतीभिः ।

विन्ध्याद्रिगन्धगजदानसुगन्धयोऽमी
पम्पासरःसलिलवीचिविमर्दशीताः ।
श्रोणीपयोधरसमुद्वहनप्रवृत्तं
मार्गश्रमं व्यपनयन्तु वनान्तवाताः ॥ १८ ॥

(सर्वे उपविष्टाः)

नि— (जनान्तिकम्) भट्टिदारिए, किं णु पुंणमासीचंदमंडलादो विअ इमस्स मुहादो अमुअरसनिस्संदो निस्सरइ ? (भर्तृदारिके, किं नु पौर्णमासीचन्द्रमण्डलादिव एतस्य मुखादमृतरसनिष्यन्दो निःसरति ?)

की— (आत्मगतम्) एंतरं पेक्खंतस्स वि जणस्स चंदसिलामअं विअ अमुअरसणिस्संदणिब्भरं होइ हिअअं । (प्रकाशम्) हला, अग्गदो होहि । (एतदन्तरं प्रेक्षमाणस्यापि जनस्य चन्द्रशिलामयमिवामृतरसनिष्यन्दनिर्भरं भवति हृदयम् । (प्रकाशम्) हला, अग्रतो भव ।

नि— अपुरुवपुरुसदंसणेण ण वड्ढाविदा भट्टिदारिआ । (तथा कृत्वा) (अपवारितकेन सस्मितम्) अइ, परिहरइ चंददंसणं कमलिणि त्ति सच्चो दाणिं लोअप्पवादो । (अपूर्वपुरुषदर्शनेन न वर्धापिता(?) भर्तृदारिका । (तथा कृत्वा) (अपवारितकेन सस्मितम्) अयि, परिहरति चन्द्रदर्शनं कमलिनीति सत्य इदानीं लोकप्रवादः ।

की— (भ्रुकुटीकुटिलनिरीक्षितकेण निपुणिकां पश्यति).

कु— आर्य, आश्चर्यदर्शनं हि कुतूहलस्थानं तदुच्यते । आकृतिप्रत्ययादेवास्या राजवंशाभिजनत्वमनाख्यातनिश्चितम् ; किं तु—

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सा राजपुत्री सुगृहीतनाम्नां
किंनामधेयं कुलमीश्वराणाम् ।
अन्वग्रहीज्जन्ममहोत्सवेन
श्रीरेव साक्षादिव सागराणाम् ॥ १९ ॥

का—श्रोतुमर्हति महाभागः । अस्ति शूरसेनो नाम जनपदः । तेषां स्वामी विख्यातकीर्तिः कीर्तिषेणो देवः,

अन्ये मन्युमहाभुजङ्गमितरे नीतिग्रहावग्रहं
प्राप्य प्राञ्जलयोऽपरे बलरजोवेतालरुद्धा दिशः ।
तन्त्रावापविदो नरेन्द्रपदवीं यातस्य यस्याधिकं
रक्षाभूतिमिवोद्वहन्ति शिरसा श्रीपादधूलीर्नृपाः ॥ २० ॥

कु—श्रूयते शूरसेनाधिपतिः कीर्तिषेणो देवः । स इदानीं मध्यमो मध्यमलोकपालानाम् । ततस्ततः ।

का—ततस्तस्येयमेका दुहिता प्राणेभ्योऽपि गरीयसी कीर्तिमती नाम ।

कु—हिमवतो ननु गङ्गा प्रभवति । किमर्थं पुनरिदानीम्—

हर्म्याग्रसञ्चरणदुर्ललितौ पुरे द्वौ
मञ्जीरमञ्जुरवशिञ्जितराजहंसौ ।
धत्तः पदं मुनिवने मनुजेन्द्रपुत्र्याः
प्रौढप्ररूढकुशकण्टकसीम्नि पादौ ॥ २१ ॥

का—एतदपि श्रूयताम् । सेयमपर्याप्तशैशवक्रीडारसैव—

यौवनारम्भयोगेन शोभामसदृशीं गता ।
शिक्षागुणविशेषेण सूरेरिव सरस्वती ॥ २२ ॥

कु—ततस्ततः ।

का—ततो यत् प्रतिपन्नयौवनासु पितृभिः प्रतिपत्तव्यं तद्भगवत्यनुमतेनैव वर्त्मना—इति कृतनिश्चयः स्वयमेव दुहितरं 'चण्डिकायतनं गत्वा कानिचिदहान्याराधयतु भगवतीं विन्ध्यवासिनीम्' इति साभिसरामेनामितः प्रेषितवान् यदुनाथः । भद्रं तव ।

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LIST OF EXCHANGES.

1. The Educational Review, Madras.
2. The Vedic Magazine, Lahore.
3. Zeitschrift Fur Indologie Halle (Saale) Germany.
4. The Jaina Gazette, Madras.
5. Viswa-Bharathi Quarterly, Calcutta.
6. Andhra Sahitya Parishat-Patrika, Cocanada.
7. Maharajah's College Magazine, Vizianagaram.
8. The Philosophical Quarterly, Amalner (East khandesh).
9. Journal of Indian History, Madras.
10. The Mysore Economic Journal, Mysore.
11. The "Bharathi," Madras.
12. Nagari Pracharini Patrica, Benares.
13. The Maha-Bodhi, Calcutta.
14. Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Banglore.
15. Journal of the K. R. Kama Institute, Bombay.
16. Journal of the B. B of the Royal Asiatic Society.
17. Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
18. Asia Major, Liepsig.
19. Journal of the Madras Geographical Society, Madras.
20. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
21. Indian Journal of Economics, Allahabad.
22. Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology, Leiden.
23. Epigraphia Indica.
24. Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, Hyderabad.
25. Purâtatwa, Ahmedabad.
26. Sujâta, Hyderabad.
27. The Eastern Buddhist, Tokyo.
28. The Shrine of Wisdom, London.
29. Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
30. Purâna Grandhamala, Pittapuram.
31. Modern Review, Calcutta.
32. Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Patrika, Calcutta.
33. Karnataka „ „ „ Bangalore.
34. Journal of the Anthropological Society, Bombay.
35. "Man in India", Ranchi.
36. Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
37. Jayanti, Madras.
38. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Society, Washington.
39. Bulletins of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Publications from :—

40. Academic des Beaux-Arts, Institute, De France, Paris.
41. The Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona.
42. The Superintendent, Govt. Museum, Madras.
43. The Superintendent, Department of Archæology, H. E. H. The Nizam's Government, Hyderbad (Deccan).
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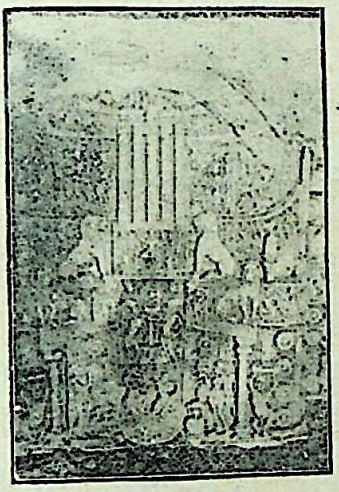
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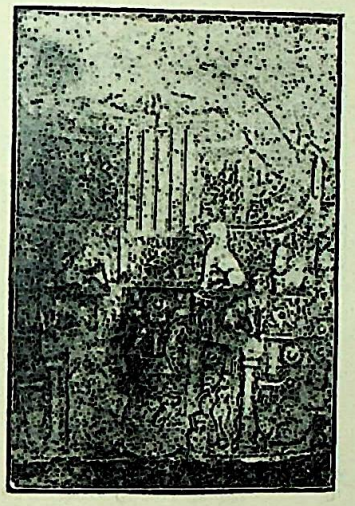
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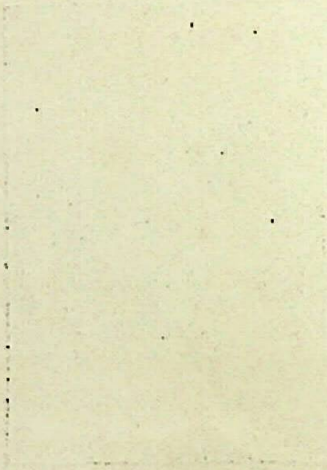
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THE SOUTHERN SCHOOL OF TELUGU LITERATURE

By JAYANTI RAMAYYA PANTULU B.A., B.L.

There could hardly be any person pretending to know anything of Telugu Literature, who is not familiar with the name of "Vijaya Vilasamu". But very few indeed are these who know that that great poem was composed at Tanjore and fewer still are those who know that it represents an extensive branch of Telugu Literature which was created in the Tamil country. Few even in well informed circles had an adequate idea of either the volume or the character of this literature until the Telugu Academy had the good fortune to secure the bulk of it in manuscript for its library a few years ago. We owe this literature to the earlier generations of Telugu people who emigrated to the Tamil Districts under the auspices of the Telugu Naik Kings who ruled the south first, as the servants of the Vijianagar Emperors, and afterwards as independent Sovereigns. The Vijianagar Empire was founded in the beginning of the 14th Century A.D., out of the ruins of the Hoysala kingdom, for the purpose of stemming the tide of the Muhammadan invasion of the south, which it succeeded in doing for nearly three centuries. By this time, the Muhammadans who had established themselves in Northern India for some centuries, had gradually extended their conquests down to the Krishna river, having recently occupied the whole of the Mahratta kingdom of Devagiri and a great part of the Andhra kingdom of Warangal. The Hoysala kingdom south of the Krishna was also invaded and shaken to its foundation, and it seemed a matter of months for the Hindu kingdoms in the south to be wiped out of existence. This was prevented by the rise of the little kingdoms of Karnata which, in a surprisingly

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short time developed into the great Vijianagar Empire. Before this solid dam was erected, a wave of the Muhammadan flood had escaped to the south and reached Madura and that city became the Capital of a Muhammadan pricipality. Bukka, one of the founders of the empire, deputed his son Kampa who drove the foreigners out and added the Chola, Pandya and Chera kingdoms to his father's empire, so that Bukka could call himself the lord of the eastern, western and southern seas. A very interesting, though romantic, account of Kampa's expedition against Madura is given in the Sanskrit poem "Madura Vijayam" composed by Kampa's Concubine Ganga. The poem gives a very woeful account of Madura under the Muhammadan rule and sums it up thus;

The Vedas are gone, principles have disappeared, all talk of Dharma is at an end, character has fallen, virtue is non-existent, nobility has disappeared—only Kali is in the ascendance. This verse gives a clue to the motive underlying the foundation of the Vijianagar Empire, which was to preserve Hindu Dharma from being submerged and destroyed by the deluge of Muhammadanism. The conflict between the Hindus and the Muhammadans was essentially a conflict of Cultures in a more real sense than is the present conflict of European nations. For, there is much more in common between the Latin and Teutonic Cultures than there is between the Aryan and Semitic Cultures. To appreciate the force of this motive, it is not necessary to believe all that the contending nations said against each other. Each no doubt, exaggerated the faults of the other. But there is, even now, a great deal of difference in the modes of life of the two peoples and in the relations between nations, this matters much more than principles of higher morality and philosophy. We have been taught, in school histories written by Europeans, to think that personal ambition was the only motive which led to the rise and fall of kingdoms in India and that ideas of patriotism and love of culture were foreign to the Indian soil. It would be easy to prove that this is a sweeping statement and that, in any case, it does not apply to the founding of the greatest and latest South Indian Empire, but that would be a digression.

We have seen that the Tamil country became subject to the rule of the Karnata kings at a very early date, but it continued to be governed by the hereditary Chola and Pandya Princes who acknowledged the overlordship of the Karnata kings. This state of things continued until the time of Achyuta Deva Raya. We learn from "Achyuatarayabhyudayam" that this king led a great expedition against the south chiefly with the object of reducing the independence of Travancore. This expedition resulted also in a radical change in the government of the Chola and Pandya kingdoms, The rule of the

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hereditary princes was put an end to and the provinces were formally incorporated into the empire and thenceforward governed by Naiks or Governors appointed by the Emperor. There were two governorships thus created; one for the Chola province with the capital at Tanjore and the other for the Pandya kingdom with Madura as the capital. The country round about Trichinopoly was governed by an hereditary chieftain the Tondiman, subject to the authority of the Naik of Madura. Although the first Naiks were presumably appointed to hold office at the pleasure of the Emperor, not only did the office soon become hereditary in their families but on the downfall of the empire after the battle of Talikota, the Naiks became independent although nominally they continued to the last to acknowledge the suzereinity of the head of the ever dwindling empire. The Naiks were Telugu men and under their auspices, a very large body of Telugu men of all classes emigrated to the Tamil country and thus introduced Telugu language and Telugu culture there. The Tondimans of Trichinopoly and Pudukota were Tamilians but they somehow imbibed a love for Telugu literature and extended enthusiastic patronage to it. Thus it came about that the courts of Tanjore, Madura and Trichinopoly became centres of Telugu learning and culture and I propose to state briefly what contributions each of these centres made to Telugu literature. The Telugu Academy has discovered no less than 50 works composed by about 33 authors all in the south.

The founder of the Tanjore dynasty was Chevva or Chinna Chevva Naik who married a sister of his sovereign Achyuta Deva Raya's queen Tirumalamba and perhaps owed his elevation to that circumstance. He was succeeded by his son Achuta Naik and he by his son Raghunatha Naik. Raghunadha seems to have been a great prince—the greatest of his dynasty. He was a great patron of learning. His court was the meeting place of scholars and poets from different parts of the country. To him we owe the nucleus of the famous Tanjore Palace library which was considerably improved by the later Mahratta kings—notably Serfeji. In that library, there are two Telugu manuscripts called "*Raghunadhabhyudayamu*"—one in the dvipada metre and the other a drama—which afford glimpses of the literary activities of Raghunadha's court. Both these books were composed by Raghunadha's son and successor Vijiaraghava and purport to be a biography (a romantic one no doubt) of the author's father. From the drama which is said to have been enacted in the Royal theatre in the presence of Raghunadha himself, we learn that the king was in the habit of holding literary durbars at which men as well as women competed with one another in literary feats; on one occasion we are told, the king asked the male poets to set *Samasyas* to the young ladies present, in Telugu, Sanskrit, or Prakrit as the

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ladies were very desirous of completing these *Samasyas*. Thereupon, a poet set a Telugu Samasya, which was extempore completed by *Ramabhadramma*.

Another lady named Sukavani set a Sanskrit Samasya and completed it.

Another book gives the names of 7 women poets attached to this court. Judging from their names and other circumstances these ladies were presumably of the courtezan class. They seem to have been not only poetesses but also actresses. The palace library contains no less than 225 Telugu dramas composed not on the Sanskrit model but in the Yakshagana pattern and several of those purport to have been composed by Raghunadha himself. There was a Royal theatre in which these dramas were played in the king's presence. The author of "*Vijiavilasamu*" tells us that Raghunadha took great interest in in theatricals. Indeed, dramatic literature seems to have been specially encouraged by the Tanjore court as prose literature was by the court of Madura.

Besides being a great patron of poets, Raghunadha was himself a poet and composed several dramas. He was also the author of an epic poem called "*Valmikicharitram*", But that which more than anything else will keep his memory ever green is "*Vijiavilasamu*" composed by Chemakura Venkata Raju and dedicated to Raghunadha. This poem is a gem and is deservedly popular wherever Telugu is understood. It is a very fine specimen of Prabandha literature which was inaugurated by Allasani Peddana at the court of Krishna Deva Raya. It does not perhaps come up to the level of "*Manucharitramu*" in simple dignity or of "*Vasucharitramu*" in grandeur but it is easily at the head of a class of Prabandhams which is only next to the highest class. Chemakura Venkata Raju is also the author of another poem called "*Sarangadhara Charitramu*" which does not enjoy the same popular esteem, however, as "*Vijiavilasamu*".

Raghunadha's son Vijiaraghava Naik surnamed Mannarudasa was like his father, a poet as well as a patron of poets. We have seen that he was the author of the dvipada "*Raghunadhabhyudayamu*" as well as of a dramatic version of it.

He was the hero of "*Vijiaraghava Vamsavali*" by Chengalva Kâlanârya of Kalahasti of *Vijiaraghava Kirtichandrika Viharamu* by Kamarsu Venkatapathi Somayaji and of *Mannarudasavilasamu* by Rangajamma. Rangajamma describes herself as the daughter of Pasupuleti Venkatadri and his wife Mangamamba. She calls king Vijiaraghava Naik her Prana Nayaka. She mentions the names of six other female poets at the court. They seem to have been all of the courtezan class. Rangajamma claims ability to write poetry in eight languages (Sanskrit, Telugu, and the six Prakrits) and also proficiency

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in recitation (Vachaka) and beautiful handwriting. i. e. two literary arts which have been always held in great esteem in India.

Vijiaraghava was the last of his dynasty in descent and also in capacity and it was on his invitation that the Mahrattas went to Tanjore originally to help him against local enemies but finally to supplant him. The Mahratta kings, instead of neglecting the Telugu literature as they might have been expected to do, seem to have encouraged it almost as much as the Telugu Naiks. For, we find Ekoji claiming the authorship of a *dvipada* version of the Ramayanam which is dedicated to his father Tulevji after the fashion of *Ranganadharamayanamu*, while we owe the highly erotic poem "*Radhikasantvanamu*" to Muddu Palani who was a concubine of Ekoji's son and Successor Pratapasimha, Serfiji who, I believe, was the penultimate king of Tanjore, greatly enriched the library started by Raghunadha Naik. Some of the manuscripts bear labels to the effect that they were secured for the library under the orders of Varahappayya Dikshitulu. I am told that Varahappayya Dikshitulu was a Veginati Brahmin and a Fouzdar or a military officer under Serfoji and that a grandson of his bearing the same name is a District Registrar in the Pudukota state.

It is not possible to leave Tanjore without referring to the great devotee and musical composer Tyagaraja. He was a Telugu Brahman. I was told that he belonged to the Mulikinadu sect and a resident of Tiruvadi. His is the greatest name in the south Indian Musical world and his name songs which were composed in Telugu, are undisputedly the best in all this country. I do not think that a very high degree of excellence can be claimed for them from a purely literary point of view but by making Telugu the vehicle for the outpourings of his heart, Tyagaraja has rendered no less service to that language than the great masters of Telugu poetry. Indeed, Tyagaraja's services are even greater, in a sense; for, while Bhâratamu, Bhâgavatamu, and other classics can only be read and appreciated by those who know Telugu, Tyagaraja's kritis are sung and enjoyed by hundreds nay thousands of persons who do not know a word of their language. Tyagaraja has made Telugu the lingua franca of the musical world and has thereby done something to justify the claim of Telugu to be the best of the Vernaculars, at least in one respect.

Leaving Tanjore, we ought to go straight to Madura which was the capital of the second Naik kingdom but we shall tarry a while at Trichinopoly—the capital of the Tondimans—where also we have somewhat to see and note. The Tondimans were and are Tamilians by race and had no special reason to care for Telugu: but, somhow, they seem to have caught the prevailing enthusiasm for Telugu literature and one of them Rayaraghunadha Tondiman was the author

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of a poem named "*Parvatiparinayam*". Raghunadha was no doubt assisted in his literary ventures by his court poet Nudurupati Venkanna to whom we owe no less than five works. The greatest of those is the "*Andhra Bhâsharnavamu*" (a metrical nighantu) of the Telugu language, compiled on the model of Amarakosa and dedicated to Mâtrubhûtêswara. This I believe, is the most exhaustive dictionary of the language and is deservedly popular in the whole of Telugu country. I have seen manuscripts of the book as far north as Vizagapatam. Venkanna was the author also of a book on poetics called "*Raghunâdhîyamu*" written on the lines of *Narasabhupaliyamu*. He projected a history of the Tondiman family and completed the first twenty generations. His son Sâmba Kavi undertook to bring the account up to his date but it is not known whether he completed the work, for, all the three manuscripts available in the library of the Telugu Academy are incomplete. This book throws some—many sidelights on the Carnatic wars between the English and the French in which the Tondimans fought on the side of the English. Nudurupâti Venkanna calls his father Seethârâmayya a great poet and his son Samba Kavi and grandson Venkayya have both left works behind them: so there were at least four generations of poets in this talented family of whom Venkanna was the most illustrious.

The contributions of Madura to Telugu literature are even greater than those of Tanjore. The greater part of this literary activity occurred in the time of Vijiaranga Chokkanadha the penultimate king of Madura who ruled from 1704 to 1731. The most famous poem of his period is the "*Târâsasânka Vijiamu*" by Seshamu Venkatapati. It is dedicated to Chokkanadha's minister Vengala Seenayya. The theme of this poem is the well-known puranic story of the illicit love between Chandra and Tara. The poem is on the whole happily conceived and skilfully executed. "*Yuvajanahridayanandamu*" is a slightly different version of the same story by Baddêpûdi Errabhûpâludu who tells us that he belonged to the Pantakula and was honoured by Vijiaranga Chokkanadha. Another poem of the same tenour is "*Ahalyâsankrandanamû*" by Samukhamu Venkatakrishnappa Nayaka who was a friend and courtier and perhaps also a relative of Vijia Ranga; and to him we owe also a small poem called "*Râdhikâsântvanamu*" wnich is different from Muddu Palani's work of the same name. Baddêpûdi Errabhûpâludu has mentioned his Guru Rêvuri Ananta Yajva to whom we owe four poems:—

1. Srikrishna Mahatmyamu.
2. Vridhâchala Mahatmyamu.
3. Gâdhêyôpâkhyânamu.
4. Sivarahasyakhandamu.

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A special and interesting feature of the Madura school is prose literature. Vijiaranga Chokkanadha is himself the author of two prose works—*Srîrangamahatmyamu* and *Mâghamahatmyamu*. Samukham Venkatakrishnappa wrote, in addition to the poems already noted, two prose books viz., Jaiminibhâratamu, and Sârangadharacharitramu.

Tupakula Anantabhûpâludu who says he gave away several agraharams on the banks of the Kaveri, Vêgâvati, (Vaigai) and Tamraparni is the author of no less than four books viz.. prose versions of Vishnu purânamu, Râmâyanamu, Bhâgavatamu, and Bhâratamu in the last of which he was assisted by Vîrarâju son of Dalavay Doddendra. *Hâlasyamâhatmyamu* is another elaborate prose book dealing with the mythology of Madura and was composed by Nanjarâju who is also the author of another prose work called "*Harabhaktavilâsamu*".

We have two more versions of the Ramayanam, one by Syamarayakavi and another by one Venkatasubbayya. Altogether, there is quite a wealth of prose works. These works of varying degrees of literary merit. Samukham Venkata Krishnappa Naik's *Jaimini Bharatamu* is certainly the best of them and the Telugu Academy has been enabled to publish it by the munificence of Dewan Bahadur V. Ramabhadra Naidu Garu whose family was related by blood and marriage to that of the author.

While on the subject of prose works, I should not omit to mention the name of the interesting book called "*Rayavachakamu*". It purports to be a report submitted to Visvanadha Naik by his ambassador (Sthanapathi) at the court of Vijianagaram and gives a a summary of the traditional account of the foundation of the Vijianagaram Empire and of its state during the times of the great king Krishna Deva Raya and the various reforms he introduced into the administration. It also gives a somewhat realistic account of the two great military expeditions of Krishna Deva Raya's time viz., the expedition against the Muhammadans resulting in the siege of and conquest of Raichors and the expedition against the Kalinga country. The book cannot be regarded as a contemporaneous record of the events it describes but it was written not very long afterwards and throws considerable new light on the story of Krishna Raya's reign. It was, I believe, the original of Kumara Dhurjati's "*Sri Krishnarayavijayamu*". From the literary point of view Rayavachakamu is chiefly useful as preserving a specimen of Telugu colloquial idiom which was current in the Tamil country in those days. The book has been published in the journal of the Telugu Academy and it is proposed to republish in a book form with historical notes.

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One more great Telugu poet of the south was Ganapavarapu Venkatapathi, the author of *Lakshanasiromani* and *Prabandharaja Vijayavenkatesvara vilasamu.*

Poet Seenayya of Tiruchendore wrote a remarkable poem called "*Shanmukhasahasramu*". It consists of one thousand verses addressed to God Subrahmanya and divided into ten sections. Each section dealing with separate theme.

Anantarangaratchandamu is a short treatise on Telugu prosody by Kasturi Ranga Kavi and dedicated to Dupleix's famous Dubash Ananda Ranga Pillai.

This bird's eye view is, I trust, sufficient to show that in the latter part of the 17th and early part of the 18th centuries of the christian era, there spread in the Tamil Districts a wave of enthusiastic love of Telugu language and literature which was not confined to the Andhras. This love led to the creation of a large volume of literature the distinguishing feature of which as compared with what I may call the northern school of Telugu literature may be roughly stated as follows:—

To start with, we see comparatively more non-brahmanas amongst the poets of the south than of the north. A review of the Dravidian literatures shows that they have as a whole, been neglected by the Brahmans who cared more for Sanskrit. Tamil literature is I imagine, mainly the work of non-brahmans. (I make this statement subject to correction). Canarese literature can be divided into three distinct periods of which the first was the creation of the Jains, the second of the Lingayats, and the third and more recent one of the Brahmins. The case of the Telugu literature is different, it is mainly the work of Brahmins, rather one section of Brahmins with some notable exceptions such as the "*Vasucharitramu*" of Bhattumurthi, and the "*Amuktamalyada*" of Krishnadeva Raya. The non-brahmin element was very much larger in the south where the princes and their courtiers freely competed with those whom we may perhaps call professional poets. We see also more women poets in the south than in the north. From the point of view of the form of literature, the southern school exhibits two distinguishing features—viz., dramatic literature and prose literature. The former was chiefly cultivated at Tanjore and the latter at Madura. The Telugu dramas are not composed on the Sanskrit model but follow a plan of their own. They may not come up to a high standard of literary merit but they have a distinct value of their own in the evolution of Telugu literature. The prose literature of the south is not all of uniform merit. There are some very good pieces in it while the rest are written in more or less colloquial idioms which they have thus preserved.

If it is permissible to distinguish between the classical and Romantic schools of Telugu literature, the literature of the south must be assigned to the Romantic school.

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The writers of the south cared for effect more than for form and, in their attempt to produce effect, they sometimes deviated from the strict standard of purity of diction as well as of taste set by the earlier poets. It is to this cause, I think, that we should attribute most of the grammatical lapses which are met with even in such poems as the *Vijayavilasamu* and the somewhat extra erotic character of some poems—especially those of the Madura school.

This is not unnatural when a large body of people emigrate to a foreign country and settle there, it is inevitable that they should in course of time, differ from the people of the old country both in language and in habits. The Englishman in America is not exactly the same as the Englishman of England and the English idiom in America is different in several respects from the idioms of the United-Kingdom. I believe the Andhras are, as a class, tenacious of their language as well as of their culture; but the influence of the ideals of the old country was bound to be less and less effective on the Andhras in the Tamil country as time went on. It is, however, to their credit that Telugu still prevails largely in the Tamil country though in a spoken form.

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SULAKAS AND MULAKAS

By S. SRIKANTA SASTRI, M. A.

The identification of Sulakas with Cholikas put forward by Rev. Mr. Heras seems to me untenable. Mere word-resemblences, unsupported by other facts, cannot be accepted as conclusive. As instances of this deceptive method we can put forward the resemblances between Sulakas and Salikis, Salkis etc. Salki, Chalukya, Salikya etc,, are used as variants of the same word Chalukya e. g. in the Bezwada inscription of Yuddhamalla; speculations as to the origin and exact connotation of the term mulaka as found in the name of an Andhra community "Mulaka Nadu," are too numerous to mention. Reference might be made to two of such theories put forward to show the futility of such linguistic gymnastics. One theory is that it derives its name from "Mulks", Ibrahim Mulk and his descendents; the other is that it ought to be Munikula Nadu, Both of these, to put it mildly, are fanciful.

Mulaka is mentioned in the Jatakas along with Assaka. The Assakas again must be differentiated from Aswakas, a term some times applied to the western Kshatrapas as Skandasishya is said to have taken the Ghatika of Kanchi from one Satyasena an Assaka. Asmaka was one of the eighteen earliest Janapadas mentioned in Buddhist literature. Panini mentions Asmaka (iv. 1. 173). In the Baveru Jataka, we are told that the disciples started from the Asmaka country to Mahissati, Ujjeni, Paithana of Mulaka country, Gonaddha, Vidisa, Vanasa, Havya, Kosambi, Saketa, Savatthi, Setavya, Kapilavatho, Kusinara, Pava, Vesali, and finally to Asmaka Chetya where the Buddha was residing. Avanti was evidently North of Assaka as they are spoken of together in Anguttara Nikaya and Soṇa Nanda Jataka. To the south there was the Mulaka country. Assaka and Mulaka like Kasi and Kosala were probably tribal names which gradually became identified with the country the tribes occupied from time to time. At the time of Alexander's invasion, the Assakeni were to be found in the North-west also.

Assaka is always found connected with Mulaka in the early Pali Literature which distinguishes between Assaka with its capital Patna or Potali, mulaka with its capital Paittana and Kalinga with its capital Dantipura. Thus we can exactly locate Assaka—to the north Avanti, to the East Kalinga and to the South Mulaka. In the Maha Govinda Sutta, Brahmadatta of Assaka is mentioned as the contemporary of Satta Bahu of Kalinga, Vessa Bahu of Avanti,

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Bharata of Souvira, Reṇu of Videha, Dasaratha of Anga and Dasaratha of Kasi. The *Mahabharata* contains the legend of one Asmaka who ruled at Podani,

"*Asmakō nāma rajarshih*
Poudanyām yō nivesayēt" ||

In the *Chulla Kalinga Jataka*, a king of Assaka and his minister Nandisena are spoken of as having won a victory over Kalinga. Potali is once spoken of as having been under the Suzerainty of Kasi. The *Vayu Puraṇa* speaks of Asmaka and Mulaka as scions of the Ikshvaku line. The Puraṇas in general, speak of the Andhras Asmakas, and Mulakas as Mlechhas.

Andhrāh sakāh Pulindāscha
Mulikāyavan āsthathā |
Kaivartābhīra Sabarah
Yēchanyē mlechha sambhavah |
Teshāmparē Janapadah
Dakshināpatha vāsinah |
Kārushācha sahaishikah
Atabhyā Sabarāstathā |
Pulindah vindhya Pushikah
Vaidarbhā Dandakaissahā ||

(Matsya Puraṇa)

The Sankhyayana Srauta sutra mentions Mutibas one of the numerous variants of the name Mulika, the others being Muchiba Muchipa, Muvipa, Mushaka, Mushika, Mulaka, Chuchuka, Chulika Sulika etc.

Abhirah saha chai shikah
Atabhyā ssabarascha yē |
Pulindah vindhya mulika
Vaidarbhā Dandakaissahā ||

(Vayu Puraṇa)

Dakshināpatha Janmānah
Sarvē naravarandhrakah |
Guhah pulindah chuchuka
Sabarah Madrakai ssahā ||

(Mahabharata XII)

Though the name Asmaka is not to be found after Christian Era, the names Mulaka and Mulaka Nadu as a part of Andhra country occur in inscriptions down to the sixteenth century. In the Nasik Inscription of Balasri, Asaka and Mulaka are mentioned together.

"*Asika Asaka Mulaka Suratha kukurā paranta*
Anupa vidabha Akaravati Rajasa"

(Epi. Ind. VIII)

The Mushakas are also mentioned in the Kharavela Inscription (J. B. O. R. S. 1917). Bhagavanlal Indraji identified Mulakas

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with Nundakas. Senart however denies the identification of Assakas with the Arsakidae and thinks they are the same as Rishikas mentioned in the Mahabharata.

Kambhojah Rishikāyecha
Paschimanupa Kaschaye ||

Later on, under the Chalukyas, the country is called Vengi-Mulaka Nadu, Isanavarman is also credited with having defeated both the Andhras and Sulikas. (Jitvandhrādhipatim.....Bhanktvārane Sulikan), who were evidently neighbours. An inscription at Rameswara in the Proddatur Taluk of the Kadapa District tells us that the Proddaturu sima and Chernuri sima were included in the Mulaka Nadu, a sub-division of Gandikota sima a part of Udayagiri Rajya. Later on, in the days of Deva Raya II of Vijayanagara, Vinukonda Vallabhamatya—the patron of the poet Srinatha and author of Kridabhiramamu, was the ruler of Mopuru in Mulaka Nadu a sub-division of Udayagiri Rajya. However, unlike Velanadu which possessed a distinct line of rulers during the medieval days, Mulaka Nadu had no distinct political independence. But yet it preserved an individuality and integrity of its own because of the numerous far famed scholars in the community who commanded universal respect from all classes all over south India.

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THE DATE OF NAIGHANTUKA DHANANJAYA

By S. E. V. VIRA RAGHAVACHARIAR.

Chronology which is of paramount importance in the History of Culture, is a great stumbling block in the high-road of Indian History. That Dhanaṇjaya's date is dubious is no wonder, when we take into account the fact that the date of Kālidāsa, that most brilliant star in the firmament of Indian Poetry and one of the greatest of the world's "sons of song", is enshrouded in the deepest obscurity.

Let us grope our way through the 'terra-incognito' of Hindu chronology and arrive at the date of Dhanañjaya, the auother of the "Dvisandhāna Mahākāvya" (otherwise known as "Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya") and the "Dhanañjayanighanṭu" (otherwise known as the "Nāmamālā") with the aid of literary and historical evidence, internal and external.

In Samskṛt Literature, Subandhu, author of the 'Vāsavadattā', and Bhaṭṭa-Bāṇa, author of the 'Kādambari' and Harśacaritā', are well known for their 'forte' in 'Śleṣa-kavitā' or poetry replete with 'double-entendre'. But neither of them was a 'Dvyarthi poet' (or one who can write a 'Kāvya' that yields a two-fold interpretation throughout, regarding two themes). Kavirāja (650-725 A. D.) author of the famous 'Rāghava Pāṇḍavīya' was practically the pioneer in the field of 'Dvyarthi Prabandhas'. Naighaṇṭika Dhanañjaya seconded him by writing the equally famous 'Dvisandhāna Mahā Kāvya', which is a monument of poetic skill. We must not fail to note that Naighaṇṭuka Dhanañjaya was not identical with the celebrated author of the 'Daśarûpaka'. We shall presently see that the former was prior to Rājaśekhara (880—920 A. D.) author of 'Balaramayana, Kavyamimamsa' etc., while the latter was decidedly posterior to him.

Daśarûpaka Dhanañjaya was a Brāhmaṇa, son of Viṣṇu and a protege of king Munja, as can be attested by the following quotation:

"विष्णोः सुतेनापि धनञ्जयेन
विद्वन्मनोराग निबन्धहेतुः
आविष्कृतं मुञ्जमहीशगोष्ठी
वैदग्ध्यभाजा दशरुपमेतत्."

If Muñja was the uncle of the glorious king Bhoja, which is beyond the possibility of cavil, Daśarûpaka Dhanañjaya must have flourished about 1000 A. D.

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Prof. V. A. Smith opines in his 'Early History of India, (4th Ed. 1924) P. 410.

"The sevenih Rāja, named Muñja (974—995 A. D.) who was famous for his learning and eloquence was not only a patron of poets, but himself a poet of no small reputation, as attested by the anthologies, which include various compositions attributed to his pen. The author Dhanañjaya and his brother Dhanika were among the distinguished scholars who graced his court".

But Naighaṇṭuka Dhanañjaya was a Jain and a son of Srtdevi and Vasudeva, as can be seen from the last śloka of his 'Divsandhāna' (XVIII 146).

"नीत्या योगुरुणा दिशोदशरथेनोपात्तवान्नन्दनः
श्रीदेव्या वसुदेवतः प्रतिजगन्न्यायस्यमार्गेस्थितः
तस्य स्थायि धनञ्जयस्य कृतितः प्रादुष्पदुच्चैर्यशो
गाम्भीर्यादि गुणापनोदविधिनेवाम्भोनिधींलंघते"

Prof. A. B. Keith writes: "A work of the same title (i. e., Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya) by Dhanañjaya is mentioned by a Rājaśekhara and the date of it is dubious".

('Classical Samskṛt Literature' P. 56 Footnote).

From what has gone before and what is to follow, we can easily understand that Dhanañjaya in the above quotation was identical with the Naighaṇṭuka Dhanañjaya and Rājasekhara was the same as the author of 'Bālarāmāyana, Kāvya-mīmāmsā' etc.

Here fortunately, we have internal as well as external evidence; we shall first consider the internal evidence:

"प्रमाणमकलंकस्य पूज्यपादस्यलक्षणम्
द्विसन्धानकवेः काव्यं रत्नत्रयमपश्चिमम्

—Dhanañjaya's 'Nighaṇṭu'. II Pari 48 sl.

From this couplet we know that the 'Nyayaśāstra' of Akalañka Bhaṭṭāra, the 'Vyākaraṇa' of Pûjyapāda Devanandi and the 'Dvisandhāna' (otherwise known as the 'Rāghava-Paṇḍavīya') of the Dvisandhāna Kavi i. e., Dhanañjaya are diamonds par excellence.

"जाते जगति वाल्मीकौ शब्दः कविरिति स्मृतः
कवीइति ततो व्यासे कवयश्चेति दण्डिनि
कवयः कवयश्चेति बहुत्वं दूरमागतम्
विनिवृत्तं चिरादेतत्कलौ जाते धनञ्जये."

—Dhanañjaya's 'Nighaṇṭuh'. II 49; 50.

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From these ślokas we are led to infer that there was a considerable distance of time between Daṇḍin (not later than 600 A. D.), and our Dhanañjaya.

The learned Editor, Mahāmahopādhyāya Sivadatta Sarma writes in his preface to the 'Dvisandhāna' (Kāvya—Mala, No. Bombay 18).

" 884 ख्रिस्तब्दपर्यन्तं कश्मीरान्पालयितुरवन्तिवर्मणः समकालीनयोः ध्वन्यालोक निर्मायिकानन्दवर्धन—हरचरितमहा काव्य रचयितृ रत्नाकरयोः स्तावकस्य, 959 ख्रिस्तब्द रचित यशस्तिलकचंपूनिर्मातृ जैनसोमदेवेन स्तुतस्य, वालरामायणाद्यनेक नाटकादि निर्मातृ राजशेखरस्यनाम्ना ज़ल्हणादि संगृहीत सूक्तिवल्यादिषु प्राचीनकविवर्णन श्लोकेषु

(सूक्तिमुक्तावलि—सुभाषितहारावल्योः)

द्विसंन्धाने निपुणातां सतां. चक्रे धनंजयः

ययाजातं फलंतस्य सतां चक्रे धनंजयः

इत्युपलभ्यमानत्वेन 'राजशेखरकवेः प्राचीनो धनंजयकवि रासीत् इति. प्रकृतकाव्ये जैनसमयमात्रप्रसिद्धकथानां निवद्धत्वात् जैनः सः इतिच प्रतीयते. "

"Thus the priority of Dhanañjaya to Râjaśekhara has been established beyond any possibility of doubt. Till now we could only know that Dhanañjaya flourished between 600—880 A. D., far later than Daṇḍin and anterior to Râjaśekhara."

Let us now consider the indirect evidence; [1] Kavirāja, author of 'Râghava-Pāṇḍavîya', writes the following couplet in his poem:

" सुवन्धु र्बाणभट्ट कविराजइतित्रयः

वक्रोक्ति मार्गनिपुणा श्चतुर्थोविद्यतेनवा. "

—'Râghava-Pâṇḍavîya', I. 41.

THE DATE OF DHANANJAYA

In this couplet, Kavirâja pays a glorious but deserved encomium to his poetic predecessors, Subandhu and Bhaṭṭa Bâṇa. The purport of this couplet is that Subandhu, Bhaṭṭa Bâna and himself (i. e., Kaviraja) were consummate adepts in 'Vakrokti'—'crooked saying' (i. e., they were experts in composing poetry replete with double-entendres–Slesa—or Vakrokti') and that there was none to compete with them in their 'forte'. From this, we conclusively understand that Kavirâja was later than Subandhu and Bâṇa (590—650 A. D.)

1. The date assigned by us to Kavirâja is 650–725 A. D., for there is a reference to 'Kavirâja' in the 'Kâvyâlankâra sûtravrtti of Vâmana, who flourished in the 8th century. We are going to publish an article on the date of Kvirâja, in which the details are given.

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As Kavirâja avowedly says that there is none (who is a वक्रोक्ति-मार्गनिपुणः) to compete with them in their 'forte', we are led to think that Kavirâja must have necessarily been anterior to Dhanañjaya, who is a worthy rival of Kavirâja in his 'forte'. The 'Dvisandhâna is a triumph of skill; as such, if Kavirâja were acquainted with or aware of Dhanañjaya or his 'Dvisandhâna', he would have certainly alluded to him in the above couplet.

Some may refute this and say "Kavirāja alluded only to those poets who were adepts in 'Slesa-Kavitā' but not to ordinary poets who tried their hand at it, Dhanañjaya, in Kavirāja's opinion, might not have been a competent hand at 'Slesa-Kavitā' and this more than accounts for the latter's reticence concerning the former; and consequently this couplet will not in the least enable us in establishing the priority of Kavirāja to Dhanañjaya.

But we opine that nothing is farther from truth than this. The 'Dvisandhāna" of Dhanañjaya compels the admiration of even the most prejudiced critic; even a cursory perusal of the 'Dvisandhāna' will extort the praise of the reader that it is nothing but a monument of poetic excellence. It is in no way inferior to Kavirāja's "Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya", and perhaps (or certainly) better. Even the poets of the 9th century had a very high opinion of Dhanañjaya; for thus runs a couplet preserved in an anthology of those times.

" कवे र्धनंजयस्येनं सक्तवीनां शिरोमणेः
प्रमाणं नाममालेति श्लोकानांच शतद्वयम् "

"Even though some pessimists withhold the praise which Dhanañjaya deserves, saying that he has only spoken of himself in a strain of puffing self-advertisement without proper justification, we reply that their reflections suffer much in point of poetic insight, for the 'Dvisandhāna', (to reiterate) to an impartial and sober critic is simply admirable, having a very high level of poetic excellence. The reticence of Dhanañjaya concerning his poetic predecessor Kavirāja can be explained by the fact that Dhanañjaya neither alluded to nor praised any literary giants of old. We may even say, without any charge of untruth, that Dhanañjaya might not have heard of Kavirāja or of his Kāvya, because of the negligible distance of time between them, in those by-gone days.

Thus we see that Dhanañjaya was later than Kavirāja (650—725 A. D.) and prior to Rājaśekhara (880—920 A. D.) and that there had been a considerable distance of time between Daṇḍin (600 A. D.) and Dhanañjaya. *Hence, we can reasonably fix the date of Naighantuka Dhanañjaya between 750—800 A. D.*

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THE SANTHA BOMVALI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF NANDA VARMMA

By SATYANARAYANA RAJAGURU

Some years back, a resident of Sântâ Bomvâli, a village near Tekkali, in Ganjam District, discovered, while digging a ditch, a set of copper-plates, which was brought to my notice by a local Uriya pandit. So, on 10th Nov. 1927, I went to that village, read the plates, and got their rubbings without breaking the ring. The rubbings are torn on the left side, because the owner of the plates did not consent to break the ring.

The set contains the grant made by the Maharaja Nanda Varmmâ, son of Ananta Varmmâ, in Âshâdha, panchami, at the time of Solar Eclipse, and it refers to 'Chikhallikâ grâma' which cannot be identified with any part of the locality. The grant was made in the "Pravarddhamâna Samvatsara 221" and bears a close resemblence to the copper-plate grants of the Early Gangâ kings of Kalinga.

The set contains 3 copper-plates, each measuring about 6" by 3". The first and the third are inscribed on one side only. The ring holding the plates is about $\frac{1}{2}$" thick and $3\frac{1}{2}$" in diameter. The two ends of the ring are soldered into the two portions of a circular seal on which is fixed an image of bull, Nandi Couchant. Round the Nandi, there are in the surface of the disc, the figures of Conch-shell, chouries etc. The edges of the plates are slightly raised into rims to protect the writing. The whole inscription contains 32 lines.

The alphabet employed belongs to the old Nâgari (Kutilâkshara) type and the characters are exactly like those found in the copper-plates of southern Kalinga (modern Ganjam and Vizag Dts.) used from the 9th to the 10th century A. D.

In the orthographical ground I would merely draw the attention to the following points:—

(1) The consonant after 'r' is generally doubled as in (a) sarvvarttu; (b) Nanda Varmmâ (c) Śarmmonê (d) Parvvana etc, (Lines 1, 15, 18, 22, 26–27 respectively)

(2) 'ch-chha' is used for 'tsa' (Line 31)

(3) Due to carelessness of the writer 'va' is not distinguished from 'ra' (Line 1)

(4) In many places, 'va' is used in the place of 'ba' and also 'bda' is used in the place of 'vda' (Line 10)

(5) There is a slight difference between 'ê-kârâ' and 'i-kâra'; and also between 'ma' and 'vva' (Line 1, 11)

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(6) In certain places, anusvâra and 'visarga' symbols are omitted (Line 1, 29, 30, 28, 32, 3, 11, 5)

The language of the inscription is throughout Sanskrit, and is almost in prose, except the last two slokas quoted from 'Vyâsa-Samhita.'

(1) One peculiarity worthy of notice is that not a single word ending in 'Panchami-Vibhakti' (Fifth-case-ending) has been used throughout. I do not understand why that particular 'Vibhakti' is overlooked even in the following necessary places :—

(a) 'Svadânâ phala mânantya' (Line 28)

(b) 'Kalinga nagara vâsakâ Mahêndrâchala' (Line 2)

(2) In one place 'ta' and 'sa' are combined together, where they ought not to be joined. Line 10)

(3) The Samdhi rule is not observed in two places for a word. Instead of 'Śrîmân=nandavarmmâ simply 'Srîmâ=nanda Varmmâ' is used (Line 15, 18)

(4) For 'Kauṇḍinyasa' there is used 'Kaunaṇḍilyasa' (Line 21)

(5) I do not understand the real meanings of the following phrases :—

(a) Râjaputra Khâlinâmâ bhûpaṭṭakah nivêsanasahitâ (Line 19)

(b) Kapilamaṇḍapa yamali pollavih (Line 20)

(6) The last letter of the third line is not readable.

The geneological table of this dynasty is not yet published, though many copper-plate grants of the kings of this Early Gangâ dynasty have been discovered and published in various Historical magazines. With the help of some 25 copper-plates (Some of them are not published yet) I arranged a geneological table, which I hope will draw the attention of the Historians of Andhra and Utkal for its further development. In my next article, I wish to explain the basis on which I have arranged this geneological-table and also add a short note about the "Ganga Vamsa pravarddhamâna Vijayarâjya Samvatsara."

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TEXT

1st plate, 2nd side.

1. Om[1] svasty=amara purânukâriṇa[h] Sarvvarthu sukha ramaṇtyâ—
2. [d]=vijaya vatah Kalinga nagara vâsakâ[n]=mahêmdrâ=chalâ=
3. mala Śikhara pratishṭa[2]tasya charâ=chara gurô[h] Sakala (×?)
4. bhuvana nirmmâṇaika sûtra dhârasya Śaśamka chûḍâ—
5. maṇê[h] bhagavatô gokarṇṇa Svâminaś=charaṇa kama—
6. la yugala puṇyamâd=apâsta(?) sakala kali kalamkô
7. gamgâ=mala kulôdbhava nija nistrimśô dhârô pârjjita saka—
8. la kalingâ=dhi râjya pravitata chatur=udadhi taramgamêkha—

2nd plate, 1st side.

9. lâ=vani[4] talâ=mala yaśâ anaika[5] samkshôbha jani
10. to jaya Śabdah pratâpâ=vanatsamasta[6] sâmanta chakra—
11. chûḍâmaṇi prabhâmanjarî punja ranjita charaṇa[h] para—
12. ma mâhêśvarô mâtâpitṛ pâdânudhyâtô naya vî[7]
13. naya dayâ dâkshiṇyô śauryyau=dâryya sàtya tyâgâ=
14. di guṇa sampada mâdhâra śrî Ananta varmma sûnu mahârâ—
15. ja śrî mâ namda varmmâ[8] pharêya bhuktih pâti[9] chikhallikâ gra—
16. ma sainô bhôgika bârika pramukham(?) sarvva samavêtô

2nd plate, 2nd side.

17. Kumvina[10] samânjâpayati viditam=astu vâya(?) yasmin grâ—
18. mô=Smâbhi Śrîmâ=nanda varmmâ[11] sûryyôparâgê puṇyâbhi vṛ—
19. ddhayê Râjaputra khâlinâmâ bhupaṭṭanah nivêśa—
20. na sahitâ(?) kapila maṇḍapa yâmali pôllavih(?)
21. Kaunaṇḍilyasa[12] gôttrâya brâhmaṇyâ=ditya[13] Śarmmâṇê mâttṛ—

1. Denoted by a symbol.
2. Read, 'pratishṭhitasya'.
3. Read, 'nija nistrimśa'.
4. Read, 'Vani'.
5. Read, 'yaśâ=nêka'.
6. Read, 'pratâpâvanata samasta sâmanta'.
7. Read, 'vi'
8. Read, 'śrîmân=namda Varmmâ'.
9. Read, 'Pharêya bhuktyântahpâti'.
10. Read, 'Kuṭumvinam'
11. Read, 'śrîmân=namda Varmmâ'.
12. Read, 'Kauṇḍinyasa'.
13. Read, 'Brâhmaṇa=dity'.

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22. Śarmmaṇê dugga śarmmaṇê cha sarvva karabharaih pari hṛtyâ
23. chamdrâ=rka pratishṭha pratipâdita iti pûrvvêṇa ḍôllamgi nâma—

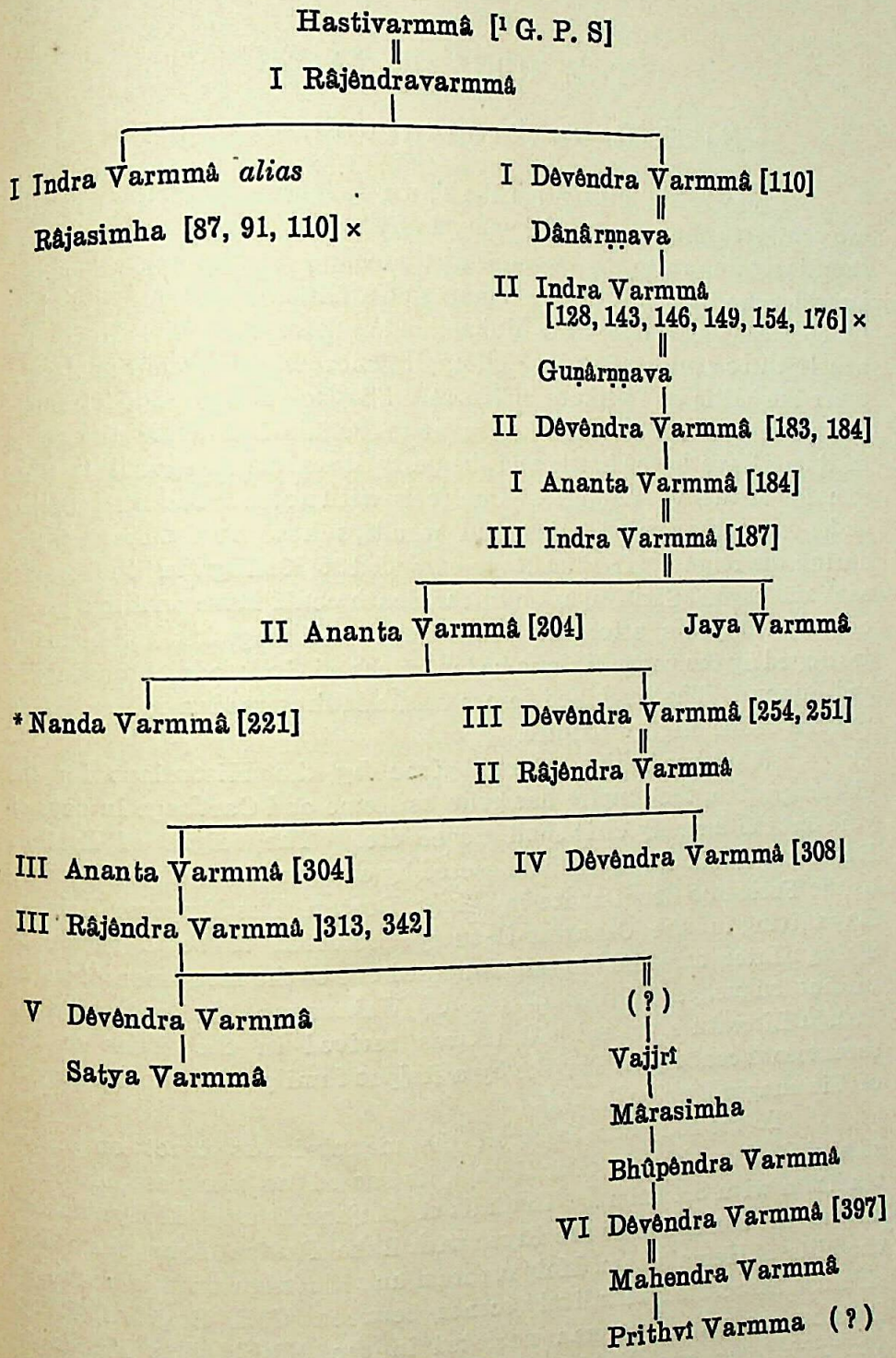
3rd plate, 1st side.

24. garttâ sîmâ sêtu dakshiṇêna pravahati dakshiṇêna sîmâ—
25. Sêtu paśchima dakshina kôṇê pâshâṇa paśchimêṇa vâpî
26. uttara paśchima kôṇê pâshâṇa uttarêṇa kâṇa garthâ pa—
27. rvvaṇa pravahati rânjah pranjâ payati mâbhûda
28. phala śamkâvah paradattê=ti pârthiva[h] svadânâ phala[1]
29. mânantya[m] paradânânu pâlanam[2] vahubhir=vvasudhâ dattâ Râjâ—
30. bhi[h] sagarâdi bhi[h] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmi[h] tasya tasya
31. tadâ phalam=iti pravarddhamâna Vijayarâjya samvachchhara[3] śatê 221
32. âshâḍha dina pamchami utkîrṇṇa[m] Śâsana[m]||

1. Read, 'Svadânât phala mânantyam'. 2. Read, 'Pâlanê'.
3. Read, 'Samvatsara'

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The Geneological Table of the Early Ganga Kings of Kalinga.



1. 'G. P. S.' = 'Ganga vamsa pravarddhamâna Samvatsara'.

(The signs) × | = The son; || = the person is the son or the descendent:

× Whether one person or more than that;

* The Mahârâjâ Nanda Varmmâ' of the present plates.

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THE RUINS OF HAMPI

By K. RAGHAVACHARYULU M.A., B.L.

Nearly six miles from the Town of Hospet in Bellary district are scattered the ruins of the capital of the Vizianagar kingdom now familiarly known to the traveller as the Ruins of Hampi. The spot is held sacred as showing the remains of a Hindu kingdom which held its independance against the Muhammadan powers of the North for nearly three centuries and which finally succumbed to their onslaught after the battle of Tallikota in 1565 A. D. Sadasiva Raya and Tirumala Raya fled from the city of Vizianagar to Penukonda after the death of Rama Raya in the battle and the petty state of Anegondi is what remains of the vast Empire. One feels with sorrow and indignation as he treads the sacred ruins and wonders how the Empire which during the reign of Krishna Raya extended to Kalinga in the North-east and beyond Seringapatam in the South could have within a period of only 35 years after his death been disintegrated and finally destroyed by the petty Muhammedan rulers of Golkonda, Ahmednagar and Bijapur. The combined forces of the Muhammedan rulers led to the fall of the mighty Empire.

Whatever be the reasons given by the Historians for the disintegration, the Empire has gone as Rome and Carthage in days of yore but the memory of it shall never die. The reigns of Krishna Raya and Rama Raya are held sacred by every citizen of Andhradesa as the Period of Renaissance in Telugu Poetry. The Emperor Krishna Raya living in the Canarese Country preferred to be a patron of Telugu Literature and himself composed one of the monumental works in that language. With the fall of Vizianagar, the patronage of Telugu Literature waned till it was revived in the fifties of the seventeenth century at Tanjore by a Rajput family allied to the Rayas of Vizianagar by blood.

To the religious observer, the mountainous tract on either side of R. Tungabhadra near Hampi, is sacred as being associated in tradition with Sri Rama. The hills of Anjanadi and Rishyamukam on the northern side of the River with Lake Pampa near them and the hills of Hemakutam, Malyavantam and Matanga on the southern side are associated with lively scenes between Vâli, Sugriva, Râma Lakshmana and Hanuman narrated in the Kishkindha Kanda of *Valmiki Ramayana*. In fact, the residents of the place go to the extent of showing the cremated remains of Vali and the cave in which Sugriva is alleged to have kept the jewels of Sita. The Lake with the river to the South of it bears the name Pampa, the Temple of

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Virupaksha is known as the Pampapati Temple and the name of the Village Hampi is only a Canarese form of Pampapuram but one doubts how the river mentioned as Prāchina Vāhini (ప్రాచీనవాహిని) in the *Ramayana* (Kisb. 27—16) is now flowing towards the East. Scholars believe the neighbourhood of Anegondi to be associated with the friendship of Sri Rama and Sugriva which led ultimately to the rescue of Sita and conquest of Lanka. The temple of Kodanda Rama built on the bank of Tungabhadra east of the Pampapati Temple contains rockcut images of Sri Rama and Lakshmana which depict their emaciated and tearstained features as they wandered through the forests of Kishkindha.

As the visitor proceeds from the town of Hospet which bore the name of Nagala-puram in the reign of Krishna Raya towards Kamalapur, he finds a stone wall running from near the Kamalapur Tank bund towards the northwest to the River Tungabhadra which evidently represents the outer limit of the ancient city. The ruins can be said to cover nearly ten square miles. Passing the village of Kamalapur, one finds at a short distance therefrom a stone enclosure which contains the traces of the King's Palace and other important buildings and which can be called the Palace Enclosure.

All the important buildings in the Palace Enclosure are very near to the road leading to the Virupaksha Temple on the bank of Tungabhadra. Very near the Southern Entrance to the Palace Enclosure a square building with a narrow moat outside, a small swimming bath in the Centre, and an arched Corridor around meets the visitor's eye and is described as the Queen's Bath though the Zenana enclosure is nearly half a mile from it. Towards the northwest of the same is an open bath equally distant from the Zenana Enclosure, octogonal in shape, with a corridor all around and a raised platform in the centre. The baths are almost intact and appear to have been intended for the king rather than for the Zenana. Midway between the baths is a Temple of Chandra Sekhara.

Passing the baths, the roadway leads the anxious traveller to two raised platforms with an underground chamber between them. The first platform which is nearly twenty feet high is called the throne platform. The chronicler calls it the House of Victory built after the King's Victorious campaign against Kalinga. The other platform is what remains of the King's Audience Hall. The stone pavilion leading to the spot where the king used to preside is also visible and neither of the platforms show the remains of the buildings which once adorned them. Between the two, one finds the underground chamber of which only a dark passage remains, suggesting an actual chamber in the proximity the passage to which has been subsequently closed up.

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Towards the Northwest of the Kings' Audience Hall, the visitor passes by the less important Dannaik's Enclosure and Mint and arrives at the Hazara Rama Temple, one of the most important shrines now extant in the ruins, the description, artistic value and importance of which cannot be more adequately described than is done by Longhurst in his book on Hampi Ruins at Pages 71—80. A central hall leading to the inner Temple has four carved Blackstone pillars highly polished and beautiful, whereon the Avatars of Vishnu and other figures are carved. The Kalyana Mandapa to the Northeast contains the entire story of Ramayana carved on its walls. The Amman Shrine lies to the North of the Temple containing finely carved stone work on its walls. The outer enclosure of the Temple also contains bas-reliefs on its walls alleged to represent the Mahā-navami festival. As regards sculpture, we search in vain to find its parallel except in the unfinished Vitthala Temple near the river.

A passage leading Northwest from the Harara Rama Temple reaches the Zenana Enclosure. Two towers., one to the North and one to the South are almost intact and appear to have been used by the Ladies of the Zenana as pleasure resorts. A raised platform which probably represented the central building meets the visitor's eye as he enters by the Western gate and to the South of it is the Lotus Mahal which is evidently the finest building in the enclosure. The ground floor is open on all sides but the upper storey consists of a small room with numerous windows. The building has been mistaken by Sewell to be a Council Chamber while in fact its very existence in the Zenana Enclosure points strongly to the supposition that it must have been a Zenana pleasure resort. To the west of it is a small tank which was meant for the Zemana and a small passage in the Southern wall of the Zenana Enclosure reaches the Ranga Temple which was mainly intended for the ladies of the Zenana and which contains a marvellous image of Hanuman nearly ten feet high. Towards the East of the Zenana Enclosure are the Guards' Quarters and the Elephants' stables.

Leaving the Zenana Enclosure, if the visitor resumes his path along the Hampi Road, he visits the wonderful underground temple and finds a number of Nagakals (serpent stones) inside it. The road then passes by the side of the gigantic archway formed by the resting of one boulder against another at an enormons height and by a small temple dedicated to Virabhadra. The visitor, before he reaches the Krishna Temple, sees the awe—inspiring statues of Nara-simha more than 20 feet high. One finds with sorrow, the statues mutilated to a great extent leaving only the outline. To the north of it is a monstrous Linga, a portion of which always remains under water and which is more than 12 feet in height. It would not be out of place here to mention the other marvels of sculpture whether rockcut

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or carved out of stone. To the north of the Krishna Temple, there are two Temples dedicated to Ganesa, the Sasivikallu and Kadalaikallu Temples containing huge figures of the Belly God, the first in an open mandapam and the second inside a Temple. Opposite the Virupaksha Temple is seen a very huge bull or Nandi which is a marvel in itself. The Temple of Kodanda Rama on the bank of the Tungabhadra contains carved images of Rama and Lakshmana of more than average height. A small temple to the east of the Kodanda Rama Temple reveals the incarnation of Vishnu as Anantasayana and illustrates the birth of Brahma.

The Krishna Temple is in a very dilapidated condition and the Southern Verandah has entirely fallen to the ground. The road then passes by the Hemakutam hill and the Jain temples to the north of it and reaches the Pampapati or Virupaksha Temple. In the entire ruins of Hampi we find only three temples where worship is still carried on, the Virupaksha Temple, the Kodanda Rama Temple and the Malyavantha Raghunath Temple. The front tower of the Virupaksha Temple is of an enormous height, the passage in the wall leading to the top of it having been closed for fear of accidents. The conical top rising higher and higher is visible from the first floor. Portions of the Temple are said to belong to the pre-Vizianagar-period and the main shrine was built by Harihara I. The front Mandapa and the Eastern and Western Gates are said to have been built by Krishna Raya. Opposite the Temple is the street called the Hampi Bazaar now almost in ruins leading to the monolithic Bull above referred to. The entire Bazaar is crumbling down and it may disappear completely a few years hence.

The pathway then reaches the Tungabhadra at one of the most beautiful spots revealing the hills of Rishyamukam and Anjanadi on the other side, the latter having at its west a Temple dedicated to Hanuman. The river passes through the narrowest gorge near the Kodanda Rama Temple and in the distance are seen the remnants of the ruined bridge across the river. To the south of the Kodanda Rama Temple is the Achyuta Raya Temple and near it is the Matanga Parvatam with a small shrine at its top. The passage reaching the Achyutha Raya Temple from the river passes through the Soolai Bazaar which is also entirely in ruins.

Before the visitor reaches the Vitthala Temple he leaves to his left the Varaha Temple now in ruins and to his right the Jain temple at a height and passes under the King's Balance or the Tulapurusha Dana monument which was used on auspicious occasions by the kings for weighing themselves against Gold or precious stones and then distributing the same among the brahmins.

The Vitthala Temple is one of the finest Temples among the ruins and has been referred to above in connection with the Harara

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Rama Temple. Both the Temples contain some of the finest specimens of sculptual art. The Vitthala Temple was begun by Krishna Raya and left unfinished. The ornamental pillared Hall in front of the Temple, the Kalyana Mandapa and the stone car adjacent to it excite the wonder and admiration of the onlooker.

The visitor then reaches the road which proceeds from Kamalapur to Talarigathu at which the river is crossed in small basket like vessels called putties to reach the other side and proceed to Anegondi. At a short distance from the other side of the river, the fortwall of Anegondi is reached and the ruins among the hills near by are still reported to be unsurveyed. The road to Kamalapur from Talarigathu passes by a Jain Temple called Ganigetti Jain Temple and the Hill of Malyavantham on which is situated the Raghunath Temple. The image of Rama is carved upon a huge boulder whereon is built the central shrine and to the west of the Temple is a small Siva shrine perched upon a boulder. A distant view of the ruins can be obtained from the Top of the hill.

So far a brief sketch of the ruins has been given to give the reader an idea of the various important monuments to be seen therein. One peculiar feature as regards the geographical position of the Ancient city is its impregnability in the North. The double row of mountains on either side of the Narrow and rapid Tungabhadra formed a Natural barrier repelling aggression from the North. Another feature in the ruins is the close interspersion of the Various Temples belonging to different religious sects Jain, Saivite and Vaishnavite. The numerous Jain Temples illustrate the toleration of different religious faiths by the Vijianagar Kings. In fact the Jain Temples seem to date many centuries before Krishna Raya and we hear of Bukka in the middle of the fourteenth century squaring up quarrels between Jains and Vaishnavites. Besides, the visitor finds various Nagakals used for serpent worship among the ruins which show that that kind of worship was also in vogue in those days. Many of the Temples are in ruins and if greater care is not taken the wonderful monuments of Ancient culture will disappear leaving behind only a mass of stones.

One other feature is the fine Sculpture found in almost all the temples and specially as has been referred to above, in the Vitthala and Hara Rama Temples. The monolithic statues of Vira Narasimha Nandi and Ganesa and the Stone Linga are superb in their wild grandeur. But one burns with indignation to find all the figures in sculpture mutilated to an enormous extent by the invaders and their preservation in the present form is the least that can be ardently desired by us now.

The wonderful irrigation system and engineering skill has been spoken to by the chroniclers Polo and Nuniz. The remains of a

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stone aqueduct used to supply water to the baths in the citadel can still be seen near the throne platform. I cannot bring this short description of the ruins to a close without observing that they are a marvellous sight for the gods to see and that the sacred place ought to be a place of Pilgrimage for every patriotic Indian as being the only remains of a vast Hindu Empire during the medieval period.

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KALINGA

By GAGABANDHU SINHA

By studying ancient history we come to know something of the wonderful nature of the Divine providence. History is the silent witness of the many and varied changes that constantly take place in the vast universe. To study the different manners and customs, religions and civilisations of the different peoples who have had their independent and individual growth through the ages, is to discern the eternal glory of the Almighty; and to be able to do this we have to read history. History is not confined to words. It lives in inscriptions, on rock and coin, in buildings and works of art, in tradition and folklore. It is by studying these that we can construct ancient history.

We propose, in this article, to review the history of ancient Kalinga. The kingdom of Kalinga has been known by various names. It is very difficult to determine the limits of ancient Kalinga; but there is ample evidence to show that it was a fairly prosperous and extensive country. It cannot be said that all the existing material has yet been published. Historical research is a very taxing business demanding much time and patience. It is very desirable, then, that one should give an immediate publication to whatsoever information one possesses or has been able to seize. If this is done, others will be able to supplement it with their own researches and to go a little further. It is with this hope that I venture to write these pages.

Name—Origin :—It is not an imaginary name. There lived in ancimt times a king named Bali; he had a son named Kalinga. The country ruled by Kalinga came to be known as Kalinga.

Antiquity:—The antiquity of Kalinga is a foregone conclusion. The name is found in the Sutras, the Sanhitas, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and in the Puranas. The following works may be cited.

(Baudhayana Sutras No. 1772 Manu Sanhita, tenth chapter, Ramayana, "Kiskindha" and "Ayodhya" cantos, Mahabharata, Vana Parva, Chap. 144, Hari-vamsa, Chap. 288, 55th Sloka). The names "Kalinga" or "Kulinga" (Kôôlinga) occur a number of times in the Ramayana. According to a description in the forty-first stanza of the 'Kishkindha" canto, Kalinga was situated in the Deccan. In his way to and from his uncl's kingdom of Rajgriha, Bharata comes across the river and country, "Kulinga". "While returning to

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Ayodhya from his uncle's house Bharata came to the river 'Sthanumati' near the village of 'Ekashala', crossing which he arrived on the banks of another river Gomati, in the neighbourhood of the village 'Vinata', crossing which again he entered the Kalinga country." It is clear from this that Kalinga lay between river Gomati and Ayodhya. It is mentioned in the "Padma Purana" that Ramachandra's horse, let loose, in connection with the horse-sacrifice" was honoured in the kingdom of Kalinga. The Brahma Vaivarta Purana speaks of a certain Vaisya named Samadhi performing the worship of the goddess Bhagabatee, in conjunction with King Suratha. Samadhi's grand-father Biradha was the King of Kalinga. The Mahabharata mentions Kalinga, in connection with Yudhisthira's pilgrimages, intimating that it is situated in the Deccan. Vaishampayana tells Janamejaya, "Having gone to the confluence of the Ganges, Yudhisthira bathed in the river "Panchashat" and then joining his brothers he marched on the sea-coast in the direction of Kalinga. About those places on the sea-shore, Womasha remarks "The king calls this country Kalinga. Here flows the river Vaitarani". It can be surmised from this that in the time of Mahabharata, Kalinga extended up to Orissa. There is a verse in Harivamsa (अङ्गाश्च कलिङ्गास्ताम्रलिप्तकां) which has given rise to the belief that Kalinga lay near "Tamralipta". It is mentioned in the Bhishma-Parva that Sruytayu, king of Kalinga fought on behalf of Duryodhan, in the great War. He and his son were killed by Bhima. Kalidasa's 'Raghu-vamsa' speaks of Kalinga as the country lying on the frontiers of Orissa (Raghuvamsa cants 4, sloka 38). The "Shakti Sangama Mantra" says that Kalinga extended from the east of Jagannath to the banks of the river Kristna and that the southern parts of Kalinga were known as Kawlinga (कालिंग.). Again a work entitled "Digvijaya Prakash" has that Kalinga was governed by Bhimakeshar and that it lay to the north of the Odra-desha. From the above references it becomes clear that Kalinga had come to prominence many years before the epic age and that by the time the Ramayana and the Mahabharata were composed the people of Kalinga had made a name in international politics.

It has been stated above that Kalinga was the son of King Vali. Who was this Vali and for how many years did he rule? He belonged to the race of the Moon (चन्द्रवंश) According to the family trees in the Hari-vamsa and the Vishnu-purana, Vali was the son of king Sutapala (सुतपाल) of the race of Nahusha. Vali had five sons—Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Soondha (सून्ध) and Pundra (पुण्ड्र) Vali was of the eigth generation from Nahusha. Here-in also the antiquity of Kalinga can be ascertained.

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ACCOUNTS OF THE FOREIGNERS

Much material about ancient Kalinga can be gathered from the writings of Western antiquarians, especially the old Greek and Roman Scholars. In his geographical account of India Pliny depended solely on the descriptions of Megasthenes. We find in it then different places bearing the name Kalinga—(1) Kalinga, (2) Maco Kalinga, (3) Gangari-desha Kalinga. We find also the name "Tri-Kalinga" in old stone-tablets. In Mahabharata the title has been appended to different places in different times. In his commentary on the Vishnu Purana, Wilson seems to think that there were actually three different kingdoms known as Kalinga. Cunningham says that 'Telingana, has come from "Tri-Kalinga". Some of the Chedi kings have left inscriptions, calling themselves the rulers of Tri-Kalinga and Kalinjarpur. Cunningham concludes from this that, taking Kalinjar and Tri-Kalingas to mean the mountain fortress of Bundel-khand, (1) Dhanaka on the river Kristna corresponds to the modern 'Amaravati' (2) Andhra to Varangal and (3) Kalinga to Rajamahendri. Pliny states that Kalinga is at the root of the mountains Mandeh, Mallu and Mallas in Eastern India. Scholars have agreed that mount Mallas corresponds to the mountain Mahendra, in Ganjam.

According to the accounts of Hiuen Tsang who paid a visit to Kalinga, during his travels in India in the seventh century, Kalinga had its capital to the South-West of Ganjam, at a distance of 1400 to 1500 Lees (233–235 miles) Hiuen-Tsang spelt its name as "Kiye ling-Kiya", blundering with his Chinese pronunciation. From the capital of Odhra-desha, he covered 1200 lees in a South-eastern direction and arrived at "Kong-ju-to;" whence he proceeded to "Kiye-ling-Kiya". Evidently Konju-to is a corruption of Ganjam. Hiuen-Tsang writes that Ganjam was situated at the confluence of two seas. Antiquarians tell us that Ganjam lay between lake Malka and the Sea. Julia pronounces 'Kalinga' as 'Kanyadha'. To ascertain the site of Kalinga that would be in harmony with the descriptions of Hiuen-Tsang and Julian, two places in the Deccan come up for consideration (1) Rajmahendri on the river Godavary (2) Karinga on the sea-shore.

(1) Rajmahendra is 251 miles west of Ganjam.

(2) Koringa is 242 miles distant from Ganjam.

In Cunningham's opinion Rajamahendri was the capital of the Kalinga, visited by Hiuen Tsang. Srika-kol or Chikkool is said to be the original capital of Kalinga. This city is situated at a distance of 20 miles from Kalingapatam. According to Hiuen Tsang the extent of Kalinga was 5000 Lees (833 miles). Commenting on this, Cunningham says, "Being on the east of the Andhra kingdom and on the south of the Dhanakata city, it can be safely said that Kalinga extended on the South-west up to the Godavary. The distance between

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the two limits is roughly 800 miles. Hence Hiuen Tsang must have visited this territory. The capital of Kalinga, seen by Hiuen Tsang, had the extent of 5 miles. Many are of the opinion that the conception that Rajamahendri was the capital of Kalinga is quite modern. The Chalukya Kings established the Vengi Kingdom in 540 A. D. Their capital was Vengi-pur. The tottered remains of this once prosperous city are still to be found in a place known as Vegi, 50 miles South-west of Rajmahendra and 5 miles north of Ellore. The Vengi Kingdom once extended up to the boundaries of Orissa. One of the kings of Vengi captured Kalinga in 750 A. D. A few years after this they established Rajmahendri as their capital.

There is a rock-cut-inscription at Khandgiri of King Aira (ऐर). Therein Kalinga is mentioned thrice. Scholars believe that the inscription belongs to 200 B. C. and that it was in the life-time of Shakya-muni. It can be gathered from the inscription that once Kalinga was famous for fine muslin. One of the Kings built a magnificent stupa to treasure the tooth "Danta" of the Budha and thus gave rise to the name of Dantapura being given to his capital. Cunningham thinks that the Dandagula (दण्डगुल) of the Budhist writers is a corruption of Dantapura. Rajmahendri which is 30 miles distant from port Karinga corresponds to Dantapura. The name Rajamahendri is the invention of a later age. Simhapur had been the capital of Kalinga before the Vengi Rajahs exchanged it for Rajmahendri. Budhist writers state that King Sinha-Vahu established Simhapur. It was the son of this Sinhavahu, one named Vijaya, that became famous as the conqueror of Ceylone (लङ्काद्वीप). Some say that the names Sinhala, Lanka or Ceylone have come from "Sinha Vahu". Whatever it might be, the Kingdom of Sinha Vahu is now all but extinguished. The remains of it can be discorved in an old city, "Simhapur", by name, standing 115 miles west of Ganjam.

The Kalinga country has been known to all the four ages—Satya, Treta, Dwapara and Kali; but the pity is that it now remains only a name.

At one time Bengal was on the point of living annexed to the Kalinga kingdom. Utkal for some time, had formed a part of it. A larger part of Madras was once included in it. It was then a powerful Kingdom indeed; but all its glory has now gone. The name alone still lingers on in the corrupted form of Telingana (Tri-Kalinga or Traikalinga = Trailinga = Talingh = Telingana). It has but shared the fate of many another Indian Kingdom which could once boast of its wealth, power, prosperity and what not, but which is now no more than a poor solitary name.

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Boundaries:—It is a matter of controversy as to the exact extent of ancient Kalinga. The name Tri-Kalinga (Three Kalingas) denoted (1) Northern Kalinga (2) Central Kalinga and (3) Southern Kalinga. It has been proved above that once upon a time Utkal formed a part of Kalinga, though at other times it was an independent country, lying at the farthest limits of Kalinga.

In the account of King Raghu's conquests, in Raghuvamsa, we find that Raghu crossed the river Kapisa and entered the Utkal country, whence he proceeded to the Kalinga kingdom. The King of Kalinga encountered Raghu, with his armies, at the fort of the mountain Mahendra and was defeated. Now where is River Kapisa? Some think it corresponds to the present river Kansai. Some again think it to be river Suvarna-rekha. Kansai comes nearer to the word Kapisa and can be more safely accepted as the river in question. "Mahendra" is one of the seven great mountain-ranges (सप्तपर्वतमाला) of India and forms the northern portion of the Eastern ghats. It stands on the banks of the river Godavary. It has not been said that Kapisa formed the northern boundary of Kalinga. From the account in "Raghuvansa" it is clear that Utkal lay between Kapisa and Kalinga. Raghu appears to have sought the help of the king of Utkal for his journey into the Kalinga. A passage in Mahabharata has it that there flowed the river Vaitarini through Kalinga. Now the Vaitarini flows through Jajpur which is in Orissa. It can be inferred from this that Utkal formed a part of Kalinga, at that time. Hence it can be said that Vaitarini was, once upon a time the Northern boundary of Kalinga. There is evidence to show that the river Godavari was the southern boundary of Kalinga, though at times the kings of Kalinga extended their sway far beyond. It is said that the mountain Amar-kantaka marked the western limits of the kingdom. River Narmada has its sources in this mountain. This part was, at one time, occupied by the aborigines (Kurmo Purana 2—39—9).

"कलिङ्ग नगरस्य नात्यासन्न—सहकार चञ्चलकलिके....काले कलिङ्गचजः सरुङ्गना जनेनसरूतनयावहत्रोणि दिनानि--सागरतीरकानने त्रीडारव्याजाता सक्तिरासित्। अथ—तलरुकाऽऽघ्रनाभेन जयसिंहेन सलकितरण साधनानीतेनानेक संरव्ये नानीकेन त्रागागत्या गृहित सा—कलत्रः। (दशकुमर).

It can be gathered from this that Kalingapatam was not the capital of the Kalinga Kingdom, nor was it Vizagpatam; but it was most probably, Rajamahendri, to the South. Rajamahendri stood a little distance off the sea-shore and had the Andhra-desa on one side. There is a legend which says that the Andhradesa was annexed to Kalinga, after a certain Andhra King had been killed. There was a

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jungle near the Andhra-nagara; the jungle was by the side of a lake; the lake was like a large sea. This lake might have been that of "Koleru". It was a huge expanse of 180 miles. Some miles west of it there is Vengi. Vengi was the capital of ancient Andhra-desa. Perhaps 'Vengi' was the "Andhra Nagara" mentioned above.

It is evident from this that the Kalinga Kingdom extended up to the river Godavari. The King of Kalinga was called "Mahendra-Natha" or "Lord of Mahendra".

उत्कलादर्शित पथः कालङ्गाभिमुखोययौ
प्रियं सहेन्द्रनाथस्य जहार नतुमेदिनीं।
(रघुवंशा 4—32—4 on)

Malli-natha annotates महेन्द्रनाथस्य asकलिङ्गस्य. [हवु 2—53—4.]

अवनम्य करे दत्ते कलिङ्गैरग्रगैस्ततः
आरुरोह महेन्द्राद्रिं यस्यदृश्य यस्विनः।
(19—92).

In the opinion of Wanson, Kalinga extends up to somewhere in the Eastern ghats and lies between Vizagpatam and Kurnool.

The name of the capital is Rajpur. Rajpur means capital (Shanti Parva 5). According to Raghuvamsa, Rajpur was situated on the sea-shore. "The sea could be seen from the windows of the palace and the roaring of its waves prevented the music in the palace from being heard." This description may be applicable to Kalinga-patam and it is certain that in the time of Kalidasa, Kalingpatam was the capital. Kalingapatam and Srikakoli or Chikkakoli are said to have been the ancient capitals, Chikkakole being the earlier of the two. (For the antiquity of Chikakolu See Arch. Surv. of S. India by R. S.ewell I 2 and 7). The name Srikakol is not to be found in any dictionary (अभिधान) or anywhere else. The people were called Kalingas or Kawlingas or Kawlingakas. Their kingdom was ancient. The name of three important Kings are Sima, Agramertho and Kuhara (आदि 76—2601). Two of their princesses were married in the race of the Moon (चन्द्रवंश). Duryodhana was present at the Swayamvar of the princesses and he was able to carry them off with the help of Karna (शान्ति प 4). Krishna is said to have defeated the King of the Kalingas in the battle of Dantakush (Udyoga 47—1883).

In the time of Mahabharata, Orissa was inside Kalinga. It extended on the north up to the river Vaitarini and on the south up to

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the Eastern ghats, though the Kalinga Kings were sometimes able to hold sway right up to the far Amara-Kantaka mountains.

At one time the Kings of Orissa had captured Kalinga and had extended Orissa many miles to the south. There is an inscription on a hill near the fort of Wangulia, Via Attagada and Boirani. The name of the hill is Nagiria Dhimiria. The inscription is in both Oriya and Telugu Characters. Its date is "first part of Chaitra (चैत्र), tenth day." The King of Golcondâ, Mahamad Kuli Kutb Shah was then the ruler of the "Andhra Trailinga" country. The inscription gives an account of Kutbsha's Conquest. The King of Attagada appears to have paid tribute to this monarch. The Telugu inscription adds that the fort belonged to the Utkal country "whose King was the lord of Rajamahendri, Kalinga and Sourastra" (E. G. S. C. for 1913—14 P. 22).

It can be inferred from this that Kalinga, at that time, had become a part of Utkal and had lost its individual importance. When once a Kingdom is conquered by a more powerful Kingdom and is deprived of its independent growth, it is not surprising that in a few years it finds its very name forgotten and lost in oblivion. Had it not been for a faint memory still preserved in a lonely village here, and a town there, with the name "Kalinga", that great country would long have shared the same fate. Kalinga-patam is an example of such silent witnesses.

King Anangabhima, one of the ancient rulers of Utkal, appended a very long title to his name—"Veera Sri Gajapati-Gaudesvara-Navakoti Karnata-Kalabargisvara, etc," (वीरश्री गजपति गौडेश्वर नवकोटि कर्णाट कलवर्गेश्वर.....) It is simply an enumeration of the countries ruled by Maharaja Ananga Bhima Dev. The Carnatic was an important country in ancient India. It is mentioned in the Mahabharata, the Markandeya Purana, the Brihat Sanhita and other old works. Its boundaries have been specified in a work entitled "Shakti—Sangama-tantra". It seems to have extended from "Ramnath" to Sri-Ranga-Patam. In his "History of the Mahrattas", Grant Duff describes Southern Deccan as consisting of five main divisions, Dravida, Carnatic, Andhra or Telingana, Pandya and Maharastra. According to him, ancient Carnatic lay between the Ma'bar and the Coromandel coasts—the Eastern and Western ghats forming its western limits. To the north of it there flows the river Manjari. Black Cotton is produced in the Carnatic; hence its nick-name "Black-land". The Carnatic Kings had occupied a portion of Telingana. There is clear evidence that Maharaja Ananga Bhima Dev once ruled the Carnatic. Maharaja Prataparudra-dev also is known to have extended

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his empire up to Ramesvara. Kalabarga (Kulberg) is in the neighbourhood of Hyderabad. The title, given above, is still being used by the royal family of Utkal and is being referred to in the Utkal-Almanac (पञ्जिका).

The ancestors of the Ganga-Kings originally lived in Kalinga. Choda-ganga-dev's ancestor Antanta-varma is said to have had his residence at Ganga-vadi. I have dwelt upon this point in my essay on "Ancient Utkal". (Mukur Vol. 13, P. 30) There is a genealogy of the Ganga-race in a copper plate of Narasimha-dev. It is found there that Ananta-varma belonged to the line of the "Kōlahal-Kings". The following sloka in the inscription is note-worthy:—

धनकनक समृद्धो गङ्गवाडि: प्रासिद्ध:
सकलविषय भूत: स्वर्ग वर्गोप भोग्य.
तदधिपतिरखाद्योनन्तवर्मा नृपेन्द्र:
समभवदित रूप गङ्गनाम्ना देदया:

It is written in the Madala-Panji" that the Ganga-race had its origin in the South and that Gokarnesvara Mahadeva (गोकर्णेश्वर महादेव) lived in the neighbourhood.

The village of Gangavadi is situated within the Parlakimedi territory—17 miles from Naupada and 9 miles from Parlakimedi. Gokarnapur is at a distance of 2—3 miles from Badakhemadi. Here lives Gokarnesvara Mahadeva. It is said that once upon a time Badakhemandi, Sanakhemandi and Parlakhemandi had been included in one kingdom and that Gokarnesvara was the special deity of the Kingdom. The Ganga Kings ruled Utkal for a very long time. This subject can be treated in a separate article. Chikkul can safely be taken as the Southern limit of the Oriya Country. It is a controversial point and I do not want to discuss it here. I propose however to deal with it in a later article.

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KRISHNA RAYA

OR

The Story of the Karnata Kingdom

By J. RAMAYYA PANTULU, B.A., B.L.

I

Name of Karnata Rajya:—The Karnata Kingdom was known to foreign writers both European and Mohamedan as the Kingdom of Vijayanagara from the name of its capital. But in the country itself it has always been called the Karnâta Râjya or the Kingdom of Karnata and I have chosen to retain that name.

State of the Deccan in the beginning of Fourteenth Century:—The early years of the 14th Century of the Christian Era were a memorable period in the history of the Deccan. The country had till then been outside the influence of the Mohamedan rulers of Delhi and had been ruled by Hindu Kings on the lines of purely Hindu culture. The principal kingdoms then in existence were Devagiri and Warangal or Telingana, north of the Krishna River and the Hoysala Kingdom of Dwarasamudra (the modern Halebid in Mysore) south of that river. In the expiring years of the 13th century, the Mohamedans began to press southwards and by the close of the first quarter of the 14th Century succeeded in shaking these old and worn out kingdoms to their very foundations and in occupying a great deal of their country north of the Kistna. Everything seemed, in the words of Mr. Robert Sewell, "to be leading up to but one inevitable end, the ruin and devastation of Hindu Provinces, the annihilation of their old royal houses, the destruction of their religion, their temples, and their cities. All that the dwellers in the south held most dear seemed tottering to its fall." Although for some time some of the dynasties continued to rule their continually decreasing dominions, they had become quite worn out and exhausted. At this juncture rose into existence the new kingdom of Karnata which succeeded in checking the wave of Mohamedan invasion for nearly two centuries and a half. It was young and vigorous and its kings were imbued with a high sense of patriotism.

Origin of the Karnata Kingdom:—The earliest authentic inscription of the first dynasty of this kingdom belongs to the year 1346—47 A. D. and records an endowment made by five brothers Hariyappa Odayar, Kampanna Odayar, Bukkanna Odayar, Marappa Odayar, and Muddappa Odayar, sons of Sangama, together with some other members of the family, to the religious Mutt at Sringeri, then

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presided over by Vidya Thirtha or Bharathi Thirtha. The inscription says that the grant was made in commemoration of Hariyappa Odayar having conquered the country between the Eastern and Western seas. We find from an inscription at Mepuru in the Cuddapah district that, as early as the year 1351, the Province of Udayagiri (Nellore District) was governed by Savanna Odayar, son of Kampanna Odayar, the second of the five brothers mentioned above, and an inscription at Koteswar in the South Canara District shows that that country was subject to the rule of Vira Bukkanna Odayar, the third of the five brothers, in the year 1353. Thus we see that in its early years the new kingdom was composed of the whole country from the Bay of Bengal to the Indian Ocean. It can be divided into two broad divisions the Eastern or Telugu and the Western or Canarese. The Canarese portion had previously belonged to the Hoysalas and was occupied on the downfall of that dynasty. The Eastern portion had belonged to the Kakatiya Kings of Orangal till a few years previously and we do not know yet how and when it passed from them to the sons of Sangama. Although the Kakatiyas lost a great portion of their territories to the Muhammadans about this time, they continued to rule a reduced kingdom for more than a century later, as Ferishta's History shows. Great Kingdoms like great rivers defy the attempts to find out their ultimate origins and epigraphy has not yet succeeded in discovering the first beginnings of the Karnata Empire.

Traditional Account of the origin:—Mr. Sewell refers to the tradition that the Empire was founded by two brothers mamed Hukka and Bukka with the help of a sage named Madhava *alias* Vidyaranya and that these brothers were adventurers from Telingana. The Portuguese writer Nuniz who wrote from Vijayanagaram about the year 1536 A. D. and whose account was evidently based on the tradition then current in the country gives a different and to my mind more trustworthy account of the origin of the Empire. He traces it to a small principality whose capital was Anegondi, the Nagundy of Nuniz. The King of Delhi waged war against this principality, killed its king and seized the country. He then returned to his capital leaving a deputy in charge of the conquered territory. Not long after, the people rose against the king's deputy who "seeing how little profit he could get in this country and how badly he was obeyed and how far off was the succour sent by his lord the king, sent quickly to him how all the land was risen against him and how every one was lord of what he pleased and no one was on his side, and that His Highness should decide what he thought best to be done in such case". The King seems to have decided that the best thing to be done in such a case was to hand over the country to some one that was in any way related to the late king but as none such was forthcoming it was decided to deliver the kingdom into the hands of two persons who had

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been taken captives in the recent wars. One of the captives who had been the late king's Minister was made king and the other who had been treasurer was made Minister. There seems no reason for doubting that Anegondi formed the nucleus of the new kingdom. It was a small principality and was hemmed in between two great kingdoms Orangal on the East and Dwarasamudra on the West. We see that in its early years the new kingdom of Karnata was composed of portions of both these kingdoms. It would, under these circumstances, be most interesting to know in what relationship the little principality of Anegondi stood to each of its great neighbours. The name Karnata which the first kings gave to the new kingdom certainly tends to indicate their intimate relationship with the Hoysalas. On the other hand, the early possession by the Karnata Kings of a portion of the Kakatiya dominions requires to be accounted for. The Hoysalas had never extended their dominion to the East Coast and it seems too early for the Odayars of the budding Karnata kingdom to have conquered this country in that early part of their career. The Telugu poem called 'Kridabhiramamu' mentions that an East Coast Brahmin called Vinukonda Chandra Mantri was Treasurer under Bukka I and that Tippa Mantri, another member of the same family, held the same office under Harihara II. It is also worth considering whether the term Karnata was used in the narrow linguistic sense or in a broader sense. The Telugu poet Srinadha who flourished in the beginning of the 15th Century says in one of his books that in whatever language others might write, he wrote in the Karnata language. The exact nature of relationship in which the early Karnata kings stood to the Hoysalas on the one hand and the Kakatiyas on the other is a point worthy of investigation.

First Kings:—The first authentic king of Karnata was Hariyappa Odayar or Harihara I who seems to have ruled from 1336 till about the year 1354 when he was succeeded by his younger brother Bukka I who ruled till 1376. Both these kings called themselves only Odayars and Mahamandaleswaras. Bukka I greatly extended his dominions to the South so that his son Harihara II who ascended the throne about the year 1377 assumed the full regal titles of "King of Kings and supreme lord of Kings" and also called himself the lord of three seas. Harihara II was the owner of a much larger kingdom than either his uncle or father and was practically the lord of all the country, South of R. Kistna. Both Bukka I and Harihara II were constantly at war with their neighbours, the Bahmini Kings. Harihara II is said to have died in 1404.

Revival of Vedic and Sanskrit learning:—Before taking leave of these founders of the Empire it is necessary to refer to the revival of Vedic and Sanskrit learning which took place in their time. We have seen that the new kings at the very commencement of their career

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made a grant to the ancient and celebrated religious institution at Sringeri. The great commentary on the Vedas by Sayanacharya appears to have been commenced in the time of Bukka I and completed in that of his son Harihara II. We have several works from the pen of the great Madhavacharya and some philosophical books from that of Vidyaranya. In fact every branch of the Sanskrit learning was revivified and enriched at this time as it had been previously in the time of the Yadava kings of Devagiri under the auspices of the great Hemadri Pant.

Religious revival:—There seems to have been also a great religious revival at this time and from the encouragement which the kings gave to this movement they came to be called the protectors of the path of the Vedas as the kings of Great Britain are called the defenders of the Christian Faith. Popular opinion attributes the whole of this work to one man Madhava who is said to be identical with Vidyaranya. As there seems to exist some confusion of thought on this subject, it is necessary to examine it a little closely.

Madhavacharya, Madhavamantri, Sayanacharya, Vidyaranya, Vidyatirtha:—Both in literature and inscriptions, we meet with five names in this connection. They are Madhava Mantri, Madhavacharya, Sayana Acharya, Vidyaranya and Vidya Thirtha. Madhava Mantri seems quite different from Madhavacharya. The former was a disciple of one Kriyasakti while the latter calls himself a pupil of Vidyatirtha and never mentions Kriyasakti. Sayanacharya was a younger brother of Madhavacharya and the reputed author of the commentaries on the Vedas which are popularly attributed to Vidyaranya and called Vidyaranyam. Vidyaranya and Vidya Thirtha are by some regarded as one person but this is incorrect. Vidya Thirtha was the Guru of Harihara I and Bukka I as well as of Vidyaranya and the latter acknowledges him as such in his works. Vidyaranya succeeded Vidya Thirtha to the spiritual throne of Sringeri. This Vidya Thirtha appears to have been spiritually a great personage, for, even Vidyaranya speaks of him as if he were the *Maheswara* or the great lord of the universe.

Then there is the strong popular idea that Madhavacharya was the same as Vidyaranya and that he assumed that name after he became a Sanyasi. I have tried to find some contemporary record either epigraphical or otherwise in support of this view but have not succeeded.

Vijayanagaram:—The building of the great city of Vijayanagaram is, by tradition, referred to the year 1336 and is said to have been originally named Vidyaranyanagaram. In inscriptions, we do not hear of the city till the time of Bukka I and there seems no doubt that it was built by that king. From the beginning it was called Vidyanagara or Vijayanagara indescriminately, and it is not impossible

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that the former name was lent by Vidya Thirtha who was greater and more revered by the king than Vidyaranya.

Praudha Devaraya:—In 1404, Harihara II was succeeded by his sons, Bukka II and Devaraya I one after the another. Then came Vijaya (in 1410) who was followed by Devaraya II, also called Praudha Devaraya. This King was constantly at war with the Sultans of Kulburga, and on two occasions his troops were joined by those of the king of Telingana before that kingdom was finally crushed about the year 1425. The Persian Ambassador Abdul Razak gives a graphic description of the splendours of the city of Vijayanagaram at this time. The city was in his view, "such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal it in the world".

An Italian traveller named Nicolo Conti who visited Vijayanagar at this time tells us that there were in use at the time "Ballistae and those machines which we call Bombarders, also other warlike implements adopted for beseizing Cities" He adds "they (Hindus) call us Franks and say, while they call other nations blind, that they themselves have two eyes and that we have but one, because they excel all others in prudence".

Last kings of first dynasty :—After Devaraya II who died in 1447, there came five kings in succession—viz. Pratapa Deva Raya, Mallikarjuna, Virupaksha I, Rajashekara and Virupaksha II, who was practically the last of his dynasty in more senses than one. Virupaksha II seems to have vacated the throne about the year 1486 and the history of the period which intervened between this event and the accession of the great Krishna Raya of the Tuluva Dynasty in the year 1509 was till a few years ago involved in great obscurity which was not relieved by the fact that during this period there were four kings-all of the name Narasimha. It was not known under what circumstances the Tuluva Dynasty founded by Krishnaraya's father Narasimha came to occupy the throne and in what relation this dynasty stood to the first dynasty. We know now that between the first or Sangama Dynasty as it is sometimes called and the Tuluva Dynasty, there was another small dynasty viz., the Saluva dynasty consisting of two kings and that both the Saluvas and Tuluvas were usurpers. This theory of double usurpation which has solved a long-standing mystery is referred to in the account of the Vijayanagara Empire by Nuniz, and I dealt with it in my paper on the Devulapalli plates published in the 7th volume of the Epigraphia Indica, confirming that theory by other evidences, Epigraphical and Literary.

This is what Nuniz says about the circumstances which led to the first usurpation.

The theory of double usurpation:—"As long as he (Virupaksha) reigned, he was given over to vice, caring for nothing but women and

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to fuddle himself with drink and amuse himself, never showed himself either to his Captains or to his people so that in a short time, he lost that which his forefathers had won and left for him, and the nobles of the kingdom seeing the habits and life of this king, rebelled, every one of them, each holding to what he possessed, so that in his time the king lost Goa, and Chall, and Dabull, and the other chief lands of the realm". This description cannot fail to remind those that have read Kalidasa's Raghuvamsa of that profligate Prince the last of the Ikshvakus who spent all his time with women and pressed on one occasion by his ministers to show himself to his loyal subjects from the balcony of his palace, thrust out a foot through the window and said they must be satisfied with that. The profligacy and imbecility of Virupaksha seems to have so enraged even his own sons that one of them is said to have killed him not for his own aggrandizements but in the interest of the Empire for, when the ministers proposed to crown him, he said "Although this kingdom may be mine by right, I do not want it because I killed my father, and did therein that which I ought not to have done, and have committed a mortal sin, and for that reason it is not well that such an unworthy son should inherit the kingdom. Take my brother and let him govern it since he did not stain his hands with his father's blood" This younger brother whom Nuniz called *Padea Row* but whose name was probably *Praudha raya* succeeded to the throne, and proved a worse king than his father.

Thus, at this time, the empire owing to the incapacity and profligacy of its last rulers, had lost substantially in territory and a great deal more in prestige and it seemed as if the great Chinese wall which had been erected to stop the Muhamedan incursions more than a century before, was about to collapse rendering the country an easy prey to the Bhahmini kings. The ministers and the Vassals of the Empire met together to consider what should be done to prevent the impending danger, and it was decided that Saluva Narasimha or Narasinga Raya who was the most powerful Prince in the Empire and who ruled an extensive territory on the East Coast should assume sovereignty deposing the king. This scheme was at once given effect to. Narasinga marched straight to the palace. When the news of this was taken to the king, he did not believe it and ill-treated the informers. He remained strong in his ignorant optimism till Narasimha entered the palace when the only course which suggested itself to him was to escape by the back door. He was not heard of again. This coupe-d'etat saved the Empire from dismemberment for more than a century.

Second or Saluva Dynasty:—The second or Saluva Dynasty which was founded by Narasimha was not a long one. It had only two kings Narasimha and his son Immadi Narasimha. Narasimha seems to have reigned only for 6 or 7 years after he ascended the

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throne of Vijayanagara, viz, from 1486—1492, though he had governed his own principality for more than 30 years previously. He was a strong and capable ruler and was much beloved by the people. He regained a great part of the territory which had been lost in the time of the previous kings. "He caused horses to be brought from Persia and Aden into his kingdom and thereby gave great profit to the merchants, paying them for the horses just as they asked. He took them dead or alive three for thousand pagodas, and of those that died at sea they brought him the tail only, and he paid for it just as if it had been alive". Narasinga, in fact, imparted fresh life and vigour to a dying Empire and left it to his sons in a prosperous state. We find Muhammadan historians calling the kingdom, the kingdom of Narasinga from this period. Narasimha had two great generals in his service viz, Isvara Naika and his son Narasa Naika father of Krishnaraya. On his death about the year 1492, Saluva Narasimha appointed Narasanayaka regent to his two sons who were still young. The first son seems to have died early. Nuniz says he was murdered by Narasa Nayaka's enemies to attribute the crime to him. There is no epigraphical record of this unfortunate prince. We have several inscriptions of Immadi Narasimha, the 2nd prince and these show that the king was only a figurehead and that the real ruler was Narasanayaka or Narasanayaningaru.

Nuniz says that Narasanayaka had king Immadi Narasimha secretly killed and had himself proclaimed his successor since there was none available who was in any way related to the late king. Ferishta tells us, on the other hand, that the young king died in one of the wars with the kings of Kulburga.

Second usurpation and Third or Tuluva Dynasty:—With Immadi Narasimha, the Saluva dynasty ended and the third or Tuluvâ dynasty commenced in 1505 with Narasanayaka. There is, however, no contemporary record showing that Narasanayaka actually proclaimed himself king and it is open to doubt that whether Narasanayaka or his son Bhujabala Viranarasimha should be regarded as the first king of the third dynasty. The titles Bhujabala (strong of arm) and Vira (heroic) of the latter show that he had to do much to keep the kingdom that had been acquired by his father. This second usurpation of the Karnatic throne seems to have taken place about the year 1505 A.D. Bhujabala Viranarasimha reigned till 1509 when his younger brother Krishna Devaraya ascended the throne.

Political state of the Deccan at the accession of Krishna Deva Raya:—Krishna Raya was the greatest Monarch not only of his dynasty but all the dynasties that ruled the Karnata Empire. By the time he came to the throne, the Bahmini kingdoms had become dismembered into five principalities the most important of which were Bijapur, Ahmednagar, and Golconda. Bijapur was the most powerful

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and nearest to Vijayanagar. The kings of Orissa had become very powerful and extended their dominions as far South as Udayagiri in the Nellore district. We have seen that the Province of Udayagiri formed a part of the Karnata Empire in its early years. It is not known exactly when and how it passed to the Gajapaties. It is probable that it changed hands during the time of the last kings of the 1st dynasty. Orissa and the Mohamedan states combined, as we shall see, against Vijayanagar but Krishna Raya proved more than a match for them. Another important event of this period is the settlement of the Portuguese on the West Coast. Vasco de Gama arrived at Calicut in 1498 and since that time, the Portuguese gradually strengthened their position there so that by the year 1505 they had a Governor of Portuguese India, in the person of Almeida. They were at this time purely merchants and through them, both the Hindus and the Mohamedans obtained their cavalry horses from Persia and Arabia.

Krishna Raya signalized his accession to the throne by building a tower to the temple of Virupaksha Swami at the Capital and by grants of Villages to the temples and Brahmins. From the beginning, he set his heart on winning back for the Empire those portions which had been lost to it in the expiring years of the 1st dynasty and which still remained in others' hands. These were the Raichore doab and the provinces of Udayagiri and Kondavidu. Before he could start on an expedition against these places, he had a small revolt to suppress at Ummathur after reducing the chief of this place named Gangaraja to obedience.

Krishna Raya's Expedition against the East Coast:—Krishna Raja Vijayam says that he marched against the territories of his Mohamedan neighbours. But Nuniz says that event took place in 1520 after the close of the campaign against the East Coast and this order I follow. Krishna Raya started on his Eastern expedition in the year 1513. His first aim was the fort of Udayagiri which was held by Pratapa Rudra Gajapati's uncle Tirumala Rauttaraya Maha Patra. The fort was reduced after a seige of nearly 18 months and Tirumala was taken prisoner. *Krishnaraya Vijayam* mentions the following as the Vassals of the Empire whose troops fought on the side of Krishna Raya on this occasion—Viz., the chiefs of Aravidu, Toragallu, Gobburu, Nandyala, Owk, Velugodu, and Ravela as well as the Tuluva lords and the Boyas.

Seige of Kondavid:—The King then proceeded against Kondavid taking in the way the small provinces of Kandukur, Vinukonda and the Palnad. The hill fort of Kondavid was considered impregnable and was defended by Virabhadra son of the king of Orissa assisted by generals Narahari Patra, son of Kumara Hamira Mahapatra, Janyala Kesava Patra, Paschima Balachendra Mahapatra, Srinadharaju

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Lakshmipati raju, Pusapati Rachi raju and two mohamedans Malla Khan of Raichur and Uddanda Khan. The Fort was taken after a seige two or three months and Prince Virabhadra and his generals were all taken prisoners and released after peace was restored. The fall of Kondavid is said to have taken place on Saturday the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Ashada in the Saka year 1437 corresponding to 23rd June 1515 A. D. Some inscriptions attribute the reduction of Kondavid to Krishnaraya's minister Saluva Timma who, Nuniz tells us, accompanied the King on this expedition, and use the chronogram *Saluvanka* to denote the year in which the fort was taken. Timmarasu was probably the second in command at the seige of Kondavid, the king himself leading the entire army.

Return of Krishna Deva Raya to Vijayanagara:—After this the king returned to his Capital leaving Saluva Timma as Governor of the new province, so that he might pacify the country. On his way he visited the celebrated temple of Amareswara in Amaravati on the banks of the Kistna, in the Guntur District where he made many gifts. He weighed himself against gold and distributed it to Brahmins. His queen Chinna Dêvi is said to have made the gift called Ratna Dhênu (cow of gems) and his other queen Tirumala Dêvi performed the gift called the Seven seas. The King gave to the temple the village of Pedda Maddur for the merit of his father Narasa Nayaningaru and his mother Naga Devamma and two other villages named Nidumanur and Valluru free of all burdens to 108 Brahmins well versed in the four Vedas. On the same occasion, he granted two villages in the newly conquered country to his Purohit Ranganadha Dikshita. These gifts were made on Sunday the 12th of the dark fortnight of Ashadam in Saka year 1437 i. e., just a fortnight after the fall of Kondavid. The king then returned to Vijayanagara where he built the temple of Sri Krishna to commemorate his victory.

Krishna Deva Raya's Expedition against Kalinga:—Krishna Raya was not satisfied with taking back from the Gajapati the territories which the latter had wrested from the last kidgs of the first dynasty but wished to invade Gajapati's own kingdom and seize his capital Cuttack. Saluva Timma tried to dissuade him from this undertaking on the score of immense difficulties that beset it, for, the country through which they had to pass was hostile and difficult of access abounding, as it did, in hills and forests and considering the great distance between the destination of the troops and the base of operations there was every chance of their supplies being intercepted. Moreover, the Gajapathi was a respecter of Gods and Brahmins and was he not more fit to be befriended? These considerations did not appeal to the king and he decided to invade the kingdom of Kalinga. Saluva Timma accompanied him leaving his son-in-law Nadendla

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Gopayya in charge of Kondavid. The King seems to have started again within six months of his return to the capital from Kondavid, for, we find him making gifts to the temple at Ahobalam in the Kurnool District in the month of pushyam in the same year, while on his way to Kalinga. We find him next encamping at Bezwada from where he visited the temple of Sri Andrha Vishnu at Srikakulam near Masulipatam and it was here, he tells us in his Amuktamalyada, that he received divine commands to write that great poem. He reached Simhachalam in the Vizagapatam District in the first month of next year (Dhata). Both he and his queens made valuable gifts to the great temple of that place. This was in March-April of 1517.

What happenned at Cuttack:—The King met with little or no opposition in his passage through the kingdom of Kalinga and Saluva Timma's fears seemed to have been unfounded. But as he reached the capital of the country the king began to see evidences of the strength of the Gajapathi and his courage began to fail him. The Gajapathi was, after all, stronger than he (Kristnadeva Raya) thought and he excelled in the number and efficiency of war elephants. He had, moreover, 16 generals called Patros in that country whom it was difficult either to vanquish or win over. Fighting was thus attended with great risks and retreat was out of the question. In this predicament, Saluva Timma advised the king that the only way open to them was that of *bheda* i. e., causing differences between the Gajapati and his generals. He proceeded to execute his scheme at once. He ordered 16 jewel boxes in each of which he placed some valuable jewels and also a letter purporting to be from Krishna Deva Raya. He despatched the boxes by 16 messengers to the 16 Patros who suspecting that it was an attempt to tamper with their loyalty grew indignant, seized the messengers and placed them bofore their king who had the boxes opened and the letters read out. The letters ran as follows:—"Krishnadeva Raya king of Karnata sends his love to the sixteen Patros.—You have, according to your promises, furnished us with information regarding the several forts to the kingdom of the Gajapati. We are much pleased with you and send you these presents. You must do one thing now. The battle is to begin tomorrow. You should, while pretending to fight, deliver "him" into our hands. You may rely on our rewarding you in a fitting and handsome manner."

At the reading of this letter both the king and the generals were dismayed. The king suspected secret correspondence between his own generals and Krishnadeva Raya and believing he could not rely on the loyalty of his Patros, he left the city secretly in the night and took shelter in a forest.

The next day the generals and the troops hearing of the king's departure, lost heart and offered little or no opposition to Krishnadevaraya, who entered the city with his army and established himself

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there. Thus Saliva Timma's stratagem completely succeeded and the king's respect for him became greater than ever. Negotiations were subsequently opened by the Gajapati from his place of retreat and as Krishnadeva Raya's object was to humble the Gajapati rather than to annex his dominions he offered them back to him while, in gratitude, Pratapa Rudra offered his daughter to Krishnadeva Raya. On the return journey, Krishnadeva Raya visited the great temple of Simhachalam again and made a gift to it of two villages Pedagani and Aganampudi with their hamlets, which he had taken from the Gajapati for this purpose. This gift was made in the Saka year 1414 (A. D. 1519.) Thus ended their memorable expedition against Kalinga to which we find frequent references in the poetry of the time. There is a verse in Manucharitra which describes the Eastern Campaigns of Krishnadeva Raya. It compares the prowess of Krishnadeva Raya to a spreading fire which was first kindled by the steel of his sword striking the flint of the Udayagiri hill, and spread northwards consuming every thing in its way till it reached Cuttack compelling the Gajapati to flee in confusion. The Gajapaties were at this time the most powerful kings in Southern India after the Karnata Kings and Krishna Devaraya's greatest boast was that he vanquished the Gajapaties. We are told, in Manucharitra, that after the conquest of Kalinga, Krishnadeva Raya planted a pillar of victory at Pottunur (near Bhimilipatam) the writing on which was deciphered by the gods who attended the annual festival of the God of Simhachalam, by applying to it the lamp back which was the ill fame of the king of Kalinga. The pillar is not now to be seen.

Story of a marriage between Purushotama Gajapati and a daughter of the king of Kanchi: There is a beautiful story current in Orissa regarding the marriage of one of their kings presumably Purushotama Gajapati and a daughter of the king of Kanchi. The king of Kanchi was presumably Saluva Narasimha. He had a very beautiful daughter whom Purushotama sought to marry. Narasimha refused to give her in marriage, as Purushotama was inferior to him in caste. Purushotama made war on Kanchi and seized the girl whom he swore, in revenge, to marry to a sweeper. He did not carry the threat, however, into effect immediately and his ministers wished to prevent, if he could so cruel a fate overtaking so beautiful a princess. Not long after this came the "Dola Punnami", the day of the greatest annual festival at Puri. The kings of Orissa were heridetary sweepers to God Jagannadha and it was their privilege to personally sweep the floor of the hall in which the idol was placed on the "Dola Punnami" day. While Purushotamadev was performing this duty on the present occasion, his minister who had arranged to have the princess brought and placed by the king's side, suggested to the king that he should fulfil his word by marrying the princess

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himself. The king who had by this time, probably begun to repent of his mistake was glad to accept the suggested solution of the dificulty. If there is truth in this story, Krishnadeva Raya only returned a complment when he married the daughter of Purushottamma's successor and this may have been one of the objects of the expedition.

Expedition against Raichore:—Not long after his return from Kalinga, Krishnadeva Raya marched against the fort of Raichore which was then in the possession of Ismail Adil Shaw of Beejapur. The cause of this war is said to be the refusal of the Adil Shaw to deliver up a Mahomedan named Siddi Marcar whom Krishnadeva Raya sent to buy horses for him from the Portuguese at Goa but who instead of doing so, absconded with the money into the Bijapur territory. We are indebted to Nuniz for a detailed account of the seige of Raichore. He mentions the following Hindu captains and their forces.

The chief of the guard Kamanayak led the advance with Thirty thousand infantry, thousand horse and sixteen elephants. After him went Triambaka Row with Fifty thousand foot, Two thousand horse and twenty elephants. Then went Timmappa Naik with Sixty thousand foot, Three thousand horse and thirty elephants, and was followed by Adeppa Naik who commanded One hundred thousand foot soldiers, five thousand horse, and fifty elephants. Several others followed so that this Hindu army amounted to more than half a million infantry, Twenty-eight thousand cavalry and five hundred sixty elephants. The fort of Raichore was considered impregnable. Its ordinary garrison consisted of eight thousand foot, four hundred horse, and twenty elephants, and it was supplied with two hundred heavy pieces of cannon besides many small ones. The garrison was reinforced shortly before the arrival of the Hindu Army. Soon after the seige commenced Adil Shah came to the rescue of the garrison with his whole army. Krishna Deva Raya allowed him to cross the Kistna and then attacked him. A fierce battle ensued in the early part of which the Hindus lost so heavily that some of the troops began to flee followed by the conquering Mahomadans. "When the king saw the way in which the troops fled he began to cry out that they were traitors and that he would see who was on his side; and that since they had to die they should meet their fate boldly according to custom," "who ranges with me" he cried and immediately a great many captains with their troops thronged round him. The King harangued to them and said the day had arrived when the Adil Shaw could boast he had slain the greatest lord in the world but that he should never boast that he had vanquished him. "Then he mounted a horse and marched with all his remaining divisions commanding to slay without mercy every man of those who had fled." This had the desired effect. The entire army fought as one

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man and fought so well that within a few hours the Mahomadan army was completely routed and Adil Shaw himself and some of his captains escaped under false disguises. The annihilation of the Mahomedan army was prevented by the king who "out of compassion commanded the troops to retire, that numbers had died who did not deserve death nor were at all in fault".

The king after that retired to the fort the garrison of which surrendered. The next day the king made a state entry into the city accompanied by his generals, sent for the principal inhabitants and assured them and the rest of the population through them that their property and persons would be quite safe. At the same time he issued stringent orders to his troops that there should be no plunder or other form of excesses. Krishnaraja Vijayam mentions one Pemmasani Ramalinga as Krishnaraya's chief generals on this occasion.

This was the last compaign of Krishnadeva Raya. He lived for nine years after this which he seems to have devoted to the improvement of the internal administration of the country.

State of the country in Krishna Raya's time:—We learn from the accounts of the two Portuguese writers that in the time of Krishnadeva Raya the Empire was in a highly prosperous condition. The country was thickly peopled and had many cities. The lands were fertile and well cultivated. There were innumerable irrigation tanks throughout the country so much so that writing at the commencement of the 19th Century, Sir Thomas Munro said of the Ceded Districts that wherever a tank could be constructed it had already been constructed by the Hindu kings. Nuniz mentions that Krishna deva Raya had a very extensive reservoir constructed not far from his capital and that its water was taken to the city of Vijayanagaram in pipes for drinking and irrigation purposes. In order to encourage extensive cultivation under this reservoir, waste lands were assigned free of assessment for the first nine years.

We are unfortunately not yet in possession of information about the incidence of land tax in those days nor the exact relationship in which the cultivator stood to the state.

The country was parcelled out into provinces which were held on feudal tenure. Several of the feudal lords were heriditary princes. We find that the provincial governors and sometimes their subordinates made gifts to temples generally for the spiritual benefit of the king. Sometimes endowments to temples took the form of remission of local cesses of which several seem to have been levied in those times. An inscription dated in Saka year 1452 in the reign of Achyuta devaraya, says that Rayasam Ayyaparaju Governor of Gandikota remitted the sum of 235 Pagodas being the amount of Durgathannayakavarthanalu (fort cess and commander-in-chief's cess) which were then being levied in the villages belonging to the

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temple of Bhairava Swami at Mopur in the Cuddapah District, so that money might be spent for the car festival of the temple every year. An inscription of Saka year 1466 in the reign of Sadasiva Raya shows that Nandyala Timmaya Deva Maharajulu who was then Governor of Gandikota remitted not only the two cesses referred to already but also the cesses known as "bedige, kanika kathalu and all other cesses" in all the villages belonging to temples and Brahmins. *Paes* mentions that duties were levied on all goods entering the city of Vijayanagar. This seems to have been done in all important cities and it also appears that the duties varied with the value of the goods and the rates were fixed by the Government from time to time.

An inscription at Kondavid of the time of Krishnadeva Raya dated saka year 1442, says that Nadendla Gopa Mantri who was then acting for his uncle Saluva Timmarasu as Governor of Kondavid assigned to the temple of Sri Raghunayaka which he had built recently in that city, the duties levied on certain articles entering the city limits. The inscription gives a long list of the articles taxed and the rates to be charged per bag load of each. The lowest class comprised salt, mangoes, brinjals, etc., which were charged at half a paikam (about $\frac{1}{8}$ of a pie of modern money) per bag. Green gram, black gram, and all other grams, wheat, gingelly, tamarinds etc., were all put in one class and charged at a paikam., or $\frac{3}{8}$ pie per bag. There are other articles mentioned in an ascending scale of duty until we come to sandal-wood, lead, copper, etc., which were charged at six dammas or about three quarters of an anna per bag.

The Portuguese writers say that the practice of Sati was in vogue in the time of Krishnadeva Raya. It is impossible to believe this, for the Hindu writers of this period make no reference at all to this matter and we have been brought up in the belief that the customs had died away before that period.

System of warfare in Krishnaraya's time: The system of warfare had undergone a change since the time of the Puranas. Chariots fell into disuse and in their place, artillery had made its appearance. We are told that siege guns were used both at Raichore and Kondavid. War elephants were still in use. They accomodated on their howdas a number of fighting men who discharged missiles from there and the elephants themselves wrought great havoc with the swords tied up to their trunks. Cavalry formed part of a Hindu army from the most ancient times and we see the kings of Karnata endeavouring to improve their cavalry by bringing horses from the Portuguese. The weapons used by the soldiers were arrows, swords, muskets, daggers, and spears.

The use of artillery was yet in its infancy, so that the chief wings of an army at this time were, infantry, cavalry and elephants. The strength of the Karnata kings was in their Infantry, so, they

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called themselves Narapatis or lords of men. The kings of Orissa had more war elephants than any other king, and on this account, they called themselves Gajapatis, while the Muhamadans were, by the Hindus, sometimes called the Asvapatis on account of their superiority in cavalry.

Caste of the Tuluva kings:—Nuniz says that "the king of Bisnaga is a Brahmin". Of course, he is wrong. The Tuluva kings claimed to be Kshatrias of the lunar race and traced their descent from Turvasu son of Yayati. This claim appears only in the records subsequent to the usurpation by the family of the Karnata throne and is not found in the Telugu *Varahapuranam* which was dedicated to Krishnadeva Raya's father while he was Saluva Narasimha's general. On the other hand, we find that in almost all the inscriptions in which his name appears prior to the usurpation, Krishnadeva Raya's father was referred to as Narasa Nayaka or Narasanayaningaru and the latter term is met with in two inscriptions of Krishnadeva Raya's time—the Amaravati inscription of Saka year 1437 and Simhachalam inscription of Saka year 1439. The terms Nayaka and Nayaningaru are usually applied to sudras and seldom to Kshatrias. We have again some books composed at Tanjore during the time of the Nayak kings and they show that the Tanjore Nayaks who were admittedly Sudras claimed relationship with the Karnata Kings. In the poem called *Vijaya Vilasam*, for instance, which was dedicated to Raghunadha Naik we are told that Chevva or China Chevva the founder of the family rose to greatness by marrying Murtimamba, younger sister of Tirumala Meha the queen of Achyuta Raya (Krishnadeva Raya's brother and successor). This is confirmed by another poem called, Raghunadha Nayakabhyudayam from the pen of Raghunadha's son and successor Vijaya Raghava. These considerations seem to suggest that the Tuluvas were probably Sudras.

The position of Brahmins:—The Brahmin Law held an important position in those times. Nuniz gives them credit for being Vegetarians. They were, in his opinion, "honest men given to merchandize, very acute and of much talent, very good at accounts, lean men and well formed but little fit for hard work" They were unfit for hard work, they are said to have "carried the kingdom on" by the duties they undertook.

He is rather hard on the poor Brahmin priests who, he says, "were very despicable men, because they always have much money, and are so insolent that even by using blows the guards of the door cannot hold them in check." Paes is more considerate. He also speaks of two classes of Brahmins, one class that are "officers of towns and cities .and belong to the Government of them and also merchants". The other class he speaks of are priests and lettered men of the Pagodas whom the king honoured much. The Brahmin

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we are told, were all married had very beautiful wives but the wives were very retiring and very seldom appeared in public.

It seems that there were many in the country even then who called themselves Brahmins but "they led a life very different from that of the real Brahmins to whom the king pays much honour and he holds them in great favour."

Saluva Timmarasu:—An account of Krishnaraya's life and time would be incomplete without reference to his great minister Saluva Timma or Timmarasu. Paes and Nuniz tell us that he was a Brahmin and we learn from the telugu poem *Rajasekhara charitra* that he belonged to the Aruvela sect. He does not seem to have been one of these brahmins, "who had not stomach for arms", for, he seems to have been a great soldier and to him is attributed the reduction of the fort of Kondavid. In those days most of the important officers in the state seem to have been also soldiers and the word mantri (minister) and Danda Nayaka (commander of forces) were often used indescrimi-nately in speaking of the same individuals.

The Aruvela people seem to have been so called from the district in which they originally resided and which is called in inscriptions the Shatsahasra or Aruvela country i. e., the country of six thousand villages. This is described as having been situated on the southern bank of the Krishna river with Dharanikota in the modern Guntur district as its capital. It was in former times usual to call a country by the number of villages it contained, for instance, we have the Pakanadu, twenty-one thousand, the Kammanadu sixteen thousand and the Pallinadu three hundred. The Aruvela country was sometimes called Kronnadu or the new country but this name was less common.

Aruvela Brahmins:—The Aruvela brahmins were a highly progressive class in those times of which we are considering. We have seen that as early as the reign of Bukka I a man named Vinu-konda Chandra Mantri was the king's treasurer, a very responsible appointment then and another man of the same family held the same appointment under Harihara II. Saluva Timma was the Prime Minister of Krishnadeva Raya as well as his elder brother and predecessor and his brother Govindaraja was Governor of the city of Vijayanagara. Timma's nephew and son-in-law Nadendla Gopayya was Governor of Kondavid for a time and his brother Appayya governed the Gutti province at the same time. It is probable that many more of this class filled up less exalted positions. Public service became the avocation of this class to such an extent that they came to be called Niyogis to distinguish them from the other Brahmins who are called the Vaidikis. I learn that there are two classes of Aruvela brahmins in Mysore now one called the Aruvelas and the other Vaidikis.

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GOVINDA DEEKSHITA

The minister of the Tanjore Nayak Kings

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About four miles to the south-west of Kumbakonam, is a village known as Patteeswaram or Dhēnupuram. It is a renowned place of pilgrimage, situated on the northern bank of the river Tirumalairajan, a branch of the Cauvery. The region in which the shrine is situated is known as the Sakti Vana, and tradition says that, when in this Vana or forest, Ambika or Parvathi was performing her *tapas* (meditation) in order to become one with Paramasiva, *Patti*, 'one of the four Kanyakas or maidens sent by Kamadhēnu for doing service to Parameswari, made a *Linga* of sand and was worshipping it day after day in her own private *Puja*. The *Linga* that was worshipped by *Patti* is known as *Patteeswara* and the place where it was worshipped came to be known as *Patteeswaram*. In Samskrita, the names of the place and of the Linga are Dhēnupuri and Dhēnupureeswara. The Goddess is called Gnānāmbika—the Goddess of Divine Wisdom. In the yard, just in front of the Garbha—Gṛha (the Holy of Holies) of Sri Gnānāmbika, stands the majestic figure of one whose name is ever closely associated with Patteeswaram and also that of his Dharma-Patni. The oriental minister of the Tanjore Nayak Kings of the sixteenth century stands there in his quaint oriental state-garb, with the long robe and with the curious head-dress of the day, the Devotee of Gnānāmbika, and he has beside him his accomplished and true Patni, the devotee of the simple Brahmana, Govinda Deekshita. To the generation that is slowly passing away just now, the name of Govinda Deekshita is a house-hold name in the part of the country, known as the Chola Dēsa, and traditions concerning him have therefore become many and interesting. His active and exemplary life as a true Brahmin at home and as a great statesman and minister at the court of the Tanjore Nayak Kings during a period of nearly three-quarters of a century has naturally made his name permanent and his fame eternal.

Govinda Deekshita was a karnataka Brahmin of the Āsvatayana Sutra of the Rigveda and his wife's name is ascertained to be Nagamba. Tradition has assigned to Tirunāgēswaram, a sacred shrine about 4 miles to the South-east of Kumbakonam, and to Patteeswaram, the honour of having been the place where the minister lived and spent his private life. But the fact that the images of Govinda Deekshita and his wife are in the temple at Patteeswaram and that the ruins of his house are still pointed out at Patteeswaram,

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combined with the fact, which is very important indeed considering the age in which he lived, that the river Tirumalairajan, a branch of the Cauvery, which runs beside the village of Patteeswaram maintains somehow an almost perennial supply of water, even in the summer season, when the Cauvery itself is dry in the Tanjore District—a very important requisite for a Brahmin of the type of Govinda Deekshita, may go to show that Patteeswaram was the place selected by Govinda Deekshita for his private residence, rather than Tirunāgēswaram which has not these traditions or facilities for residence. A place called Tiruppālatturai, near Pāpanasam, in the Tanjore District, is also mentioned as the place where Govinda Deekshita lived. But, as has been said above, the name of Govinda Deekshita is closely associated with Patteeswaram and so we may quite fairly hold that the minister lived with his family in his house at Patteeswaram, on the bank of the river, where the ruins of a Pushya-Mantapa or bathing-ghat and the ruins of a portion of a wall of his house and of four pillars, said to have been at the entrance to his house, mark the site of his residence, according to tradition.

It is said that he left his mortal body in the Sannidhi of Sri Gnanambika at Patteeswaram, where the images of the Deekshita and his wife are at present. It is also stated that he left his body in the Sannidhi of Sri Mangalambika at Kumbakonam. Life-like images of Govinda Deekshita and of his wife are now worshipped at Patteeswaram, while *Lingas* known as "Govinda Deekshita Linga", are worshipped in the temple of Kumbheswara at Kumbhakonam and in the temple of Panchanadeesa at Tiruvadi, a famous shrine seven miles to the north of Tanjore and known as Dakshina Kailasa. Thus, Govinda Deekshita has passed from the category of men and even of great hero-souls, and has been deified and is worshipped as a saint in at least three famous temples in southern India. This is sufficient testimony to his true greatness.

Although it is certain that Govinda Deekshita spent the best years of his life in the Chola country, as the minister of the Tanjore Nayak Kings, yet it seems to be clear that he was originally a native of the kingdom of Vijayanagara. From what has been related by Brama-sri Narasimha sastri garu, the late Dharmādhikāri of the Mysore palace, himself closely related to the family of Govinda Deekshita, it appears that Govinda Deekshita was a native of the Vijayanagara kingdom, and that at a very early age, he acquired fame for his learning in the sacred lore of the Hindus. He appears to have been also an accomplished astrologer. He is said to have been a very pious Brahmin, strict in the performance of his daily duties, as became the order of his birth or Varnāsrama.

The way in which the young, learned and pious Brahmin, Govinda Deekshita found his way into the Chola Desa, as the minister

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of the Nayak Kings of Tanjore is thus stated by tradition. Govinda Deekshita used to perform Agni-Hotra every day, in accordance with the injunctions of the Hindu Shastras. He had a Nayak servant by name *Chavappa*, whose duty was to tend the cows, maintained in the Deekshita's house for the Agnihotra. One evening, seeing that the Nayak lad, who had gone out with the cows for grazing them, did not arrive at the usual time, and seeing that the cows were not ready for yielding milk for Agni-hotra, the pious and kind-hearted Deekshita started to find out the lad. On his way he saw, to his intense astonishment, the lad fast asleep under the shady branches of a tree, and the shining hood of a holy Cobra waving gently to and fro over the head of the sleeping lad, as if holding the Svētacchatra or the white umbrella over the head of the future king. Seeing this, the Deekshita felt at once that the lad was born to be a king at some time, and returned home with the lad and the cows with immense satisfaction The lad in due course entered the service of the king, and worked out his way to king-ship ultimately. The story is also more simply related in another way. Govinda Deekshita, himself a good astrologer, examining the palm of the lad who was his servant found that the lad Chavappa was destined to become a king one day in his life. The prophesy was fulfilled when Chavappa did rise to the position of a king in due course.

Chevvappa or I am Sevvappa:—Apart from tradition, it is a historical fact that in the middle of the sixteenth century, once Chevvappa Nayak ruled at Tanjore, over the tract of country known as the Chōla-Dēsa. This tract seems to have covered roughly, the present District of Tanjore and parts of the present Districts of Trichinopoly and Madura, as well as of south Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput. This portion of the country was then under the rule of the kings of Vijayanagara, and the story is that Chavappa married Murthimamba, the sister of the queen Tirumalamma, wife of king Achuta-Devaraja and obtained the southern kingdom as his dowry. Tradition says that when the lad Chavappa married the royal maid, Govinda Deekshita, then at the court of Vijayanagara, was deputed by the king to visit the vast regions which were under the sway of the king of Vijayanagara at that time, and find out a suitable tract for being given as dowry to Chavappa Nayak, that Govinda Deekshita accordingly travelled about and found that the Chōla Dēsa, especially in the Deltaic portion of the cawvery, was the most fertile tract and as such worthy of being given as dowry to Chavappa. The special interest taken by Govinda Deekshita in this matter is explained not merely by his attachment to the court of Vijayanagara, but also by the fact that Chavappa, had been his own servant, before he entered the service of the king, and had the fortune of marrying the Queen's sister. Tradition says that Chavappa had been a very intelligent lad

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from his early years and that Govinda Deekshita introduced him into the palace. Ever since his introduction into the palace, Chavappa exhibited his extra-ordinary intelligence in various ways, and soon rose higher and higher in the king's esteem. A story about Chavappa handed down by tradition is interesting in this connection. Once when a certain letter of state received by the king, and just over-heard by the servant boy Chavappa, while being read in court, had to be reproduced in the absence of the original, mislaid somewhere, the boy Chavappa repeated the whole letter word for word. He thus showed his genius, which roused the admiration of the king. It is no wonder that such a lad became the royal son-in-law and a ruling prince also.

When Chavappa was thus presented with the Tanjore Principality and sent out to bear independent rule over the Province, he took with him, it is needless to say, his master, his best friend and well-wisher—Govinda Deekshita. Tradition goes so far as to say that Chavappa, instead of accepting the kingdom for himself, requested Govinda Deekshita to rule the kingdom himself, that Govinda Deekshita refused to accept the gift, as he—a Brahmana—was debarred from ruling a kingdom, but agreed to be Chavappa's minister. It is said that Govinda Deekshita then crowned Chavappa as the King of Tanjore and he himself became his minister. Govinda Deekshita, who must have been then in the prime of his life, was a learned man, well-versed in Vedic and Shastraic lore, well-versed also in astrology and Music. He was besides a pious Brahmin, scrupulous in the discharge of his public duties, as the minister of Chavvappa Nayak.

II

The history of the Nayak race at Tanjore was all too brief, for the race began with Chavappa in the middle of the sixteenth century, and ended with the fourth king Vijayaraghava Nayak in the middle of the seventeenth century. Govinda Deekshita began his career as a minister under the first king Chavappa, continued as the minister of the second king Achutappa, and seems to have been helping in the administration of the third king Raghunatha Nayak, for a few years in the beginning of his rule.[1] The statement in the District manual that Govinda Deekshita was minister under the fourth king is obviously based on the mistaken identity of the second king Achutappa with the fourth king Vijayaraghava, known as Achutanayak and also as Achuta Vijayaraghava Nayak. This

1 Chavappa Nayak. (1549) to (1572) (?)
Achutappa Nayak. (1577) to (1614)
Raghunatha Nayak. (1614) to (?)
Vijayaraghava Nayak. (?) to (1662)
A short History of the Tanjore Princes by T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri (in Tamil).

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conclusion seems to be incredible, when we see that between the first king and the fourth king there is an interval of nearly a century, so much so, that, even if Govinda Deekshita, like the illustrious unbearded English Minister Pitt, be considered as having become the minister of Chavappa as early as, say, his twentieth year, when Vijayaraghava ascended the throne about the middle of the seventeenth century, he must have been more than a hundred years old. There is no tradition that Govinda Deekshita lived to such an advanced age and we have also no record of his work under the fourth Nayak king. From references which will be given later on, it will be seen that Govinda Deekshita was minister under the first Nayak king and so it seems to be unlikely that he was also minister under the fourth king. It seems to be clear, therefore, that Govinda Deekshita's career as minister came to an end in the first part of Raghunatha Nayak's reign.

An inscription in Tamil of 1549 A.D., refers to "Chavappa Nayakar" and "ayyan"[1]

The word "Ayyan", a derivation of "Arya" meaning noble, was generally used for Govinda Deekshita, out of respect. In the reports of the archaeogical survey, he is referred to as Deekshitar "Ayyan" "Chavappa Nayakar ayyan" occurs also in an inscription of 1577.[2]

These two inscriptions show not only that Govinda Deekshita was the minister of the first Nayak king Chavappa, but also that he was so closely associated with the administration that his name was mentioned with the king's name in the inscriptions of the time. This

1. The inscription runs as follows: Sriman-mahâ-mandaleswara rajâdhi-raja râja-Parameswara Sri veerapratâpa sri Veera achuta-Deva-raja Mahârâjan Prithivi Râjan Panni Arulâninra sakabdam 1654 idanmêl sellaninra Nandana Samvatsaram Karkata-nayittu purva-pakshattu saptamiyum sôma-vâsa-ramum petra hastâ-nakshatrattu nal vâhalamallappa Nâyakkar puttiran dâdappa Nayakkar Tanjâvûr pilliâr Alagêswara pillîarâna Toppâram ketta pilliaruppu tiruppani perumâl nayinârku Tiruppanikku Kodutto dharma Sâsana-pattayappadi innoyinârku tiruppani parama devadânamâha koduthu solamandalam Tiruchinapalli usâvam Tanjâvûr sirmai Kâveri-yâtru terku-karai Nityavinodha-vala-nâdu milattu-ayiva-singam-rajan-pâttai keerummatâtta Palakkar sinnappa nâyakkar avargaludiya punniyamahavenum enru koduttha Tanjainagara.

Karkataka nâyutru pûrva-pakshattu Saptamiyil sômavâsâramum petra.

2. Subhamasthu: Swasti Sri Sakabdham 1499.—idanmêl sellaninra vehudânya-varusham âni-mâsam 12-têdi sôma-vârum prathama Kâluttu Sêvappanayakar-ayyan-achuthanâyakkar-ayyan Tanjâvur-tattârukku kodutha dharma-sâsana patta-yam Kandanolu narayakka gurunâthan singappalli Nâghâpatta sêshâ satiriyum solla tangalirai Kali-(ழி)ppittapadiyâtê chandiraditta varaiyum sarvamâ-nyamâha nadakkavum inda darumatthukk, ahiidam panninavan Gangaikkaraiyile Kâm-râmpasuvaikkonra pâvattile pôhakkadavârâ-havenu. Inda darumatthai ahidam panninavan âyiram lingattai-pidunginа doshattile pôhakkadavan.

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fact also confirms the feeling of respect which Chavappa always had for his benefactor and counsellor, Govinda Deekshita. A Tamil stanza in the Tamil version of the *Sthala Mâhâthmya* of Tiruvadi (Stanza 18)[1] of 1605 refers to Govinda Deekshita as the inspirer of the Tamil rendering of the Purana, which was in Sanskrit. The year 1605 takes us to the latter part of the reign of the second Nayak king Achutappa (1577–1614). Yagna Narayana Deekshita, in his drama entitled Raghunatha Vilasa, says that when the play was acted, the king Raghunatha and the minister Govinda Deekshita were seated on the same simhasana or Royal throne, the minister sitting close to the king.[2] This shows that in the reign of the third Nayak king, Raghunatha also Govinda Deekshita continued to enjoy the full confidence of the king, and the author of *Sâhitya Ratnâkara* says also that Govinda Deekshita taught politics to Raghunātha Nayak. It appears, however, that Govinda Deekshita did not live beyond this reign, for except the reference in the District Manual, dealt with already, there seems to be no other evidence to show that Govinda Deekshita was minister to the fourth king also. The scene of the coronation of Raghunatha Nayak in 1614 is described in beautiful and flowing verses by Yagna Narayana Deekshita in his "sāhitya Ratnākara." It appears that his work was written prior to the play "Raghunatha Vilasa." In the poem, Yagna Narayana Deekshita gives a fine description of the state of the Chola Desa in his day and refers to a war between Raghunatha Nayak and the then Pandyan king, in which the Nayak king defeated the Pandyan king and married his daughter. To honour the victorious king in verse, Yagna Narayana Deekshita wrote his play entitled "Raghunāthà Vilāsa", in which he speaks of the glory of the king and the reputation of his father, Govinda Deekshita. All these circumstances go to show that Govinda Dhekshita must have been the prime minister of Raghunatha Nayak for at least a few years in his reign. If we grant that he was

1. "மலிபுனல் சூழ்சோணாடு தஞ்சையிற் காத்திருமாசர் மதியமைச்ச
னெலிமறைதேர் கோவிந்த தீட்சதராயன் திருவாக்குடைமையாலே
கலியுகத்துச் சகணுண்டு மூவைஞ்ஞூற்றிருபதின் மேற்காணுமெழாய்ப்
பொலிவருடத்தை போற்றுப்புராண வடமொழி தமிழாற் புகலுற்றேன்".

2. "Raghunatha Vilasa," Scene I.

अस्य श्रीरघुनाथ भूवलरिपोर ध्यासि ताधोसन:
प्रज्ञा वैभवखण्डितप्रतिवदत्पाषण्डषण्डमय:
कुर्वन्व्याक्रियया निविशुततरं कौमारिलं दर्शनं
गोप्ता नित्यगवीरसै विजयते गोविन्दयज्वा ग्रणी: ॥

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at the Nayak court, till, say, 1620, then Govinda Deekshita must have occupied the ministerial chair for nearly three quarters of a century.

That Govinda Deekshita could have been the minister of the Nayak kings for such a long period appears quite likely, considering the enormous change that was effected in the Chola Desa during that period. The description of the country given by Yagna Narayana Deekshita certainly makes us think that all that tract must have been turned into a veritable Paradise in South India, the position which it holds even to-day, by the efforts of the Nayak kings and their able minister, Govinda Deekshita. The first king, Chavappa, is said to have been very charitably disposed. He is said to have given grants of lands to persons and institutions, as is seen from the inscriptions referred to already. It was also under Chavappa's direction that the temple and the gopura at Tiruvannāmalai in the present North Arcot district were rebuilt. An inscription in the temple and the existence of an "ayyan" Kulam (tank) and "Ayyan" street in Tiruvannāmalai go to show that Chavappa and Govinda Deekshita must have adopted an extensive plan of charitable works in order to beautify and improve the territories which were under their sway. The canal known as Chavappan Eri, near Tanjore, owes its origin to the effort of Chavappa Nayak undoubtedly.[1] Further it is stated that the present port at Tanjore was built when Chavappa began his rule there, in accordance with the plan of Govinda Deekshita who designed the fort and had it built in the form of what is known as Garuda Vyūha, so that the fort when looked at from a height, presents the appearance of a Garuda (the Vāhana of Mahā Vishnu).

The scheme of public works started by Chavappa seems to have been continued during the following reigns also, because the state had the great advantage of a continuous policy under the guidance of Govinda Deekshita. The second Nayak king Achutappa, known also as Chinna Chavappa, esteemed Govinda Deekshita, as much as Chavappa had done, for he is said to have looked upon him as "Kula-kootastha purohit"—the counsellor of the originator of the Dynasty, and also as "Kulamanthri"—the minister of the Dynasty. From a reference in the Sahitya Ratnakara, we see that as the consequence of a Karnataka war, Achutappa, the second King, had to give up the throne which was ascended by Raghunadha Nayak. A whole canto treats of mantralochana (secret counsel) of King Achutappa with his minister Govinda Deekshita and his son. The same honour seems also to have been shown to him by the third king, Raghunadha Nayak

1. Tradition has it that Brahmachari (Kannodian) who dug the canal from the Tambraparni, known as the Kannadian Kal was the servant of Govinda Deekshita (vide—the story of the canal in the Annual Report of the Madras Archæological survey for 1903-04—P. 84-85).

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as has already been said. Yagna Narayana Deekshita says that Govinda Deekshita placed the sacred ashes (Vibhuti) on the fore-head of Raghunadha Nayak in the place of the usual *Pattam* or the gold plate—the mark of Royal authority customarily placed on the fore-head of the king at his coronation or *Pattābhisheka.*

Pattabhisheka is the act of sprinkling water on the *Patta* (which has been affixed to the fore-head) and thereby consecrating it, as is done at the installation of a King or Guru, formal inauguration or coronation, when all persons present throw flowers, akshata etc. on the person crowned.

Glossary I—P. 28. Report of the Madras archaelogical survey 1903—03.

This is particularly note-worthy as showing the tolerance of the king who was by faith a vaishnavite and his regard for the sage-like minister Govinda Deekshita.

It is no wonder then that for a period of nearly seventy years, the Chola country had the rare opportunity of being improved steadily, in the peaceful reigns of the first three Nayak kings and under the able guidance of the state by a genius like Govinda Deekshita. It was in the reign of the third Nayak king that troubles seem to have slowly invaded the peaceful palace of the Nayak kings, and it was exactly then that the master-hand of Govinda Deekshita was removed from the helm of the state by providence. It is with great pity that we must now look upon the all too brief story of the Nayak race at Tanjore, after the figure of the Govinda Deekshita was removed from the state. For we learn that the next Nayak king, Vijaya Raghava was not only the next in succession to Raghunadha, but was also the last of the race at Tanjore, the rule of the kingdom then passing on to the sturdy Maharashtra kings. A small tradition in this connection is somewhat interesting to recount. Although the Nayak kings were Vaishnavites by faith and Govinda Deekshita was an advaitic Brahmin of the saivite persuasion, yet during the rule of the Nayak kings at Tanjore, both Siva and Vishnu temples were equally well attended to by the state and the Brahmins were always treated with the respect due to them in accordance with the Shastras. The temples at Chidambaram, Kalahasti, and Tirupati seem to have been renovated in the reign of the second King, Achutappa Nayak. It is said that Raghnadha Nayak and Govinda Deekshita renovated the Ramaswami temple at. Kumbhakonam and had the whole of the Ramayana pictorially represented on the inner walls of the temple. There are to be seen even to-day, several of the representations in every bad state of disrepair, calling for immediate attention. The Vishnu temple of Sri Mushnum in the South Arcot District, the temple at Rameswaram etc., seem to have been renovated by Raghunadha Nayak and Govinda Deekshita. It is worthy of note that an inscription of the reign of

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Chavappa, relating to a grant of land to the Fakirs at Tanjore, places a heavy moral penalty on those Mohammadans that chose in any way to interfere with the right vested in the Fakirs. This exhibits the extra-ordinary tolerance of the Hindu kings for the followers of alien faiths. While the first three Nayak kings held the balance between rival faiths in the state, the fourth king, Vijayaraghava Nayak, grew some-how to be a rank Vaishnavite, and tradition says that this was the reason why the Nayak rule came to an end with him, because he left off the evenness of temper so essential for a king, and became a partisan in his religious faith and hence in his public conduct as king.

III

It is now time to turn to some of the work of charity with which the name of Govinda Deekshita is closely associated. It has been said before that Govinda Deekshita and his wife are worshipped in the form of a life-size images in the temple at Patteeswaram, while Lingas known as "Govinda Deekshita', are worshipped in the temples at Tiruvadi and Kumbakonam. Generally in Siva temples, only the Saivite saints are worshipped, and it is only in one Siva temple that the image of Sri Sankaracharya is placed and worshipped, viz., at Conjeevaram. It is not usual to have images of *Smarthas* (the saivites who follow smritis) in temples for worship; while so, Govinda Deekshita and his wife alone have had this unique honour. To have had such Divine worship granted to them in this age, Govinda Deekshita must have done something which could be expected only from the Divine Being. When we examine the traditions, we have no doubt that Govinda Deekshita was a typical Brahmin in his private life, and did his work always as a servant of God. It has been said before how, when Chavappa offered the crown to him, Govinda Deekshita not only refused to accept it, true Brahmin as he was, prevented as such by the Shastras from being a ruler, but he also agreed to be Chavappa's counsellor instead, in accordance with the injunction of the Dharma Shastra—that it is the Brahmin's fundamental duty to advise the ruler and always work for the good of the state and of the happiness of the people by means of Tapas, yagna, counsel etc. To us now it may sound rather fanciful if I should speak of Govinda Deekshita as the truest type of the Brahmin contemplated in the Hindu Shastras. He was minister of such a glorious type for a long period. His life was almost co-eval with the rule of the Nayak kings at Tanjore in the sixteenth century. He led a true Brahmin life at house. It is said that he never was without "*Agnihotra*" at home. It is said that he would perform his agnihotra at the exact times at the 2 twilights (sandhyas) and proceed from his residence at Patteeswaram in his palanquin to Tanjore

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during the day to perform his ministerial functions, at the fixed hours of the day. It is said that in his house there always glowed the "Tretāgnis" (the three Fires-gārhapatya, Ahavaniya and Dakshināgni—to be tended in every Brahmin's house incessantly, his own, the eight fires of his eight sons and that of his one son-in-law). Is a house of that type to be called the abode of Gods or of men? No wonder Govinda Deekshita had not merely the grace of the Divine Being, but himself became Divine in his own life. He preformed the various yagnas (sacrifies) laid down in the Veda and distributed charities widely and brought into existence many permanent institutions known by his name to this day—It is said that he gave the sixteen mahādānas (great gifts) ordained in the smritis, and known as "Shodasa mahādāna" and that the sixteen Lingas around the Mahamakha tank at Kumbhakonam were established there by Govinda Deekshita to mark this great event and to ivnoke the grace of Isvara for the good of the world. Again it is said that he gave one Agrahāram in the name of each Tithi (day of lunar month) and that the village now known as Ichangudi (ஈச்சங்குடி) in the Tanjore Distrect is still called the Ekadasi Agraharam. It is said also that in commemoration of the completion of all the Yagnas by Govinda Deekshita, after he performed the Yaga known as Sarvatomukha, he set up four grand pillars. This incident is referred to by Yagna Narayana Deekshita in his "Raghunadha Vilasa[1]" None of these pillars is, however, to be traced now. In several villages *Sambhavanas* are made in the name of Govinda Deekshita on important days, even to this day. It is also said that the third King Raghunatha was blessed with the throne for helping Govinda Deekshita in the performance of the Yāga known as Vājapeya, in which the king himself held the umbrella over the head of Govinda Deekshita[2]. All this is confirmed by the titles used in referring to the Deekshita. In Tantrasikhamani

1 चत्वार: कृतसर्वतोमुखमहासत्रेण गाढं शिला-
थूपायेन निखानिना: प्रतिदिशं युक्तं चिरावस्थितेः
सौराज्यं रघुनाथभूमिपतिना संप्रापिते क्ष्मातले
पारेसह्यसुतं वृषेण वसता पादा इव स्थापिताः ॥

2 रंभ्यावास्तिकधैनुका श्वगजतामुख्यानाहदक्षिणां
वर्षादासा पदोत्तरंक्रतुवरं तंवाजपेयमिधम् ॥
मेनाहार्यकिमप्यहार्यविभवंसाम्राज्य लक्ष्मीपदं
संप्राप्तो रघुनाथम् शतमखो जेजीयतेसाम्प्रतं ॥

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(तन्त्रशिरवामणिः) a commentary on the Mimamsa sutras of Jaimini by Sir Rajachudamani Deekshita, Govinda Deekshita is referred to in these terms:—

श्रीमद्द्वैतविद्याचार्यसर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रसाग्नितच
त्यसर्वतोमुखसाग्निचित्याप्तवाजपीयया
जिश्रोगोविन्ददीक्षितवरसुनीः [1]

These go to show not merely the god-like life led by Govinda Deekshita, but also the vast learning of the Deekshita, to which we shall refer presently.

To speak about a few things in which we have his name even to-day, the Ayyan Kulam (tank) and the Ayyan Kadai (Bazaar) in Tanjore, Ayyanpet, a village between Tanjore and Kumbakonam, on the South Indian Railway, Ayyan Vaikal (canal)—an irrigation channel north of the Coleroon, starting from the Akhanda Cauvery, the Ayyan theru (street) in Tiruvannamalai, already referred to, are some in which we have the name of Govinda Deekshita to this day. Again the Yāgasāla street and the Yāgasāla Mantapa at Kumbakonam are said to mark the place where Govinda Deekshita performed his Yagas on the banks of the Cauvery. A house in the West Ayyan street at Kumbakonam used till recently to be pointed to as his house at Kumbakonam and it is said that all the members of his class used till recently to perform marriages etc., in that ancient family house. It is said that he built the temples at Kuttālaun, Tirupalathurai and several other ancient shrines in South India. It is said that the celebrated Mahamakham tank at Kumbakonam owes its present condition to Govinda Deekshita. In connection with this, a story is told, that, when the Nayak king doubted the sacredness of the mahamakham tank, Govinda Deekshita, by his Pūja to Gangā Devi, made the Goddess stretch her hands above the water and receive his oblations, thus proving to the Nayak king the sacredness of the tank, which attracts millions of pilgrims to this day. It is said that on seeing this wonder, the king gave gold equal to his weight for the renovation of the sacred Mahamakham tank. A work of sculpture in the Mantapa on the bund illustrates this tradition. Govinda Deekshita provided the tank with an extensive flight of steps all around the tank, no where else so constructed, and also erected mantapas and gopuras for the sixteen Lingas all round the bund of the tank. These are some of the items in which we still see historical evidence of his unbounded charities. It is said that on one occasion when Govinda Deekshita was proceeding in his palanquin to the mouth of the

1. Colophon Descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts. Vol, IX. 1910 (Madras) P. 3300.

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Cauveri for a cold bath, his palanquin happpened to pass a street in Mayavaram. It is said that an old Brahmin did not get up as he should have done out of respect for the great minister who was proceeding in his palanquin, in accordance with the immemorial custom of the Hindus, but instead asked if the minister had any extra-ordinary power and if he could turn that old street which ran east to west into a street running north to south. This flouting challenge reached the ears of the minister, who, at once ordered that before his return from the bath, the street should be razed and a new street running from south to north should be laid immediately, leading straight to the bank of the Cauvery and that the best house in it should be provided for the old man who thus flouted him. It was done accordingly before his return from the bath. Govinda Deekshata also formed streets known as Mahādhāna streets in important shrines, on this plan, as for instance at Madyārjunam (Tiruvidai Maruthur on the S. I. Ry.) and Swētāranyam or Tiruvangādu. It is said that Govinda Deekshita constructed also bathing ghats, pushya-mantapas in various places such as Tiruvadi, Kumbakonam, Patteeswaram, Madyārjunam, Tiruvalanjuzhi, Vriddhachalam etc. The village known as Deekshita Samudram (or Mullakudi in the Tanjore Dt.) and Venkata Samudram (or Varahur, near Tirukkattippalli in the Tanjore Dt.) seem to be connected with Govinda Deekshita and his son Venkata Makhi.

Above all, Govinda Deekshita seems to have done much for the temple at Patteeswaram, his own favourite place. In the temple there is an image of Ganapati in the front court-yard first opposite to the small tank, concerning which there is an interesting tradition. The Ganapathi is called Āgjña (order or command) Ganapati. It is said that originally there was a fine big Mantapam in this first yard of the temples and that, when the Nayak king ordered the materials of the Mantapa to be removed for the use of some other temple, Govinda Deekshita sent word to the king that it was the command of the Ganapati that those materials should not be removed. The king, being a Vishnavite by faith, wanted a sign of the power of the Ganapati; and asked if the water poured over the image of Ganapati would flow down as milk. Govinda Deekshita said, "yes". The king at once tested this, and found that the word of the Deekshita was true. The king then rescinded his order to remove those materials from the temple and even gave a separate grant of land for the worship of that Ganapati, apart from the general temple funds. This continues to this day. In connection with the temple at Patteeswaram, there is another interesting tradition which is worth recording. It is said that, when Govinda Deekshita was residing at Patteeswaram, following his rigorous orthodox life at home and doing wonderful work as minister at the Nayak Court at Tanjore, always

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utilising the public funds for the public weal, by daily doing some charitable work or other, and thus endeavouring to make life healthy and happy—the true end of a well-organised state—, one day it happened that he saw before his house an old faithful servant of his then gone to the regions of the dead a few years. He was a chandala and for his faithful service to his master, he had been, according to his rank in the social scale, made a messenger of Yamadharmaraja the virtuous God of Death. He had that day gone thither to take away the life of a well-skilled mason, who had just then been engaged in the renovation of the southern Gopura of the temple, under the supervision of Govinda Deekshita. Worshipping his old master, the messenger of Yama, told Govinda Deekshita that he was then employed in the kingdom of Yama by the blessing of the holy Deekshita, that he had gone over to him to tell him what he had seen, and heard in heaven, that, while his name was extolled in heaven for all his glorious acts on earth, there was yet one item of charity to which he had not turned his attention, viz., the establishment of Nandavanas, public flower-gardens for purposes of Puja. To show that he was speaking truth and that he was in fact the messenger of Yama, he said that he was, under the orders of Yama, gone thither then to take away, at a mentioned hour, the life of the skilled mason who was working in the temple at that time. Govinda Deekshita, desiring at once to save his trusted mason from death, attempted to evade the dictates of Providence, and bringing the mason down from the Gopura, locked him up in a room in his house and had the key safely with himself. But as fate would have it always, the Deekshita afterwards forgot all about it and when, just before that fatal hour, his service was most required for placing a huge stone in position at the top of the Gopura, some one asked Govinda Deekshita for the mason's service; and all forgetfully he allowed the mason to go and do the work in which the Deekshita had all his interest engrossed. The mason went, placed the stone in position, but received a hit from his own tool, lost his position, fell headlong from the height and expired at the exact moment fixed for his death by the ruler of destiny. The Deekshita learnt the news and then consoled himself with the thought that his effort to save the mason was an act opposed to the law of Gods; and taking hint from the incident, he thought of the information given to him by the messenger of Yama regarding himself and proceeded at once to establish Nandavanas in different parts of the country. A stone image of a man in lying position outside the temple at the entrance to the southern Gopura of the temple at Patteeswaram is shown to this day as marking the place where that illfated mason met his death.

This tradition is interesting as showing us two things, that Govinda Deekshita made extensive repairs and thoroughly renovated

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the temple at Patteeswaram and that at a certain period of his life, he set about establishing Nandavanas far and wide in the Chola Desa. In many places people point to such Nandavanas as having been established by Govinda Deekshita. In imitation of those nandavanas evidently, the institution of Nandavanas in all villages has become an ordinary feature in the Chola Desa. The place called Govindapuram to the east of Madhyārjuna, is said to have been the site of one such Nandavana, and the name of the village suggests its connection with Govinda Deekshita.

We have thus reason to think, both from traditional accounts and existing institutions, that the scheme of public works and charities planned and executed by Govinda Deekshita must have been a grand and an extensive one. It is no wonder that a tract of country, which Govinda Deekshita by his reforms and works with the willing co-operation of the Nayak kings, turned into such a fertile and beautiful tract, now has no parallel in south India, with its net work of temples, gardens, bathing ghats, Pushyamantapas, irrigation-channels etc. Yegnanarayana Deekshita's description of the Chola Desa, referred to before, cannot be considered to be mere poetic imagination, when we realise the work done by the state in this tract of country, during the later part of the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth century. An inscription at Patteeswaram on the northern wall of the inner eastern Gopura of the temple, shows that Govinda Deekshita sacrificed his self for the state, using every part of the state's wealth for works of charity, for the good of the people, and never showed the least self-interest in his actions [1].

We shall now turn to that item of his work, which has been most enduring and which shows the true genius of Govinda Deekshita. He was himself a very learned Brahmin and he realised the importance of culture in the life of a state. It was really with the eye of a true genius that he realised the importance of a far-seeing educational policy in the state, and established in the Chola Desa, which was under his ministerial jurisdiction, a net-work of Pātasalas for the teaching of the Vedas, Vedangas, Vedantha and the Shastras of the Hindus. The Raja Patasala at Kumbhakonam, which traces its origin to the days of Govinda Deekshita, is still a centre of learning. Similar Patasalas are still seen in different parts of the Chola Desa. These Patasalas took the places of the ancient Gurukulas and really were educational centres of great importance and are still so to a certain extent. Hundreds of scholars in that part of the country, owe their learning to this Patasala system inaugurated by Govinda Deekshita in the sixteenth century. The Patasala system has not

1. The inscription is in a mutilated condition. It runs thus:— चर्माभि.....

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lost its vitality even now and the value of the system is still recognised far and wide. It will be quite easy, I venture to think, for our Matāthipathis and truly public spirited Hindus who have hearts for the maintenance of Dharma and culture in the pure Hindu form in Aryavarta, to establish a regular university on truly Hindu lines, having these Patasalas as the nuclei. There is good scope for organised practical work in this direction in the Chola Desa.

IV

Thus far I have dealt with the life of Govinda Deekshita as the minister of the Nayak kings of Tanjore. I have traced the origin of the Nayak rule at Tanjore in the middle of the sixteenth century, briefly related the chief features of the Nayak rule in the Chola country, the connection of Govinda Deekshita with the state, and the public works he did as the minister of the Nayak kings, almost throghout their career at Tanjore. It is now time to turn to the man Govinda Deekshita and record what is known about him and say a few words about his family and private life. Govinda Deekshita was first a man and then a minister. He owes his greatness as much to the purity and dignity of his private life as to his multifarious activities as the minister of the Nayak court. He discharged his ministerial functions as conscientiously and as perfectly as he could. In his *pravritti* or "going forth" as a minister, he never allowed himself to forget that the true end for a Brahmin was *nivritti* or "drawing in". I have already related how every day from his earliest years, he would regularly and punctually perform his Agnihotra enjoined on every true Brahmin as Nithyakarma. I have also related how he, in his life, performed all the yajnas which have to be performed by every true Brahmin and how he directed several of his charities along lines which would make life worth-living for people in the Chola Desa. The benefits of these works carried out by Govinda Deekshita are still enjoyed by the Hindus in Southern India, while Govinda Deekshita thus led a perfect life at home as a true brahmin, and while in the state he was so active and so beneficent in everything he did, he was also a very learned man. This has special significance in these days when most of our educated men think that eastern culture saps the roots of progress, instead of watering them. The value of the life of a man like Govinda Deekshita, who, perfectly steeped in eastern culture, was not dreaming in the wilderness and wasting away his life in the mere search after Brahman, as eastern culture is supposed ignorantly by many to lead to, but mixed so actively in public life, while he did not swerve an inch from the path of karma laid down in the Veda, is really inestimable, especially in the modern age, when we are living amidst "dilettantism and mammonism" to use the expression of Carlyle. Here was a person, in this

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very Kaliyuga, the age of Thamas or Inertia, the age of growing vice, hardly 300 years ago, who was a learned brahmin, who led a truly brahmine life, and who did in the state, work which several generations of ministers and statesmen have not been able to do and cannot hope to do in much longer time than was available to Govinda Deekshita. There is proof that god was in him, in and out.

Govinda Deekshita is always referred to as "*advaita Vidya-charya*" (the master of "advaita" or "monistic" knowledge) by Sri Raja Chūdamani Deekshita in his Tantrasikhamani, referred to already. Govinda Deekshita's son, yagna Narayana Deekshita, refers to him as Sri Pada Vākya Pramana Pārāvāra Pārīna srimad advaita Vidyāchārya. Yagna Narayana Deekshita, in his "Sahitya-ratnakara"[1] and in his "Raghunadha Vilasa"[2] says that Govinda Deekshita had "advaita vidya" as his special study, that he churned the ocean of the six systems of Philosophy (shad-darsana) and gave the Amrita so churned to all learned men. This reference shows that Govinda Deekshita was not merely a learned man, but also engaged his leisure hours in imparting his learning to others. Venkata Makhi, another son of Govinda Deekshita, in one of his songs says that his father taught and thus firmly established the faith of Sri Sankaracharya— viz. advaita.[3] It is said that, while Govinda Deekshita was one day engaged in expounding to his disciples the commentary of the "Brahma Sutras," known as "kalpa Taru" of Bhamati, a gloss on the Sutra Bhashya of Sri Sankaracharya, the great Appiah Deekshita, (born 1554) whose name is held in high esteem to this day in Southern India, then a young man, visited Govinda Deekshita. The two great Deekshitas had been brought together for the first time on the occasion of Govinda Deekshita's performing the Yajna known as Sarvathomukha at Madyarjunam.

1 अद्वैतविद्यावि भवावलम्बान्गोविन्दयज्वेन्द्रगुरुनुपासे ।
निर्मथ्य षडदर्शनतोरधोन्ये धियैव सारं ददते बुधेभ्यः ॥

2 षड्दर्शनाभिनवधुग्धसरित्परिण्यो निर्मथ्य यत्नरहितं निजया धियैव ।
विश्राणयन्ननुदिनंविबुधाली नामेतद्रसं मुररिपुं भुवि योऽतिशेते ॥

3. కుంభగోణిమఠురీ నిత్యనివాసుకే బరి
యాప్తసారం పాణీకే ।
శంకరమని మత ప్రతిష్ఠాపన కోవిదు
గోవిందాధ్వరి నాగాంబిక సుత
వెంకటముఖిచంద్రు పరిరచిన్నకే
కైవర ప్రబంధ మువధరయ.

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Appiah Deekshita originally belonged to a village known as Adayappalam near Arni in the present North Arcot Dt., and his descendants are still living in the Tanjore Dt. On this occasion of their second meeting, Govinda Deekshita asked the young Appiah Deekshita to give him an idea of his learning. when Appiah Deekshita very modestly expressed himself and said that he knew no Vedas or Shastras, but that he was an ardent devotee of Iswara who had Chandra Kala (चन्द्रकला) on his head and who destroyed Tripura.[1] The acquaintance between the great men developed soon and Appiah Deekshita stayed away with Govinda Deekshita, collaborating with him in the noble task of imparting Brahma Vidya to their disciples. Govinda Deekshita struck with the learned and apt explanations given by Appiah Deekshita, admired him for his genius and asked him to write a commentary on "Kalpa Taru", saying in a humourous way that the Kalpa Taru which would give all to humanity needed the benevolence of Appiah Deekshita's expression for its showing its inherent power.[2] It appears that Govinda Deekshita himself wrote a concise treatise on the shad-darsana, which he taught to his disciples. He is also reputed to be the author of a special commentary on Kumārila Darsana, a mimamsa work. Appiah Deekshita quotes from this work "Siddhanta Lesa Sangraha," he refers to Govinda Deekshita as "Advaita Vidyacharya."

Venkata Makhi, otherwise known as Venkateswara Deekshita, says in his *Chaturdandi Prakasika* that his father Govinda Deekshita wrote also a work on music known as *Sangeeta Sudhanihdhi*.[3]

1. नाहमधीतवेदे नचपठितोयत्रकुत्रचित्छास्त्रे।
किन्तुधरेन्दुवतंसिनि पुरहिंसिनि भूमसिर्भात्कः॥

2. अप्पदीक्षित किमित्यतिस्तुतिं
वर्णयामि भवतो वदान्यताम्।
सोऽपि कल्पतरुरर्थसिद्धये
त्वद्विरामवसरं प्रतीक्षते॥

Taru=tree; refers also to the commentary known as "Kalpa Taru".
Vâk=word—refers to his power of exposition and to the inherent power of helping mankind (by its power to give all—as the tree=and to help all to knowledge—as the commentary).

3. ततो नुरघुनाथेन्द्रमेलविणा निरूप्यते।
तल्लक्षणं नु संगीतसुधानिधिरिति श्रुते॥
चेव्वमाच्युतभूपालरघुनाथ नृपाङ्किते।
अस्मत्तातकृते ग्रन्थे प्रोक्ताश्लोकांलिखामितान्॥

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It appears also that Govinda Deekshita wrote a work of Jyōtisha (astrology), as is seen from the reference made by the author of the Tamil work known as "*Thandava-malai*".[1] It also appeared that Govinda Deekshita wrote a commentary on the Sundara Kānda, of the "Ramayana." It is a pity, however, that none of these works are extant, but we hope to get one or more of these works in course of time. In the absence of any of his works in original, we are unable to form a correct estimate of his erudition and style. There is a sloka, however, which refers to his vast learning by saying that Achyuta and Govinda, the first and the last of the three holy names of God, Achuta, Anantha, and Govinda, were king and minister respectively and that they were respectively master of Astra (weapons) and Sāstra (holy texts) and were skilled respectively in war and sacrifices (Yajnas).[2]

Govinda Deekshita's wife's name is given as Nāgāmbika or Nāgamāmba by Venkata Makhi. It appears that Govinda Deekshita had 8 sons and daughter. There is a tradition that his daughter died of Rājadrishti (the look of the king). One day, when the king paid a visit to the Great Minister at his residence, Govinda Deekshita's accomplished daughter took the harathi to the king, as is the custom on such an occasion. The king naturally was pleased with the accomplished lady, but unfortunately she died. It is said, afterwards by the evil effect of the look of the king, as is believed in by the Hindus. It is said also that one of his sons, an expert player on the *Vina* met with early death, as is believed, in consequence of the admiration of the king. The king, it is stated gave away all his royal ornaments to the young son of Govinda Deekshita, but that in a few hours afterwards. he died of the effect of *Rajadrishti*. Tradition says that it was then that Govinda Deekshita

1. (1) இன்னூலென்னூலின் வழித்தெனின், "மாவிந்தை சோதான் மலரடி வணங்கும், கோவிந்த தீட்சிதீயத்தின் வழித்து" எனக்கொள்க.

(2) கோவிந்த தீட்சிதர் தங்கொள்கையினூற் கூறுகின்ற
மாவிந்த நூலின் வழக்கறிந்து தேவிந்
திசர்போற்றும் பிண்டியஞ் செல்வன் சீர்கூறி
வருவணப்பாவையன்வந்து. P. 261, 262, Report of skt. and Tamil manuscripts for 1896–97, Madras.

2. He refers to himself as the third son of Govinda Deekshita and Nagamba in his Chatur Dandi Prakasika

इतिश्रीमद्वैतविद्याचार्य....श्रीगोविन्ददीक्षित नागमाम्बावरतृतीयनन्दनस्य सम्मिचि त्य सर्वक्रतुयाजियज्ञनारायणदीक्षिताव्यव हितानुजस्य, अच्युतविजयराघव भूपाल प्रेरितस्य वेङ्कटेश्वरदीक्षितस्य कृतौ चतुर्दण्डिप्रकाशिकायां.....

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pronounced a curse on his clan, that wealth and beauty should not adorn his child at any time and the members of the Deekshita's clan still believe in the curse.

Of his other sons, we know prominently of two, viz., Yajnanarayana Deekshita and Venkateswara Deekshita, known as Venkatamakhi. Yajnanarayana Deekshita was a friend of the Nayak king Raghunatha, in whose praise however he wrote the play known as "*Raghunatha Vilasa*", already referred to. His master-piece "*Sahitya Ratnakara*" has also been referred to. He wrote also a Champukavya known as "*Raghunatha Bhupa Vijaya.*" Besides being a great poet, he appears to have mastered Vyakarna (Grammar), Tharka (logic), Mimamsa (the science of interpretation) and Advaita Vedanta.[1] Although we do not hear of any separate work on music as written by Yajnanarayana Deekshita, we still see that he had cultured taste in music, as well as in the science of dancing or Bharatha Sāstra, from the references found in his work. A whole canto, the 8th in his Sahitya Ratnakara gives a detailed description of the techenicalities of the science of music. His son Venkatesa Deekshita was a scholar in Jyotisha (astrology) and his work "*Jathaka Chandrika*" has been translated into English by Mr. B. Suryanarayana Rao. Chokkanātha Deekshita, the guru of Rajachūdāmani Deekshita, in the preface to his "*Bhashya Ratnavali*" says that he was induced by Venkatesa Deekshita to write that work. Venkatesa Deekshita or Venkata Makhi, the brother of Yajnanarayana Deekshita, is a familiar figure in the world of music. His treatise "Chaturdandi Prakasika" marked a turning point in the history of South Indian music. Mr. Subbarama Deekshita in the preface to his "*Sangita Samprathaya Pradarsini*" published under the patronage of the Raja of Ettayapuram, says that Venkata Makhi wrote his "*Chathurdandi Prakasika*" under the patronage of the 4th Nayak king Vijaya Raghava and that it is still a standard work in the science of music. It was he that rendered the old 22 Swaras to 12 and designed the present Vina adopted to the 12 swaras. It appears also that Venkata Makhi was the author of the Melakartha as is in vogue at present in southern India. The Hindus believe that through any form of knowledge, one could realise Brahman and obtain spiritual force power. Venkatamakhi is believed to have had such realisation by the science of music. Tradition says that when the 4th king Vijayaraghava Nayak became an aggressive Vaishnavaite and compelled his subjects to put on the *Sankha* and *Chakra Mudras*, Venkatamakhi went to Madhyārjuna and praised the Deity in the

1. पातञ्जलं भाट्टमतं च तर्कमद्वैतराद्धान्तमवैमिकीर्तेः प्रबन्धसंदर्भ भरैः कवित्वविद्यामिदानी विशदीकरोमि ॥ **Sahitya Ratnakara I–51.**

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temple in a melodious song[1] and prayed for the freedom of the subjects from their religious suffering that was inflicted on them by the king. The king, it is said, who was suffering from a terrible form of stomach-ache hastened to issue a proclamation allowing freedom of religious faith and practice to all his subjects in accordance with the eternal custom of kings in India and was then freed from his stomach-ache. Venkata Makhi composed several songs and they are given in the "*Sangeeta Sampradaya Pradarsini.*" In his songs, he refers to his learned father Govinda Deekshita, his mother Nagamba and his talented brother Narayana Makhi and his maternal grand-father. He takes pride in referring to himself always as the son of Govinda Adhvari and represents his parents as the incarnations of Parvati and Sankara.[2] It is needless to quote his songs in large numbers for our present purpose.

It appears also that Venkata Makhi wrote two other treatises *Karmāntha Mimamsa*, a work on the mimamsa Sastra, and *Vārthikābharanam* also a work on the same Sastra.[3] He says he learnt Mimamsa from his brother Yagna Narayana Deekshita, whose disciple he was. Venkata Makhi's disciple was Neelakantha Deekshita the author of *Siva Leelarnava*, which describes the Leelas of Sri Minakshi Sundareswara of Madura (published at the Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam). Neelakantha Deekshita was the grandson of Appiah Deekshita's brother and it is said that Appiah Deekshita asked his grand-nephew to stay with Venkata Makhi and learn the sastras at his feet. The beginning of his work in which he speaks of the nature of poetry and the characteristics of a poet is couched in a style which discloses much resemblance to the style of Yagna Narayana Deekshita. An image of Neelakantha Deekshita, as seated on horse-back, is placed in the Sannidhi of Sri Minakshi amman at Madura.

1. శంఖచక్రాంత వత్సాచరేత్.

2. ఆరుంధతీ కిరితియం బుధిజే నిరుంధతియరేరే సర్వతోముఖ ముఖ్య క్రతుపవనిరి నాగయాంబారే। పదనారాయణ మఖిప్రలేయ చలప సండుసంజత చిన్నవప్పార్వతీదేవి శంకర అవతార గోవిందాధ్వరిరణె నాగమాంబారే॥

3. In the Gangavatharana Kâvya, Sri Neelakantha Deekshita says that he was the disciple of Venkata Makhi, the author of Vârthikâbharanam, that Venkata Makhi was of the Vashista Vamsa and that his father was Govinda Deekshita, and that he (Govinda Deekshita) wrote a commentary on Kumârila Darsana, a Mimamsa work.

वार्तिकाभरणग्रन्थनिर्माणव्यक्तनैपुणः।
श्रीवेङ्कटेश्वरमखीशिष्ये मयनुकम्पते॥

Gangavatharana I—51.

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Sri Raja Chudamani Deekshita, the author of "Tantrasikhamani", a commentary on the Mimamsa Sutras of Jaimini says that he was induced by Venkatesa Deekshita to write his work. The terms in which he refers to Venkatesa Deekshita show that Venkatesa Deekshita also performed several Yagas, (sacrifices) and was a learned scholar.[1]

V

In drawing this short and imperfect account of the great sage and minister, Govinda Deekshita, I have no hesitation in asserting that the study of the life and work of this great personage of modern times is sure to be a source of great inspiration in this age to all those of us who have a love of our country, her glorious past, her inimitable culture and her grand institutions, social, religious and political, which still have that vitality in them which was imparted to them by the ancient Rishis of Aryavarta. The life of one like Govinda Deekshita, who lived and worked among us only 300 years ago is bound to strike our imagination and to appeal to our sentiments more even than the lives of those ancient Rishis and statesmen of whom we read in our puranas and Ithihasas. Here was one who was perfect as a statesman and as a man, who ever walked in the path of God. His work in the state converted the whole Chola Desa into a veritable Earthly paradise. His religious devotion has left several institutions in the land which are bound to keep his fame and name green in our memories for ages to come. One story is enough to show how Govinda Deekshita was ever ready to help all to the best of his ability—one day while he was taking a walk he saw a young man uttering a sloka and ardently praying to the Sun for his grace. The Deekshita approached the young man and heard him uttering a sringāra sloka (a piece of poetry containing sringāra rasa or element of love) and not a song of devotion as he thought it was. On asking the young man, the Deekshita was told that the young man, desiring to be married and well established in life, had appraised a guru of his desire, that that Guru had given him that sloka for prayer to the sun, and that he had since then been continually praying to the sun with that sloka, not knowing anything as to what it meant. The Deekshita heard him and was amused. Seeing the young man's ardent devotion

1. श्रीमदद्वैतविद्याचार्यसर्वतन्तस्वसाग्निचित्याप्रवाज
पेययाजि श्रीवेङ्कटेश्वरदीक्षितनियोगानुभवसमुन्मि
षितमनीषाविशोषस्भ.....

(Catalogue of Skt. manuscripts-Madras oriental library—1910 P. 3299-Colophon).

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and sincerity, the Deekshita took the young man with him and got him married and well-established in life.

In social matters, Govinda Deekshita appears to have been a permanent court of arbitration. One description at Patteeswaram shows how the class of weavers, known as *Patnūlkars* always went to him to settle all family disputes among them. Even now, when difficulties arise among this class of people, they go to Patteeswaram and in the presence of the image of Govinda Deekshita, settle their differences. Govinda Deekshita was an authority in Dharma Sastra. He was a true Brahmin and performed all the sacrifices enjoined in the Vedas. He was a master of politics and he steered the ship of state very successfully and gloriously for nearly three quarters of a century. At the end, he gave up all his estate, palace etc., to God and resigned all Karma-phala (the fruit of his actions) and had for his Vibhava or wealth only his Advaita Vidya and realised his Atman. He gave up all and in the last days of his life, he retired and spent his time in Thapas in the Saunadhi of Mangalambika at Kumbakonam, as is popularly believed, and left the mortal coil to evolve from the prison house of mortal life and join the great Rishis of Aryavarta, in the regions of immortality.

Thus passed out of sight this illustrious sage of the sixteenth century. Govinda Deekshita was a true hero while he lived and became a God after his death. As has been said at the out-set, Govinda Deekshita is now worshipped as a God in the form of Linga at Kumbakonam and at Tiruvadi and as an image at Patteeswaram. He has beside him at Patteeswaram his consort, his Dharma Patni, Nagāmba, the two standing there to-day as if to illustrate the famous line of Milton, "*He for god only, she for god in him.*"

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THE PAMULAVAKA COPPER PLATE GRANT OF AMMARAJA II VIJAYADITYA *

By R. SUBBA RAO, M. A., L. T.

This is one of the two copper-plate inscriptions discovered recently by Sree Raja Vatsavāya Lakshmi Narasimha Raju Garu at Pāmulavāka village, in Narasipatam Taluk of Vizag Dt. They were rescued from the hands of a local vaisya who had them pledged to him by a ryot, who found them in a pot, while digging earth in his land in the village. The rings and the seals of both the plates were used by the ryot for making bangles. The seals, it seems, contained the figure of a boar. The two inscriptions were handed over for study to my friend, Sree Raja Vatsavāya Venkata Neeladri Raju Garu of Tuni, who, in turn, handed them over to me for deciphering and publishing the same in this Journal. The two sets have since been acquired for the Society.

This is the smaller and the older set which contains only three plates measuring each 7 ¼ × 3 ¼ inches. The edges of all the three plates have been raised into rims, so as to protect the writing. The first plate has no letters on the obverse side, which serves the purpose of a cover. It is rather thin and contains on the reverse eight lines. The second plate is thicker than the other two plates and is written on both sides which contain eight lines each. The third plate is again thin and worn out and bears signs of containing some old writing which is beaten off and reimposed with the new matter which is written on the obverse side only and which comes to five lines. The whole inscription, therefore, written on four sides only, contains but twenty nine lines of matter.

As usual, there is a hole, 1 ¼ inches from the edge of the plates, through which the ring containing the seal passes. As stated above, neither the ring nor the seal, into which the two ends of the ring will be soldered, is forthcoming, having been melted away. But it is learnt that the seal had the image of Boar and other symbols on it, which are usually found in all plates of E. Chalukyans.

Language and Alphabet:—

The language used is Sanskrit. It is partly in verse and partly in prose. The script is telugu of the tenth century with an admixture of Canarese letters. The letters are round and beautifully written. In words like mūttê, savva, vajjita, bhayya, puvvatah, the letter 'r' (rêpha) is represented by doubling of the consonants which follow it.

* This paper was read before the Seventh Annual General Body Meeting held on 7-4-1928.

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The Anusvāra is represented by a dot placed at the right top and sometimes it is represented by Nasal. The letter "ఌ" in Ṛechādi Vishaya (L. 28) is a strange letter whose sound is still found in Tamil.

Subject matter of the Inscription:—

This inscription relates to a grant made by Ammaraja II, who was Vishnuvardhana VI and who had a second name, Vijayāditya. He was the younger son of Chalukya Bhima II, born to Lôkamadêvi. We learn from later inscriptions that he was succeeded by his elder half-brother, Dānarṇava who ruled for three years according to some accounts and thirty years according to other accounts. This king Ammaraja had the three paramount titles, viz., Mahārāja, Paramêswara, and Paramabhattāraka which became fixed from his time. His seals in other plates contain the title, 'Sree Tribhuvanāmkuśa' (The glorious Elephant-Goad (ruler) of the three worlds). He had also the title 'Rajamahêndra' which came to be applied to his capital, Rajamahendrapura.

The first five lines of the inscription give the usual Chalukyan titles (please vide translation). From line 6 to line 21, we get the list of Eastern Chalukyan kings of Vengi who were descended from Kubjavishṇuvardhana, the founder of the line and the younger brother of Satyāsraya Vallabhêndra (Pulikesin II). The list gives the names of twenty-one kings, with their regnal periods. (Please vide translation). Lines 22 to 24, give the titles of Ammaraja, the donor of the grant. Lines 25 to 26 state that the village heads (Rāshtrakūta Pramukhān) and cultivators were assembled to note the Royal order. Lines 26 to 27 state that the grant was made to one, Kuchêna, the grandson of the glorious Chamêna and the son of Betôna and his wife Jarākavva, in the Chāvadvishaya and Bārupunādu Ṛecchādi vishaya, with the exception of what was already granted to Gods and Brahmins. The boundaries in the East:—(Left incomplete).

The inscription does not mention the boundaries of the grant made. Also, the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses are omitted. The names of the scribe and the executor are also not given. It is not possible to account as to why this inscription was thus left incomplete. Probably, the grant was never actually made.

But this inscription is, however, important inasmuch as it shows that the grant was made in the Elamanchi-Kalingavishaya and that the Eastern Chalukyan Empire during Ammaraja's time extended to Elamanchi Kalinga (Modern Vizag Dt.). So far, the inscriptions of this king were discovered in Guntur, Krishna, and Godaveri Districts only. The following inscriptions of this king have been published in the Indian Antiquary Vols. VII and VIII, XII, and XIII and also in Epigraphia Indica :—

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1. The Padakaluru grant which gives his date of accession in Śaka Era, corresponding to 5th December, 945 A. D.

2. Pamarru grant which mentions Ammaraja's gift to Bodiya of Pattavardhani dynasty.

3. Yelamarru grant.

4. Gundukolan grant.

5. Kanchumarru grant which mentions his gift to Arhanandi, a jain guru of his keep.

6. Mallipudi grant which mentions his gift to a Jain temple of Bezwada which was built by Durga Raja, one of his generals.

In Andhra Patrika Ugādi Sanchika, dated April 1921, the late K. V. Lakshmanrao, published the Arumbāka C. P. grant of Bādapa Mahāraja. The first sixteen lines of that grant give the Genealogy of the East Chalukyan kings from Kubjavishnuvardhana to Ammaraja II and practically resemble the language and alphabet of this grant. The names of kings and their regnal periods are identically the same. Bādapa in his grant states that Ammaraja II protected (ruled) Vengi along with Trikalinga with justice but the latter's regnal period is not given. Badapa states that, with the help of Kaṇṇa Raja (Krishna of Rashtrakuta dynasty) he defeated Ammaraja II and drove him out of the country. This Badapa is the elder son of Yuddha Malla II (927–934) and bears Sovereign titles. Probably, he ruled over Vengi during the supposed anarchic period after Danarnava's rule, ie. from 973–999 A. D. But from the grant itself, we get a different story. There is no mention of Danarnava. The regnal period of Ammaraja is not given. Badapa even defeated him with the help of Krishna, the Rastrakuta king and drove him out of the country (probably into Kalinga) and ruled over Vengi. According to the writer, there is an unpublished grant (C. P. No. 1 of 1916–1917) of Ammaraja which states that he ruled over Vengi for 11 years and then went to Kalinga leaving the throne to be ruled over, with his consent, by Danarnava. Evidently, this was the period of strife and civil war between the two collateral houses of Vikramaditya and Yuddhamalla, the sons of Kali Vishnuvardhana (843–844 A. D). There may be truth in the statements of Badapa about his own rule over vengi and it is easy to note the motive for the later rulers (Saktivarma, Raja Raja etc.) to omit the name of Badapa and to describe the period as one of anarchy.

From the present grant, we get the following genealogy. The chronology is arranged from the date of accession of Ammaraja II (5th December 945 A. D.) given in his Padakalur plates (Indian Ant. Vol. 7. P. 15). Though the present grant gives a reign of 48 years to (10) Vijayaditya II, a period of 40 years only is allowed to him as is given in most grants—

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The (younger) brother of Satyāsraya Vallabhêndra (Pulikesin II),

viz. 1. Kuba Vishnuvardhana I 614–632 A.D.

- 2. Jaya Simha I 632–665
- (Indra Raja)
  - 3. Vishnu Vardhana II 665–674
    - 4. Mangi Yuvaraja 674–699
      - 5. Jaya Simha II 699–712
      - 7. Vishnu Vardhana III 712–749
        - 8. Vijayaditya I 749–767
          - 9. Vishnu Vardhana IV 767–803
            - 10. Vijayaditya II 803–843
              - 11. Kali Vishnuvardhana V 843–844
      - 6. Kokkili 712 A.D.

- 12. Guṇaga Vijayaditya III 844–888
- (Vikramaditya)
  - 13. Bhima I 888–918
    - 14. Vijayaditya IV 918
      - 15. Ammaraja I 918–925
      - 19. Bhima II 934–945
        - (Danarnava) (Not mentioned)
        - Ammaraja II Vijayaditya (The Donor of this grant)

Ascended the throne on 5-12-945, in the 12th year of his life and ruled for 25 years as revealed by later inscriptions of Raja Raja I and Kulottunga Choda Deva.

- 17. Vikramaditya 925–926
- (Yuddhamalla)
  - 16. Talapa Raja 925
    - 18. Yuddhamalla II 927–934

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TEXT *

First plate, second side.

Om** svasti srī matām sakalabhuvana samsthūyamāna mānavya-
sagôtrāṇām

2. Hārītiputrāṇām Kauśikīvaraprasāda labdhā[1] rājyānām[2] mātrugaṇa paripāli

3. tāmnā[3] Svāmi Mahāsêna pādānuyênām[4] bavannārāyaṇa[5] prasāda samā

4. Sādita varavarāha lanchhinêkshaṇakshaṇa vasīkrutārati[6] maṇḍalā

5. nāmaśvamêdhāvabhruta snāna pavitrīkruta vapushām Cālukyānām Ku

6. lamalamkarishṇôh Satyāsraya Vallabhêndrasya bhrātā Kubja vishṇu vardhdhanô[7] shtā

7. daśavarshaṇi[8] Vêṁgīdêśa mapālayat tatputrô Jayasimha straya strim

8. śatah[9] tadanujêndra rājanandanô Vishṇuvardhdhanô nava tatsūnu rmam gi yu

Second plate, first side.

9. varājah paṁca vimśatim tatputrô Jayasimha strayôdaśa tadava-raja

10. Kokkili[10] shaṇmāsān tasya jyêshtô bhrātā Vishṇuvardhdhana stamuccā ṭya saptatrim

11. śatam tatputrô Vijayāditya bhaṭṭārakô shtādasa tatsutô Vishṇu-vardhdha

12. na shaṭtrimśatam tatsutô Vijayāditya narêndra mṛgarāja

13. schôshtācatvarim[11] satam tatsutah Kalivishṇuvardhanô dhdhyar-dhdha varsham ta

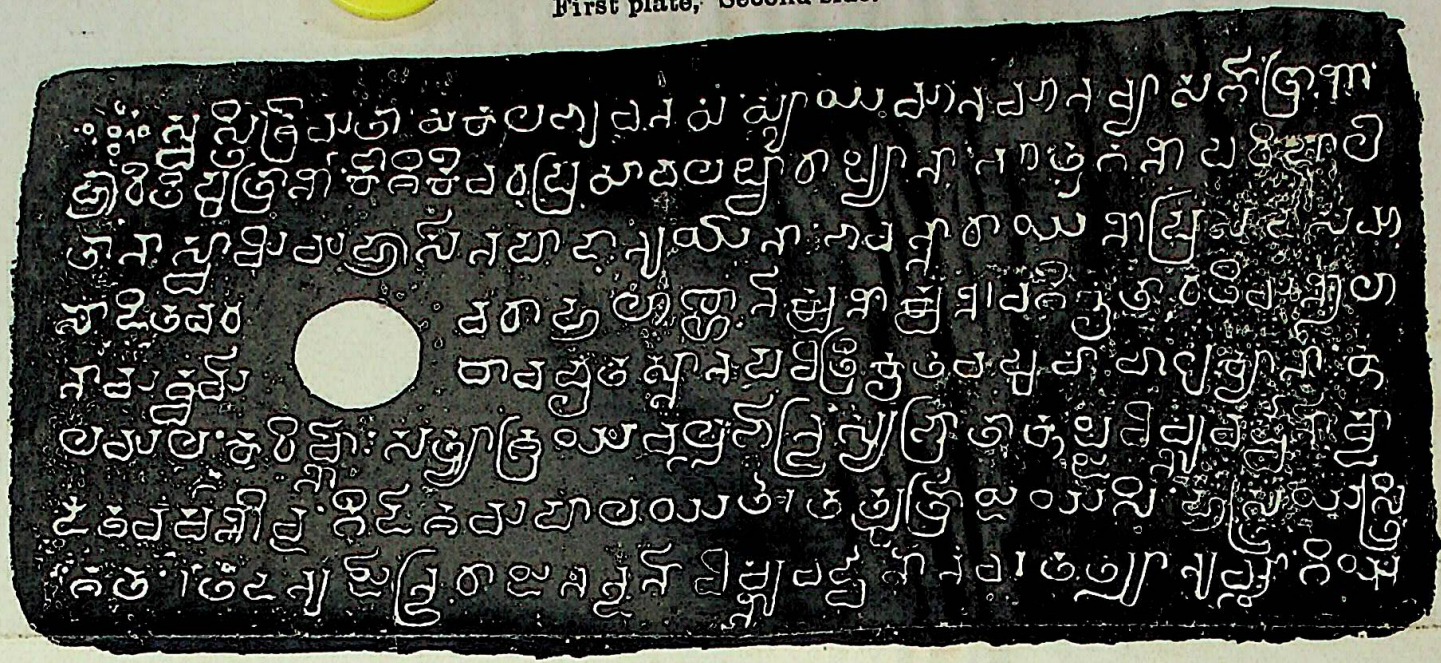
14. tsutô Guṇagānkavijayāditya schatuschatvārimśata tadanujam yuvarā[12]

* From the original plates. ** Represented by a symbol.

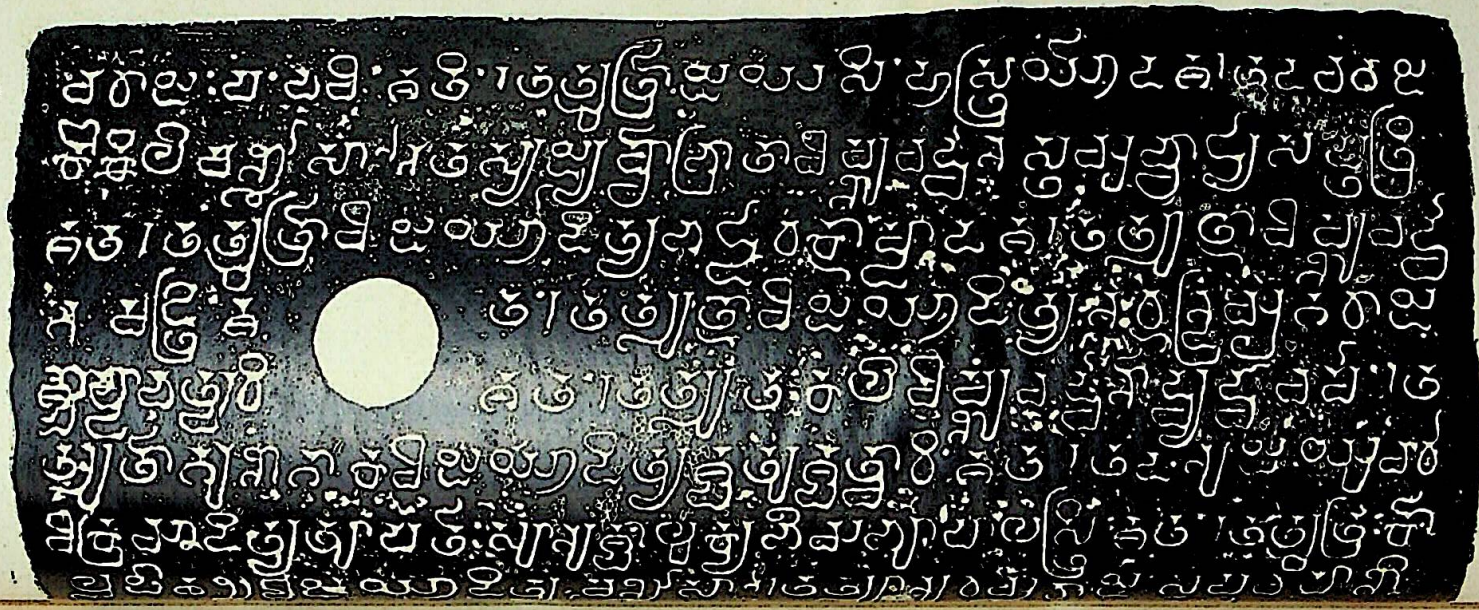
1. Read Labdha. 2. Read Râjyâṇâm, 3. Read ṭânâm.
4. „ Pâdânudhyâṭânâm 5. „ Bhagavannârâyaṇa. 6. „ Krutârâti.
7. „ Varḍhanô. 8. „ varshâṇi. 9. „ Satam.
10. „ Kokkilih. 11. „ Schâshtacatvârim. 12. „ Yuvarâja.

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First plate, Second side.

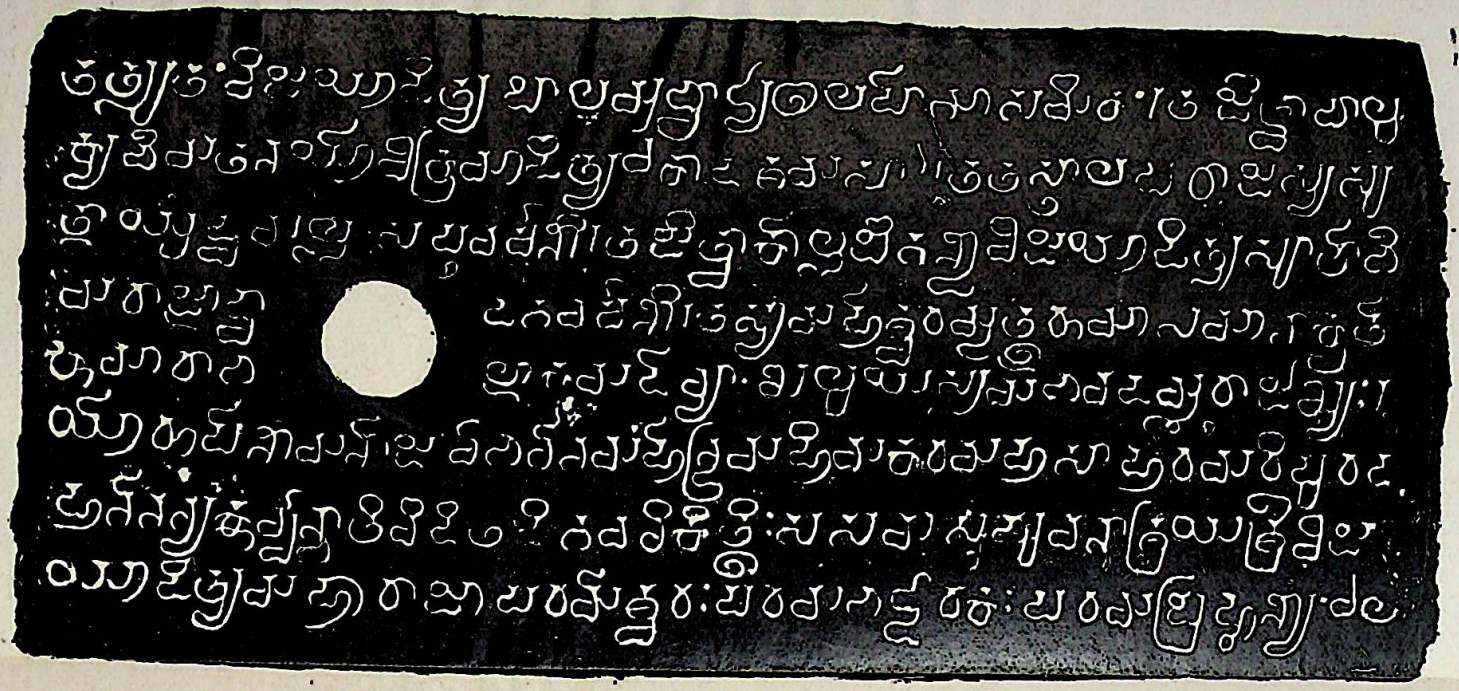


Second plate, First side.

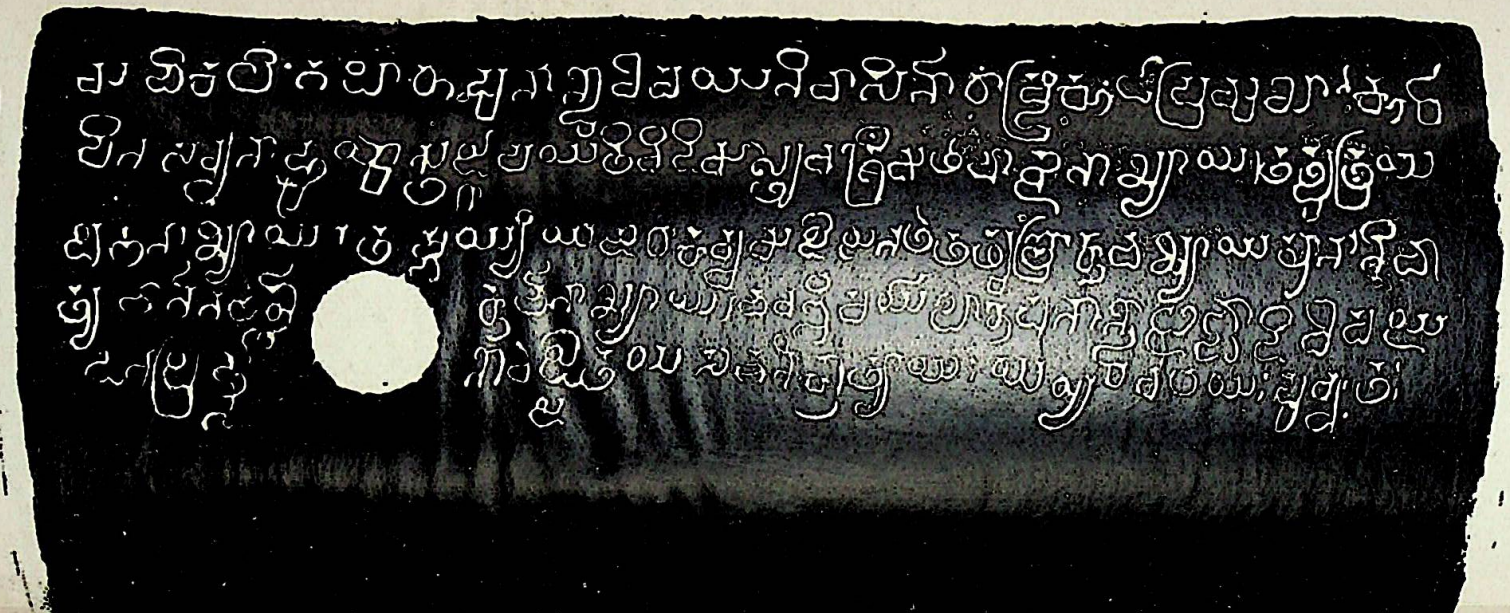


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Second plate, Second side.



Third plate, First side.



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15. Vikramādityatūpatêh[13] sūnuschālukya bhīma bhūpāla strimśatam tatputrah Kô

16. llabhigaṇda vijayādityah shaṇmāsān tatsūnu rammarāja saptavashani[14]

Second plate, second side.

17. tatsutam Vijayāditya bālamuccāṭya Tālapô māsamêkam tam jitvā Cālu

18. kya bhīmatanayô Vikramāditya êkādasa māsān tatastālapà rājasya su

19. tô Yuddhamallah sapta varshāṇi tam jitvā Kollabhigaṇda vijayāditya sutô bhī

20. marājô dvādaśa varshāṇi tasya mahêsvara muttê[15] rumāsamānākrtêh

21. kumārābhah lôkamadêvyāh[16] khalu yassamabhava dammarājākhyah

22. yô rūpêṇa manôja vibhavêna mahêndra mahimakara mahasā hara m aripurada

23. hanêna nyakkurvan bhāti vidita digavalikittih[17] sa[18] samasta bhuvanāsraya srīvija

24. yāditya mahārajā paramêsvarah paramabhaṭṭārakah paramabrahmaṇyah ela

Third plate, first side.

25. mamchi kalimga bārupunāndu vishaya nivāsinô rāshtrakūta pramukhān kuṭu

26. binah savva nāhuyu[19] ājnāpayati vidimastu[20] vah srīmat cāmênā khyāya tatputraya[21]

27. betônākhyāya tadbhāyya ya[22] Jarākavva majējanat tatputrô kuchê khyāya[23] pranāni ca[24]

28. tyābhāvêna tasmai Kucênākhyāya cavadvishayê Bārupunāndu ṛecchādi vishayê

29. dêva brāhmaṇavaj jitaya [25] saśanī [26] krtyāya yasyavadhayah puvvatah[27]

13. Read Bhûpatêh. 14. Read Varshâṇi. 15. Read mûrttê.
16. ,, Lôkamadêvyah Kumârâbhah. 17. ,, Kîrttih.
18. ,, Sah. 19. ,, Sarvâ Nâhûya.
20. ,, vidita mastu. 21. ,, tatputrâya.
22. ,, tadbhâryâya. 23. ,, Kuchinâkhyâya. 24. ,, Praṇânica
25. ,, Varjitaya. 26. ,, Sâsani. 27. ,, Pûrvataḥ.

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TRANSLATION

Hail! Kubjavishnuvardhana, the (younger) brother of Satyāsraya Vallabhêndra, who adorned the family of the Chalukyas[1] who are glorious; who are of the lineage (gôtra) of Manavya, which is praised throughout the whole world; who are the sons of Hārīti[2]; who obtained the kingdom (sovereignty) by the excellent favour of Kausiki;[3] who are protected by the troop of the Mothers[4] (of mankind); who meditate on the feet of (God) Svāmi Mahāsêna; who have had the provinces of their enemies subjected to them, on the instant, at the sight of the excellent crest of Boar[5] which they acquired through the favour of the Holy Narayana; and whose bodies have been purified by the ablutions, performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices—ruled over the country of Vengi[6] for eighteen years. His son, Jayasimha (I) ruled for 33 years; his younger brother, Indrarāja's son, Vishnuvardhana (II) ruled for nine years; his son Mangi yuvaraja ruled for 25 years; his son, Jayasimha (II) for thirteen years; his younger brother, Kokkili for six months; his younger brother, Vishnuvardhana (III), having driven him out, ruled for thirty-seven years; his son, Vijayaditya Bhattāraka (I) for eighteen years; his son, Vishnuvardhana (IV) for thirty-six years; his son, Vijayādiṭya (II) Narendra Mrigaraja (Lion of kings) for forty-eight years; his son, Gunagānka (Mathematician) Vijayaditya (III) ruled for forty-four years; his younger brother, Yuvaraja Vikramaditya's son, Chalukya Bhima-bhūpala ruled for thirty years; his son, Kolabhiganda Vijayaditya (IV) for six months; his son, Ammaraja (I) for seven years; having driven out his son Vijayaditya (V) a mere boy, Talapa ruled for one month; then, the son of Chalukya-Bhima named Vikramaditya (II), having conquered him, ruled for eleven months; and then Talaparaja's son Yuddhamalla II ruled for seven years; then, the son of Kolabhiganda (IV) named Bhima (II), having conquered him, ruled for twelve years.

He was the very incarnation of Mahêsvara and his wife Lôkamadêvi resembled, in her form and beauty, Uma or Pārvati.

1. Calukki, caliki, caḷki, Chalukya, Châlukya, Chaḷukya, chalikya, Salki, Saḷki, śaḷki are all found in the inscriptions. 2. Descendants of an original ancestress of the Harita Gotra, 3. Kausiki is the Goddess of Durga, the Goddess of war, 4 The mothers are the Seven mothers, (the Sapta mâtrukas) who are the female counterparts of Brahma, Siva, Kumâra, Vishṇu, Varâha, Indra and Yama, who are created to drink the blood of the demon, Andhaka. Their Vâhanas (Bearers) are Hamsa (Swan), Vrishabha (Bull), Mayûra (Peacock), Garuda (Kite), Varâha (Boar), Hasṭi (Elephant), Mahisha (Buffalo) respectively. A stone sculpture containing the Sapta Matrukas with their vâhanas is found in the Madras Museum. 5. The Varâha Lanchhana or the crest of the Boar is found on the seals of the Eastern Chalukyan Inscriptions. Their coins called 'varâhas' bear the symbol. 6. It is represented by the modern villages of Peda-Vêgi and China-Vêgi, six miles off Ellore. (Vide for the history of Vêgi my note in the Journal Vol. I, Part 2, page 98.

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The son born to them, Ammaraja (II), the very Kumārasvāmi himself, by surpassing Manmatha (the God of beauty) in form, Mahendra in glory, Surya (Sun god) in bright lustre and Hara in burning the towns of enemies, reduced them all to inferior position and shone brightly. His pure fame spread in all directions. He, the refuge of all the worlds, the glorious Vijayaditya Maharaja, the Paramesvara, the Paramabhattaraka, and the Paramabrahmanya, having called together all the cultivators and the village heads (Rāshtra kūtapramukhās), living in Bārupunāndu[7] Vishaya in Elamanchi-Kalinga[8] thus commands:—Be it known: to one, Kuchêna, grandson of the glorious Chamêna and the son of Betôna and his wife Jarākavva, in the Chāvadvishaya and Bārupunāndu Recchādi vishaya, with the exception of what was already granted to Gods and Brahmins, by making this grant of which the boundaries are: In the East. (Left incomplete)

7. There is a village called 'Barupulu' in Sarvasidhi Taluq of Vizag Dt.

8. It means Kalinga of which Elamanchi (Modern Yellamanchili) was the capital. It is mentioned in the inscriptions of Kokkili Vikramaditya (709 A. D.) his son Mangi Yuvaraja Kôkilavarma, and Bhima I, (818-918 A. D.)

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THE GANGA VAMSAVALI OF PARLAKIMEDI *

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(i)

PREFATORY

It gives me great pleasure to present a paper on the *Ganga-Vamsâvali of Parlakimedi* at this annual meeting of our Andhra Historical Research Society, among others, for this reason, that during the year under review i.e., 1927–28, the present Raja Saheb of Parlakimedi has become one of the leading patrons of this society. Members that attended the Kalingôtsava of our society held during the last summer recess under the illustrious patronage of the Rajah Saheb of Parlakimedi at Mukhalingam remember how that celebration drew our marked attention to many problems of Kalinga History and how I then described in the barest outlines the salient points of the Sanskrit Kavya known as *Gangavamsanucharitam* composed by an Oriya poet *Vasudeva Ratha Somayaji* of the court of a ruler known as *Sree Purushothama Deo.* The *Gangavamsavali* of Parlakimedi that I would presently describe in this paper is different from the *Gangavamsanucharitam* that I then described, but the proper appreciation of the present chronicle requires some elucidation of the genealogy of the *Ganga-Vamsa* given in the Sanskrit Kāvya.

(ii)

GANGA-VAMSA OF THE SANSKRIT KĀVYA

In the Saptama-parichêda or seventh chapter of the *Ganga-Vamsânucharitam*, the author gives a full genealogical and chronological account of the Gangavamsi Rajas who ruled in succession from *Cuttack* in *Odhra* desa as their capital; and he counts among them six *Dêvâs*, six *Nrisimhas* and six *Bhânus* as follows:—

"ఓడ్రదేశే కటకరాజధాని మధ్యస్య।
గంగాన్వయే ప్రథమతోజని దేవషట్కం।
సంజజ్ఞిరే తదనుషట్ బలినోనృసింహాః।
షడ్భానవోఽ ప్యుదయసమ్పదమాపురేవ।
షట్పాదరాజని యతి తిపాః క్రమేణ॥"

* Taken as read before the Seventh Annual General Body Meeting held on 7-4-28.

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And the first among these *dêvâs* was *Chudanga* or *Vudanga* or *Gaulaganga* who expelled the Gajapaty dynasty ruling then at Cuttack and usurped its sovereignty. Thus:—

" దేవేషు చావిరభవత్ప్రథమం వుడంగో।
యంగౌడగంగ ఇతికేచన నిర్దిశంతి।
ధీమానసౌ సహజబుద్ధి బలోదయేన।
సింహాసనం గజపతేః స్వయమధ్యువాస॥"

" లీలాతీ చుడంగచరితం చింతయంతీ విస్మయమానేవ పునరపి
విచ్ఛాయవముద్దిశ్య-నాథ। చుడంగదేవస్య సాహసిక్యమపికీదృశం।
యేనపరాననపేక్ష్య గజపతి ముత్సార్య తత్సింహాసనమధ్యాస్యవిహృతం॥"

The first of these *devas*, *Chudanga* or Gaudagangadēva is evidently a foreigner who usurped the throne and power of a Gajapati king of Orissa, then exercising sovereignty from Cuttack as his capital. Many identify him with Anantavarma Chōda Ganga of the Mukhalingam inscriptions and one point that lends colour to that suggestion is the fact recorded in *Jagannadham Kaiphiyat* (Madras Local Records No. 14–6–22) that the last king of the *Kesari dynasty* of Cuttack had quarrel with his *generalissimo Vasudêva Vâhinīpati* who proved false and brought Chudanga Deo from the Karnata country, an origin and habitat which agree well with the emigration of the ancestors of Anantavarma from the Karnata country described in that ruler's copperplate grants. Whether this view requires modification or amplification is however, too soon to say confidently. This idea of usurpation of a Gajapati-dominion by *Chudanga Deo*, the founder of the *Gangavamsa* of Cuttack is doubtless supported by various traditions of Kalinga and Orissa. After eighteen rulers of this *Gangavamsa* ruled from Cuttack, the wheel of fortune had turned as nemesis would have it and *Kajjal Bhanu* the last of them, while on a conquering expedition to the south, found his ministers at Cuttack had revolted and had installed *Kapilendra Deva* possibly of the old usurped Gajapathi line—on his ancestral throne. This fact and its curious consequences are thus described in Vāsudeva Ratha's Kāvya:—

శృత్వాతం కపిలేంద్రమాత్మవిషయే సింహాసనాధ్యాసినం।
మూలానామపి మంత్రిణాంకుచరితా న్యాలోక్యరోషాకులః।
తంధిక్కృత్యచ దాక్షిణాత్యనృపతీ నుత్సార్యవీర్యోచ్ఛ్రియాత్।
రాజ్యార్ధే ప్రథమం గుడారికటకే వాసాయచక్రేమనః॥

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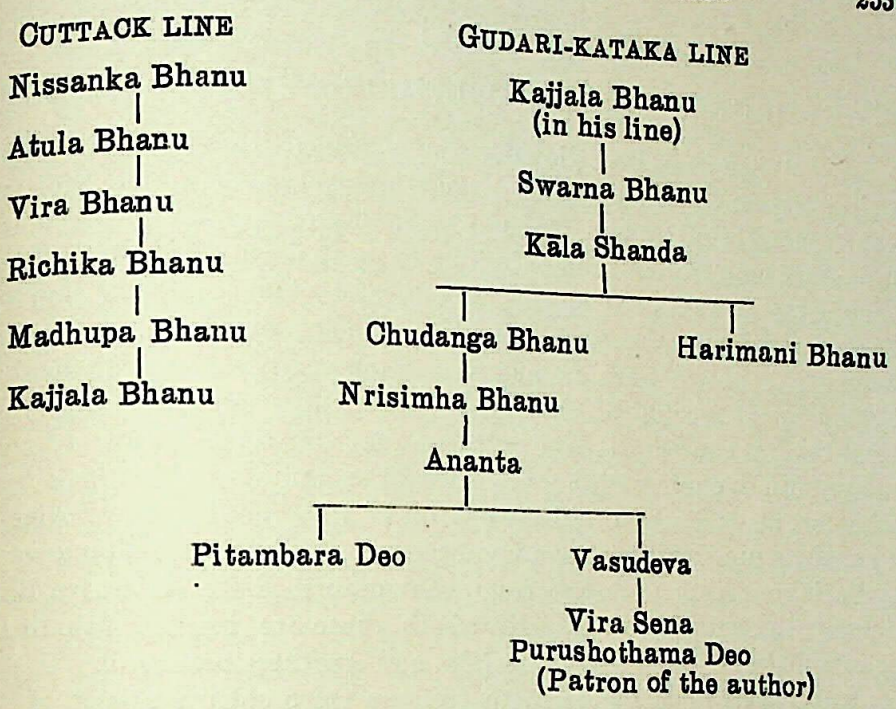
కించ॥ తదవధి మృగనేత్రే గంగవంశావనీశాః।
స్వశుచివసతిదోషా దోర్భ్ర దేశం త్యజంతః।
సకలనృప కిరీటోద్ఘృష్ట పాదారవిందాః।
సుచిరపధికరీత్యా దాక్షిణాత్యాబభూవుః॥

Kajjala Bhanu in quest of a kingdom kept up the usurping tradition of his ancestor *Chudanga Deo*, extirpated a Dakshinatya ruler of *Gudarikataka* and established a ruling power there, but from long domicile, his descendants gradually became themselves *dakshinâtyas*. Epigraphists would hold that the restoration of *Kapilendra* at Cuttack must have happened in the time of *Nissanka Bhanu* whose inscription of date A. D. 1414 is found at Simhachelam in the Vizagapatam District and who is there called *Gajapati*, so called from the Gajapati dynasty, whose throne and power his ancestors had acquired by right of conquest and usurpation. But the Kāvya makes *Nissanka* only the first of the *six Bhanu's* of Cuttack who are mentioned as follows:—

Nissanka Bhanu
|
Atula Bhanu
|
Vira Bhanu
|
Richika Bhanu
|
Madhupa Bhanu
|
Kajjala Bhanu

There seems to be great need then for the collation of Epigraphical and Kavya materials even to settle this usurping Gangavamsa of Cuttack on sound chronological basis. However, the Gangavamsānucharitam gives Kajjala Bhanu unmistakably as the last of the Bhanus of Cuttack. When, with this knowledge, I attended the Kalingotsava and enquired locally how it was possible to connect Mukhalingam with the present ruling line of Gangavamsi princes of Parlakimedi, which somewhat vaguely was tacked on to the Anantavarma line of Gangas by the researchers assembled there, I found from the Inam registers of that village that the same was granted as an agraharam to the Maruvada family by a Parlakimedi ruler known as *Sivalinga Bhanu*; but neither in the Cuttack line of *Bhânus*, nor in the *Gudari-kataka line* of Dakshinātya Bhanus founded by Kajjala Bhānu, could I find the name *Sivalinga Bhânu*. The names of these two branches of *Bhanu* Gangas stand thus in the Sanskrit Kāvya:—

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(iii)

PROBLEM

Who, then, is this Sivalinga Bhanu of the Parlakimedi ruling line? If he is not of the Gudari *cum* Cuttack line founded by *Chudanga Deo* whom Oriya and Andhra scholars seek to identify with *Ananta Varma Chodaganga* of Mukhalingam, to what dynasty does he belong,—i. e., to what other Ganga dynasty, because the Parlakimedi rulers have all along been known as *Gangavamsîyâs*. The Kalingotsava gave me the problem of Sivalinga Bhanu of Parlakimedi for further research and also demonstrated that the *Gangavamsânucharitam* is only one among the many yet untapped sources of Kalinga historical research awaiting to be collated with other materials as they come up and indicated how any conclusions that may be reached from published materials alone would be largely inconclusively tentative. Such a caution is all the more necessary because there are many influential and ruling dynasties in Kalinga to-day in regard to whom any conclusions we may draw from partial evidences will raise very vital and far-reaching issues.

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(iv)

NEW LIGHT ON THE PROBLEM OF SIVALINGA BHANU

When in July following the *Kalingotsava*, our Maharajah's College reopened and attracted a good number of enthusiastic oriya young men from Ganjam for their B. A. degree studies, I sought to interest some of them in my Kalinga historical studies ; one of them caught the idea of a search for records and placed in my hands in January last, an *Oriya Prose Chronicle* called *Gangavamsâvali* composed by one of his own ancestors and purporting to give a genealogical and chronological account of the *Gangavamsi* Rajas of Parlakimedi and their several contributions to culture. As he read it out to me, I jumped in my chair with joy as I heard the name of *Sivalinga Bhanu* who first made Parlakimedi the capital of his dominions. Evidently I caught a new trail here and my discovery is that this Gangavamsa of Parlakimedi is different from that described in Vasudeva Ratha Somayaji's Sanskrit kavya. How both these are related remains to be established by further materials and further research. I shall content myself in this paper with giving a mere outline sketch of this chronicle as I am awaiting confirmation of its account from other oriya sources with which I hope to be establishing contact in the ensuing summer recess.

Gangavamsâvali : *Oriya Prose chronicle :*

This chronicle is written up to the time of the Yuvarajaship of the revered father of the present Rajasaheb of Parlakimedi, Sree Raja Gourachandragajapati Narayana Deo Bahadur C. I. E. At the place where it stops, it records the latter's marriage at Nagarikatakam, a suburb of Mukhalingam, with the daughter of Sree Krishnachandra Deo, Yuvaraj of Jeypore, the revered father of Sree Vikramadeovarma garu of Vizagapatam, the chairman of Reception Committee of our Kalingôtsavam. From these contemporary times, this *Oriya chronicle* works back into the dim past to a period described as the year 973 *Kaliyuga Expired* when it records a king called Pratapa Gajapati *Virasri Brahma Chudanga Vasudeva* as having been installed at *Puri* and *not at Cuttack*, and in his own right and not as a usurper as in the case of *Chudanga Deo*, the founder of the Cuttack line. This *Chudanga Vasudeva*, the founder of the Parlakimedi line, is said to have been born to a Brahman by the boon of Gangamāyi or the river Ganges. So far as I have been able to gather, there is only one record among the Oriental Mss. in the Madras Museum viz., " the History of Langulesvaraswami " (Local Records Vol. 37/p. 415) which mentions a Panda Brahman called Sāyantana, a devotee of Langulesvara, in the city of Kolāhala in Kalinga, as having a wife called *Gangâmba* who had, through the favour of Lāngulesvara, two sons called *Vasudeva*

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and *Chodangadeva* of whom *Chodangadeva* reduced the Barabatti fort of Nrisimhadeva Kesari and married the daughters of Lakshminarayana Nrisimhadeva, his relation and was installed king of Odissa rajya and ruled from cuttack as his capital. It is very significant that the Pratapa Gajapati Vira Sree *Brahma Chudanga Vasudeva* is a *Gangâputra* and that the three elements of his name are identifiable in this tradition of a Kolahalapura Brahmin Family who became kshatrôpêta-dvijas or Brahma-Kshatris. It also connects him with the *Chudanga usurper* of Gangavamśānucharita kāvyam of Vasudeva-Ratha. If this knot can be disentangled, as we may hope it can be, in the light of further confirmatory materials, we will have solved the relationship between the *Puri* and the *Cuttack* lines of Gangavamsis. But that is far ahead of our present chronicle, secured by my pupil Suryanarayanadas. That the present Parlakimedi line of Ganga Rajas originally hailed from *Puri* and not *Cuttack* is also attested to by the current oriya tradition that these Rajas do not generally visit Puri because if they do so, the Raja of Puri should resign his ruling power in their favour for three days perhaps in recognition of their having belonged to the major line of the *Puri Gangas*. There is also this parallelism between the *Gudari Gangas* (of Gangavamsānucharitam) and the *Parlakimedi Gangas* that the ancestors of both had to immigrate into the southern i.e., Andhra country on account of supercession at their original capitals. Our oriya chronicle narrates how one of the rulers of Puri known as *Pratapa Bhima Deo* had six sons by his caste wife and some more illegitimate sons of whom Purushottama was the eldest. Undecided about the succession, Bhima Deo prayed to the God Jagannadh for light. The God appeared in a dream and urged the king to install *Purushottama* on the throne. He did so with the result that his legitimate sons headed by the eldest *Kaliya Pratapa Rudra* immigrated into the southern country. This *Pratapa Bhima Deo's* father was *Atithi Siddhesvara Bhima Deo* who was preceded in regular genealogical order by six *Kêsaris* who were in their turn preceded by six *Vāsudevas*, the first of whom was *Brahma Chudanga Vasu deva* noticed above. The genealogy and chronology of this Puri line up to their southern immigration is thus given in this oriya chronicle:—

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(14 kings)

	yrs.	mths.	dys.	
ప్రతాపగజపతివీరబ్రహ్మచుడంగవాసుదేవ	63	10	0	(Pratāpa Gajapathi Vira Brahma Chudanga Vasudeva)
గంగేశ్వరవాసుదేవ	28	7	0	(Gangêswara Vasudeva)
అనంగపురుషోత్తమవాసుదేవ	39	11	0	(Ananga Purushottama)
ప్రతాపరాజేశ్వరవాసుదేవ	27	9	0	(Pratāpa Rajeswara)
శ్రీమదనవాసుదేవ	24	5	0	(Sri Madana Vasudeva)
వీరశ్రీనృసింహవాసుదేవ	33	10	0	(Vira Sri Nrusimha)
	218	4	0	
సారంగధరకేసరిదేవ	24	0	0	(Sārangadhara Kesari Deva)
గంధర్వకుముదకేసరిదేవ	34	0	0	(Gamdharva Kumuda)
అనంగకేసరిదేవ	17	3	0	(Ananga Kesari Deva)
అనంగభీమకేసరిదేవ	43	5	0	(Ananga Bhima)
వీరమార్తాండకేసరిదేవ	28	10	0	(Vira Marthanda)
వీరపద్మనాభకేసరిదేవ	33	0	0	(Vira Padmanabha)
	180	6	0	
సిద్ధేశ్వరభీమదేవ	34	2	0	(Siddhesvara Bhimadeva)
ప్రతాపభీమదేవ	40	0	0	(Pratāpa Bhima Deva)
	74	2	0	
	218	4	0	
	180	6	0	
మొత్తం.	74	2	0	Total.
	473	0	0	

From these calculations it would appear that the Southern immigration of the Puri line of Gangas seems to have taken place 473 years after its original foundation in that sacred city.

The genealogy and chronology of the immigrated line which, up to the time of *Sivalinga Bhanu* who established himself at Parlakimedi began to rule a dominion called *Panchakataka* on the banks of *the Indravati* (between Jeypore and Bastar) are stated further on as follows :—

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VASAVANAGARAKATAKA LINE OF GANGAS

(13 kings)

	yrs.	mths.	dys.	
కాళీయ ప్రతాపరుద్రదేవ	17	10	0	(Kāḷīya Pratāpa Rudra Deva)
అనంగమధురుద్రదేవ	26	9	0	(Anamga Madhu Rudra Deva)
కాళీయహంవీరదేవ	40	0	0	(Kāḷīyahamvīra Deva)
మదనవాసుదేవ	35	0	0	(Madana Vāsu Deva)
నారాయణదేవు	35	0	0	(Narayaṇa Devu)
నృసింహదేవు	30	5	12	(Nrusimha Devu)
ఆజయరుద్రనారాయణదేవు	45	3	7	(Ajaya Rudra Nārāyaṇa Devu)
నృసింహదేవు	25	1	16	(Nrusimha Devu)
మధుకర్ణదేవు	31	9	12	(Madhukaṛṇa Devu)
మృత్యుంజయభానుదేవ	34	0	0	(Mrutyumjaya Bhanu Deva)
మాధవసుందరదేవ	37	0	0	(Mādhava Sundara Deva)
చంద్రమౌళిభానుదేవు	43	6	3	(Chaṇdra Mauḷi Bhānu Devu)
స్వల్లింగభాను	30	0	0	(Svallinga Bhānu)
	430	8	20	
	473	0	0	
	430	8	20	
మొత్తం.	903	8	20	Total.

From this, it is clear that Sivalinga Narayana Bhanu Deva, the son of Swarlinga Bhanu established himself at Parlakimedi and became the immediate founder of the Parlakimedi Ganga line about 904 years after its original foundation at Puri.

The Genealogy and chronology of the Sivalinga Bhanu line of Parlakimedi, up to Jagannadha Narayanadeo, the contemporary of Zafar Ali Khan, the Fouzdar of Chicacole Circar in A.D. 1750, is given further on as follows:—

(10 kings)

	yrs.	mths.	dys.	
శివలింగనారాయణభానుదేవు	28	0	0	(Sivalinga Nārāyana Bāṇu)
సువర్ణకేసరిదేవు	40	0	0	(Suvarna Kesari Devu)
ముకుందరుద్రనారాయణదేవు	26	0	0	(Mukunda Rudranarayana)

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	yrs.	mths.	dys.	
ముకుందనారాయణదేవు	18	2	5	(Mukunda Narayana Devu)
అనంతపద్మనాభనారాయణదేవు	12	5	12	(Anantha Padmanaba Narayana)
సర్వజ్ఞనారాయణదేవు	16	9	12	(Sarvajna Narayana Devu)
నరహరిదేవు (son of the second wife, daughter of Jemma Bisoyi)	27	0	0	(Narahari Devu)
వీరఅనంతపద్మనాభనారాయణదేవు	12	10	12	(Veera Anantha Padmanabha Narayana Devu)
వీరప్రతాపరుద్రనారాయణదేవు (brother of 8)	18	3	9	(Veera Prataparudra Narayana)
జగన్నాథనారాయణదేవు (contemporary of Zafar Ali Khan A. D. 1750.	40	5	0	(Jagannadha Narayana)
	239	11	23	i.e., about 240 years.

Thus, by the time of Zafar Ali Khan i. e., 1750 A.D., the Ganga line of Parlakimedi Rajas had been in existence, exercising sovereign rule in that part of the country, for about 240 years i. e., from about the year 1510 A.D., i. e., from the beginning of the sixteenth century; but it had been in existence, originally established at Puri from a family of Kolahalapura in Kalinga, for over 900 years before that date. This takes us back to A.D. 610; the immigrant family however dates back to 430 years i. e., to 1080 A.D. The Dirghasi Inscription of Raja Raja, the father of Anantavarma Chodaganga dated A. D. 1075—76 mentions the subjugation, among others, of a king of *Khimidi*. If the king of Kimedi referred to in this inscription is to be identified among this branch of the immi grant Gangas of Puri, then, they must have belonged to a line of Gangas *different from* the Mukhalingam *Gangas*. Could they have belonged to the Solar line of North Indian Immigrant Gangas of whom traces are found in the Karnata grants referring to the Jaina Ganga founders of the Ganga-vâdi kingdom? This much can be suspected from the fact that this chronicle refers to the coronation of Vira Sri Brahma Chudanga Vasudeva at Puri according to the traditions of Rama's coronation. The Present Parlakimedi kings however have for long called themselves *âtrêyas* by gotra and *Chandravamsi* in clan. Here is another tangle of historical fact and tradition not unworthy of presentation to the scholars of our Historical Research Society on the occasion of the Annual Vardhanti gathering.

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A NOTE ON THE INSCRIPTION FROM GANJ

By Prof. G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL

In Vol. I, Part IV, Page 228, (April-1927) of "The Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society", an article of Mr. G. Ramadas is entitled as "Vyâghradêva" of the Vâkâtaka inscription of Ganj. I myself have published in 'Indian Antiquary. (Vol. LV, Part DCXCIX-A, June 1926, Page 103.) an article on "Vyâghra" the Uchchakalpa. Yet, I ought to add some more words on the same subject.

The inscription from Ganj mentions a Vyâghradêva. The termination "dêva" indicates that this prince belonged to the Uchchakalpa family. Indeed, the founder of that family was called Ōghadêva and his son was called Kumâradêva; Vyâghra was the grand-son of Kumâradêva.

Concerning the age of the Ganj inscription, the study of the alphabet i. e., the paleography, gives us a very clear indication between the inscription of Samudragupta (where a Vyâghra is mentioned) and the Ganj inscription. There is so vast a difference that more than a century separates the Vyāgra who was a contemporary of Samudragupta from the Vyâghra of Ganj. I pray the reader to refer to a note which had been published quite recently in Epigraphia Indica (Page 362, Vol. XVII.), where Mr. K. N. Dikshit wrote as follows:—"The characters used in the Ganj and Nâchnâ inscriptions are later in date than those of the Poona plates of Prabhâvatigupta. The present epigraph (inscription from Ganj) which is almost identical with the Nâchnâ inscription can therefore also be assigned to Pṛithivishêna II who must have died in or about the last quarter of the 5th or the opening years of the 6th century A. D."

So, there is no possible doubt: Vyâghradêva of Ganj was governing Bundelkand under the orders of Pṛithivishêṇa II and was an Uchchakalpa prince. The Vâkâṭakâ king Pṛithivishêṇa II was reigning towards 480 A. D. that is to say, more than a century after the expedition of Samudragupta. The Vyâghra of Ganj cannot be identified with the Vyâghra mentioned in the Allâhâbâd inscription of Samudragupta.

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BHASHYADIPA

(*By* Mimamsakacharya S. K. RAMANATHA SASTRI & M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI M. A.)

Prabhākara, a great mimamsā writer, wrote a commentary called Bṛhati on Sabaraswamin's *Mimamsābhashya*. About eight chapters in it are now available. A commentary on Bṛhati by Sālikanātha called *Rjuvimalā* extends over 12 chapters, the whole of which can be had with the exception of chapters 7 and 8. Sālikanātha wrote four works. The first Ṛjuvimalā, the second Prakaraṇapañchikā, the third Pariśiṣṭa and the last is *Dīpaśikhā*. It has been said that Ṛjuvimalā is a commentary on Bṛhati. The second is a treatise summarising the theories of Prabhākara on various items. The third elaborates such views of Prabhākara as are not clearly stated in either of their works otherwise. The fourth work, Dīpaśikhā is said to be a commentary on Nibandha of Prabhākara. Mādhavasarasvati in his Sarvadarśana-Kaumudi and an anonymous author of Sarvadarśanasangraha attest to these compositions of Prabhākara and Śālikanātha.

प्राभाकरप्रस्थानं तु - भाष्यस्य प्रभाकरकृतं व्याख्यानद्वयम्। एकं विवरणं षट्सहस्ररूपं; अपरो निबन्धनसंज्ञोद्वादशसहस्रम्। विवरणस्य ऋजुविमला निबन्धनस्य दीपशिखा टीकाद्वयं शालिकनाथकृतम्" Sarvadarśana Kaumudī.

In one of the colophons of *Bṛhati*, it is called *Bhāshyavivaraṇa* which, even as available upto eight chapters, consists of about 7000 granthas while Madhavasarasvati calls its extent as 6000 in all.

Sālikanātha begins his Ṛjuvimalā on Bṛhati thus:—

सृष्टाविद्यानिशाध्वंसिबन्धनिबिडौजसम्।
उज्झासितजगज्जाड्यं नमस्यामः प्रभाकरम्॥
प्रभाकरमयीं दृष्टिं दाक्षिणां दधतं सदा।
वामदर्शनतापन्नचन्द्रं वन्देऽपराजितम्॥
प्रभाकरगुरोर्वाक्यं मितगम्भीर भाषिणः।
अञ्जसाव्यञ्जयिष्यन्ती पञ्जिका क्रियते मया॥

The first verse seems to allude to one निबन्ध of Prabhākara and in the second, Chandra is mentioned to have been an opponent of Prabhākara and as an author of *Vāmadarsana* or crooked philosophy.

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Chandra's views are criticised at length by Murārimiśra in his commentary on Tripādi of Prabhākara.

We have very recently obtained a fragment of a Mimamsa work on broken leaves whose colophon runs thus:—

इति भाष्यदीपे प्रथमस्याध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः

A cursory glance over the fragment will convince anybody that the work deals with the theories of the Prabhākara school. It begins with the second pāda of the first chapter and professes to explain the misunderstood terms of expression in the Bhāshya of Śabarasvāmin[1]. Its author does not enter into extensive argumentation as in Bṛhati which, incorporating the lines of Śābarabhāshya, reads like a critical treatise and the same method is followed by Śālikanātha in his Ṛjuvimalā by simply augmenting the lines in Bṛhati by attributive phrases and clauses; but in *Bhāshyadīpa* as far as available, only notes are given on certain expressions. In *Nayavivēka* and in its commentary called *Dīpika*, frequent references to a work called *Laghvi* along with *Bṛhati* are found. Appayyadīkshita in his commentary on *Srīkantha bhāshya* refers to Prabhākara Vivarana. It is a bold surmise that this *Bhāshyadīpa* must be a work of Prabhākara, referred to by various authors as *Nibandha* and it is on this work that Śālikanātha wrote his commentary called *Dīpaśikhā*. The copy of the latter is said to be still available in Malabar. The whole work of *Bhāshyadīpa* is not available to us; and it begins from the second pāda of the first chapter. One of the quotations by Appayya Dhikshita appears to bear references to Tarkapāda not found in *Bṛhati*. If it refers to Vivaraṇa, it may go against the identity of *Bhāshyadīpa* with the *Nibandha* and only further investigation must settle it.

There is a work called *Bhāshyapradīpa* which also begins from the second pada of the first chapter. It is also a commentary on the *Bhāshya* of Śabarasvāmin. It was witten by Sañkarāchārya the pupil of Govindabhagavatpûjyapāda. It is quite a different work from *Bhāshyadīpa*, as it upholds the theories of Kumārila and condemns Prabhākara's interpretation of the Bhāshya.

Scholars would be eager to know whether the great Sankarācharya, who discarded 'karma' entirely, could ever choose to comment upon the karma-mimāmsa elaborated by Śabarasvamin. It may be asserted that commentators as Upavarsha, Devasvamin, and Bhāvasvamin work their commentaries on all the twenty chapters of Mimamsa which include Karma kānda, Devata kānda and Sāriraka.

1. The first leaf broken in the beginning reads thus:—

वाक्यानि शाबरे। दुर्ज्ञातार्थानि दृश्यन्ते तेषामर्थः ॥.....

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A learned commentator on *Sambandhavārtika* of Sureśwara while explaining the proposition of Śabarasvāmin against Upavarsha quotes a line to the effect that he would speak of a certain argument in his commentary on Sāriraka i. e., Brahmasûtra. Similarly, it may be summarised that Śankarāchārya, like great authors, might have written on Karma-Mimamsa also, selecting Śabara's work for his comments But various circumstances stand in the way of attributing Pradîpa to that genius, the great Achārya. There was one Sankarabhagavan, an ascetic and also pupil of one Govindabhagavatpāda, in the family of Payyur in Malabar, who appears to have flourished about 1400 A.D. In all probability, he seems to have been the author of Pradîpa.

Bhāshyadîpa begins with the second pāda of the first chapter while *Bṛhati* or vivaraṇa starts with the first pāda of the *Bhashya*. From a close examination of *Slokavartika* and *Tantravartika* of Kumarila and *Bṛhati* of Prabhākara, a bold conjecture may be advanced that Kumarila's arguments presuppose the existence of *Nibandha* of Prabhākara who, in turn, opposed Kumarila's position in his *Vivaraa* or *Bṛhati* which was attacked again by Bhavabhūti in his commentary on Slôkavartika. Bhavabhūti says:—

अवगमैकनिबन्धनं च वस्तुत्वमित्यनुपासितगुरुं प्रबोधयितुमाह—एकाकारं भवेदेकमिति। (शून्यवादे) Again on the first sloka of sphotavāda (आधारात्मनि etc) अत्रानुपासितगुरवश्चोदयन्ति। अथ गौरिति कस्यायं प्रज्ञः न तावत्पूर्वपक्षवादिनः तस्यसंबन्धाक्षेपानन्तरं शब्दप्रश्नानुपपत्तेः। नापिसिद्धान्त वादिनः....। यदपिवार्तिककारेणोक्तं—आधारात्मनि....ब्रवीत् (स्फोटवादेप्रथमश्लोकः)

तदपि यदि पूर्वपक्षवादी ततोऽनुपपन्नं तेनाधारनिरूपणात्पूर्वमेवाक्षेपस्य निरूपितत्वात्....कः स्वयमुत्तरं तेभ्यो दद्यात्। इति पूर्वपक्षवादिप्रश्नोऽयमितिदर्शयिष्यति.... and closes it with the remark तस्मादालूनविशीर्णोऽयं सह विवरणेन भाष्यग्रन्थः"

In the above extracts, the expression अनुपासितगुरु appears to refer to प्रभाकर and though it means an author of imperfect study, it perhaps bears out the tradition that Prabhakara criticised the interpretations of Kumarila, his master, almost every day at the beginning of his tuition and consequently earned his nick-name गुरु.*

* A pun upon the word गुरु was made by मण्डनमिश्र in his विधिविवेक in his criticism on प्रभाकर theory closing it as "अलंगुरुभिविवादेन"

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SAILODBHAVA DYNASTY OF KALINGA

By SRI L. N. DEB, M. R. A. S.

Raja of Tekkali.

Some years ago, an artizan while repairing the top of Someswara temple got three copper plates. Two of the plates he had spoiled and hearing that the remaining one was with him, I got it, in 1917, from him. From it I could understand that the first and the last plates have been spoiled. I gave that plate to His Excellency the Governor of Bihar and Orissa, Sir Edward Albert Gait, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S. to examine. He got it examined by Mahamahopadyaya Pandit Haraprasada Sastri, M.A., C.I.E. and published it in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society Vol. IV, part II, as "Tekkali Inscription of Madhavarajah, the son of Pattavyallopa Rajah". In the above examination of the plate, some mistakes having been found out, in order to correct it, its history is given in the following lines. After the end of the chaitra dynasty in the fifth century, there was a place named Kongada between Kalinga and Utkala, where a renowned Rajah named Pulindasena was ruling. On account of some strong reasons, failing to bear the burden of ruling the land, he was in search of a man who should rule in his place. At that time some Rajputs being desirous of conquering some lands took shelter in the mountains of Utkala. Palindasena requested one fit person from among them to reign in his place to which the Rajput consented. On account of the Rajput's coming from the mountain, his dynasty was known as Sailodbhava dynasty. The heirs of this founder ruled for some years; and the names of the rulers of the time when the copper plates were deposited on the temples are given below. Madhyama Rajah first began his rule in the early part of the seventh century. He had been entitled as Abhīta. His son Dharmaraja was known as Ranabhita and Yasobhita. Dharmarajah's son, Madhyamaraj II was known by the names of Sainyabhita, Sreenivasa and Madhavavarma. Madhyamarajah II's son, Ranakshobha was also called Ranabhita. In the year 620, Madhavavarma was a powerful ruler. From the history of Utkalla it is known that this King had performed the Asvamēdhayāga in 620. From the four sets of copper plates of this dynasty found so far, the plate of Madhavavarma's time was found at Bugada, that of Madhyamaraja's time at Parikudu and Khoroda, and that of Madhyamarajah III's time was found in the temple of Siva at Tekkali. From this, it could be understood that they had extended Kongoda up to Southern Ganjam.

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In Kalinga or Utkala, the kings of the Kesari dynasty were ruling as independent kings from 520–1042 A.D. It is possible that the above mentioned Kings of the Sailodbhava dynasty were under the Kings of Kesari dynasty. Some say that at the beginning of the seventh century, Sasankaraj Narendra Gupta, the ruler of Western Vanga had attacked Utkala, but at that time Lalitendra Kesari, the strongest king of the Kesari dynasty in Utkala was ruling as an independent king. Therefore it is not right to say that Utkala was under any other rule at that time. In the tenth century, in the Southern part of Ganjam (present Tekkali) Padmachandra, a strong king was reigning. Rajah Ranakshobha of the above mentioned Sailodbhava dynasty drove away his brother Pattavyallopa who coming to the mountains which are at the Southern side of Kongada lived in the Malikeswara temple constructed by Bhima, and prayed for the self restoration to his land. According to his brother's order, he collected an army and defeating the Tekkali king Padmachandra, lived at Bhendi constructing a fort there. There is a temple of Siva which appears to be the Siva temple constructed by Madhyamarajah III and which is an old one. Therefore it is certain that this temple was built by one of the kings of the Sailodbhava dynasty.

The place where this Rajah lived and prayed to Malikeswara and began fighting for his land was called as 'Rabasha'. Now it is called Rayabalsha. There is a cave known as Pandava cave and at the top of that hill there are the broken remains of that 'Basha'. Pattavyallopa Rajah collecting some mountainous soldiers from the Nasunda mountain defeated his elder brother Ranakshobha and occupied Kongada. After him, his son Madyamaraja III became the ruler of Kongada and conquered land to the south. As the inscription of the present copper plate which was found at the temple of Siva, and that of the Salki plate of the eleventh century appeared to be of the same time, it was settled that Madhyamaraja III was the ruler in the eleventh century. In the eleventh century, the King of the Sailodbhava dynasty gave his daughter Kasturikamodini in marriage to the Kalinga king, Anantavarmachodaganga of the Ganga dynasty. He had given the southern conquered Kingdom of Tekkali as the marriage dowry. From that day, the name of this kingdom became 'Tekkali.' With the help of that king of the Sailodbhava dynasty, Anantavarmachodaganga defeated the king of the Kesari dynasty and occupied Utkala.

We get the following Genealogy of the Sailôdbhava dynasty:—

(1) Madhyamaraja I
(2) Dharmaraja (Ranabhita)
(3) Madhyamaraja II
(4) Ranakshôbha
(5) Pattavyallopa
(6) Madhyamaraja III

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STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAGANNATHA TEMPLE OF ATHAGADA

(Inscribed on the dais of the Idols)

By Sri L. N. DEB M. R. A. S.

Raja of Tekkali

It is understood from the history of the Royal family of Athagada Estate, Ganjam District that the Athagada Raj family claims its descent from Baghale Dynasty which came from Rewa. Ramachandra Harichandan Jaga Dev reigned over Athagada Estate during Saka 1609–1628. By his first wife,he had three sons,viz. Giridhar alias Gopinath, Raghunath alias Anantho, Divyasimha alias Padmanabha and by his second wife, he had two sons, viz. Vasudev and Srichandan Giridhar alias Gopinath Harichandan Jaga Dev. Giridhar reigned during S.1628–1634. As he had no sons, his brother Raghunath alias Anantha Harichandan Jaga Dev succeeded him in Saka 1634–1635. He had got the present Jagannath temple of Athagada,which is one of the biggest temples of Ganjam that is found to the present day, built up and the Lord Jagannath installed in it. To verify the above facts, the reading of the inscription is given below. This stone inscription is written in Oriya Language of old type oriya characters. Jagabandhu alias Jagannath Harichandan Jagadev, son of Raghunath succeeded to the throne and reigned over the estate during Saka 1654–1670. He helped the then Maharajah of Orissa by offering him shelter at the time of his distress. At that time, Athagada estate was in a flourshing state. We can very well have an idea of the same by going through a portion of Ganga Vamśānu Charitram—a sanskrit book compiled in his time—in which, the then Athagada estate is described and from which quotation is given below.

STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAGANNATH TEMPLE OF ATHAGADA

Ye Athagadarajyadhipathi Anantho Harichandan jaga debonko sanoponora a prasado Kirti Kori Sri Sri Mohaprabhunku Singhosona bijakorayi Sri chorono tola onnkshana ochonthi—ye Ramachandro Harichandonko puo, yahanko ma chandrama debi, yahanko bhayi bhromoroboro Padmanabho Santho.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Anantha Harichandan Jagadev, the then King of Athagada got this temple built up in his young age and having installed the

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idols on the dais, he resides always at the feet. He is the son of Ramachandra Harichandan; his mother is Chandramadevi; he has a brother named Bhramaravara Padmanabha Santho.

गङ्गवंशानुचरितम्

(सप्तमपरिच्छेदः)

विद्याशीर्ष—भवतु यथा लीलावती मन्यते इति द्यावपि सपरिकरौ लङ्गलवेणि नाम जगद्बन्धु नरनायकस्य राजधानी मुपेयतुः.

तत्रापणेषु परितो वितितीकृतानि
रत्नान्ययत्ननिहितानि वणिग्व्रजानाम्
आलोक्ययानि पथिका हृदयान्तराले
सम्भावयन्ति भुवनानि तदुज्झितानि ॥17॥

विद्या——प्रिये! एषा अष्टदुर्गनृपते राजधानी निरीक्ष्यताम्

लीलावती—किंचिद्गत्वा, निरिवलधरणिपरिगतबहुविधचमत्कारकारिसमस्तवस्तुवास्तुनो नानादिगन्तवास्तव्यपथिकजनमनोरथानल्पकल्पपादपस्थलवङ्गवेणिनामकस्यनग - रस्य मध्येकृष्णाकाननंनामनि चूतारामे प्रविश्य, प्रतिपर्वप्रचुरतररुण दलकुलकवलितदिनकरकरनिकरसञ्चारे, मन्दमन्दप्रसरमधुमधुरकेतकसौर- भभररभसचञ्चलचञ्चरीकचयानु गायमानमलयमारुतसस्वन्धिगन्धवन्धुरे, अनवरतनिरन्तरायनिपातित चूतमुकुलकुल कल्पिततल्पतलजनित शिशयिषा- लोलटवेदाकुलपथिककु लसंकुलमूलसोमनि.

* * * * * *

इत्युत्वा तत्रवसतिं निवध्य रघुनाथसागरं नाम कासारमुपेयतुः.

* * * * * *

लीलावती—चक्रं नक्रादभीताप्यनुसरतिरसाच्चक्रवाकीवराकी पुल्लत्कह्लावारपुञ्जे मिलति सहचरं वीक्ष्य हंसी रिरंसुः गुल्मान्तः कैरविण्याः प्रसरति निनदः कोजपि कारण्डवीयः कङ्कः पङ्के सशङ्कं शपरकचलने केवलंते वलन्ते ॥20॥

विद्या——नगरोनिरीक्षणाय वद्धश्रद्धौ वभूवतुः तदनु

वीर्थीं वीथीमयमुपगतोद्रष्टुमिच्छुः पुरीं ताम्.
भ्रान्त्या भ्रान्त्या तदनुपरितोवीक्ष्यमाणोद्भुतानि
स्मायं स्मायं निजदयितयासङ्गतोहन्तरिङ्गन्
हट्टेघट्टोदयिनिजघटे मामधो मन्दं मन्दम्. ॥21॥

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विद्या——नहि नहि सखि सत्यं ब्रवीमि.

काञ्चीकाञ्चनशालिनी परिचिता काशी विकाशीकृत
प्रासादापरिशीलिताप्यधिगता सद्धस्तिनी हस्तिना
क्षोणी मण्डनमेवकुण्डिनपुरीद्रष्टाऽपि दृष्टप्रजा
काचिल्लङ्गलवेणिवन्नमनसो हर्षं प्रकर्षं दधे ॥22॥

लीलावती—कुत्रेदृशी पटिपाटी पणाजिरेषु. तथाहि. निरीक्ष्यताम्. इतोहोरकादिमुल्यप्रस्तावः इती हिरण्यपरोक्षा इतः कुप्यादिप्रणयनम्, इतश्चित्रकम्बलसंचयः, इतो भोजन भाजनानि, इतः करकानिकरः, इतो विविधवस्तापणः, इतोगोधनपरिवृत्तिः, इति नानाविधवस्तुविस्तारमवेक्षतत इतो भ्रमन्तो लीलावती दूरादुच्चैः प्रासादमालीक्ष्य सविस्मयं, नाथ! कस्यायंप्रासादः किंकर्त्तृकः, कियत्कालीनः, किमर्थं कृतइति पृच्छामि

विद्या——प्रिये! नजानासि, अर्थिजनहरिचन्दनं रघुनाथहरिचन्दनम्; यः खलु जगत्पूज्यत्वेन विविच्य गनपतिना जगद्देवपदवीमासादितः,

लीलावती—ततः किम्,

विद्या——तेन यदा यन्निमित्त मयं: प्रासादः कृतस्तत्सान्वयं निशम्यताम् सखि

पूर्वाद्रेरिवरामचन्दनृपतेर्लब्धोदयं चन्द्रमा
देवीयं सुपुवेसुधाकरमिवप्राचीकला कोमलम्
यस्याद्भावनुजौ महार्गलभुजौ धूतारी भूमिभुजौ
तत्रैको भुवि विश्रुतो गिरिधरः श्रीदिव्यसिंहोऽपरः ॥23॥

किञ्च. यस्य प्राणसमा समा गुणगणैः श्रीप्राणदेवीप्रिया
जातो यज्जठरेसुतः किल जगद्बन्धुर्यथार्थाभिधः
त्वामाद्यन्महसो यदीययशसो यस्यातपत्तान्तरे
सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ निलीयवसतस्तद्वर्णने के वयम् ॥24॥

स्त्रीणां मोहनमञ्जरीविषलताप्रत्यर्थिनामर्थिनाम्
कल्पद्रुः सुधियां सुधाकरकला भूमण्डलीमण्डनम्
सोऽयं श्रीरघुनाथनामनृपतिर्लक्ष्मीपतिप्रीतये
शाकेऽब्धेरवशरत्तु शीतगुमिते प्रासादमासादयत्. ॥25॥

कालवशद्दैवदोषेण तस्मिन् स्वर्गाधिरुटेऽधुना ततः शत गुणेन गुणाधिको जगद्बन्धुना मातत्तनयो नरपतिः प्रजापालनपरः पृथिवींधर्मेण प्रशस्ति

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विद्या------प्रिये ! शौर्यगाम्भीर्यचातुर्यमर्यादानिधेस्तस्य गुणेषु यदि श्रोतुं श्रद्धानिबन्धास्ति, तर्हि श्रूयताम् सखि !

* * * * * *

सखि ! किमिह वर्ण्यामि सच,

दण्डे दण्डधरो बलेबलिरिपु र्योभूद्दमायां क्षमा
शक्तौशक्तिधरो धनेषु धनदो गङ्गासुतः सङ्गरे
सौजन्ये जनकोदमेऽपि सनकोऽनङ्गोनिजाङ्गद्युतौ
धर्मे धर्मसुतो गुणेषुगुणिनां सर्वेषु सर्वोपमः ॥32॥

* * * * * *

BRIEF TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE QUOTATION FROM GANGAVAMSANUCHARITAM

At that time, Jagabandhu was ruling the estate at Langeluveni Fort. (There were eight forts viz. Kholladi, Matigodo, Mardamekho, Ramagodo, Paptogodo, Mondarogodo, Kudolagodo and Longolobenigodo. Therefore the estate was called Athogodo, which consists of eight forts). In this fort, there was a big mango tope called Krishna Kanano. Adjacent to it there was a big Sāgaram excavated by Raghunath Harichandan and also called after his name. There were big gardens of Kētaki flowers (The flowers of sweet fragrance are abundantly available even now). At Athagada, the metropolis, Langeluveni fort was in a prosperous state, and it was a trading centre for precious stones and gold ornaments. It was also a centre of various industries such as weaving woollen cloths, carpets, cotton textures and making brass utensils. The estate was full of healthy and good cow herds. Raghunath, Giridharo and Divyasimha were the sons of Ramachandro by his wife, Chandrama. Raghunath Harichandan, the heir-apparent of the family ascended the throne after the death of his father. Raghunath Harichandan built the temple of Lakshmipati (Lord of Lakshmi goddess) i. e., Lord Jagannath in Saka 1650 at Athagada. He was succeeded by his son Jagabandhu, born to Rani Pranadevi Priya. He was very brave and his fame spread far and wide.

This book might have been compiled at the early time of Jagathbandhu's reign. Many of the good deeds of his reign are not to be found in it. Some of the historical incidents which are found elsewhere are given below:—

1. He has given shelter to the then Ramachandra Dev, Maharajah of Orissa, along with the three idols of the celebrated temple of Jagannath of Puri, when he was driven by Mohamad Takikhan, the Mussalman invader and the Deputy Governor of Orissa from the

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north, at the time of Mussalman invasion. The idols of Lord Jagannath were given shelter in the middle of Saka 1651–1655 at Merada(1) which was surrounded by dense forest. The Maharajah Ramachandra Dev was given shelter in Ramna Fort.

2. He was given the title of Rajah Bahadur by the Mohamadan governor, the head of the circar who was ruling at Chicacole under the Mogals, and also he was recognised as Nawab over Khallikota, Seeragada, Bodogada, Suradagada, Mohuri, Biruli, Palur, Humma, Ghumusur Zamindaries, Aska paraganas and Purvakhanda (Eastern paraganas). The Mohamadan governor's army was at his disposal. Mustafa Khulikhan was the first governor of Chicacole and the last was Anveralikhan. They ruled from 1640–1757 A. D.

(1) Vide Vol. V part 36 of the Asha weekly paper, for "Maradu" article by Mr. Tarini Charan Rath B. A., Dt Munsiff (Note:–In the above article the name Govindo Chandro was given by mistake instead of Jagabandhu, Harichandu, Jagadeb, the three rulers of Ancient Athagada.)

Mr. Sewell in his list of antiquarian remains in the Presidency of Madras (Vol. I page 3) makes mention of 'Merada' with a brief incorrect note thereon.

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KOTA CHIEFS OF AMARAVATI

By BHAVARAJU V. KRISHNARAO, B. A., B. L.

POSTSCRIPT

Since writing the article on the Kōṭa chiefs, I discovered that I have omitted to mention two or three important facts about them by mistake. The Pedamakkena pillar inscription of Bhūtamahādêvi gives the family name of the Kōṭās as *Pôlêvāru.* I quote here the verse from the inscription which mentions the surname, the caste and the name of the founder of the dynasty as Prince Dhanañjaya.

చ. అమలపయోధిఁ జంద్రుఁ డుదయంబగునట్లనె పోలెవారి జా
తమున విరించిపుట్టిన విధంబునఁగాంచనధారుణీధరేం
ద్రమున సురావనీజముదితంబయి యొప్పుగతిం జతుర్థవం
వంశమున జనించె నుగ్రరిపుసైన్యజయుండు ధనంజయుం డిలన్.

I suggested that the Kōṭās might be of Canarese origin on account of the existence of certain canarese words in the *birudugadya*, but on careful examination of the earlier inscriptions of the family I find the family to be purely of Telugu or Andhra origin. The original home of the *Pôlêvāru* or the Kōṭā chiefs might, in all probability, be the central part of the present Guntur District or the northern portion of the Cuddapah District. As has been pointed out already, the Kōṭās or the *Pôlê* family first came into prominence in the seventh century A. D. during the reign of the Pallava King Mahēndravarman I Pōtarāja, who is, as my esteemed friend and great scholar, Mr. Chilukuri Virabhadra Rao Pantulu points out, no other than *Trinayana Pallava.* This Mahêndravarman I is also referred to as "*Mukkanṭi*" and 'Mukkanṭi' '*Kaḍuveṭṭi*', which are merely vernacular renderings of the sanskrit word '*Trinayana.*'

I feel I was not correct when I stated that Bayyāmbikā was the queen of Kêtarāja II; she appears to be, on closer study of the inscriptions, the queen of Kêtarāja III or Manma-Kētā, and mother of *Jagamechuganḍa* Kōṭā Ganapatideva Mahārāja. My original identification of this last named prince as the son of Kêtarāja II and therefore a paternal uncle of Ketaraja III, falls to the ground. Queen Bayyambika and Queen Gaṇapamadêvi were related to each other as first cousins, being the daughters of Melambika of Nathavādi and her brother Kākatīya Gaṇapatideva Mahārāja respectively. Further, they married brothers, Kêtarāja III and Bêtarāja, sons of brothers and grand-sons of Kêtarāja II. This fact alone is sufficient to enable us to identify, with an amount of certainty, that Bayyambika was the queen of Kêtarāja III, and Gaṇapatideva Mahārāja was their son. I think Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, is therefore, right in supposing that Ganapatideva was a son of Kêtarāja III, and that he was the crown prince of his father in S. 1156 (A. D. 1234).

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THE DHARMALINGESWARA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF ANANTAVARMA & DEVENDRAVARMA

(Gāngēya Era 204 and 184 respectively)

By P. SATYANARAYANA RAJAGURU

Nearly 10 years back, a pūjāri of Dharmalingêsvara temple, near Gurandi, a village abcut 11 miles from Parlakimedi, Ganjam District, discovered, on digging up the ground near the said temple, a pot containing two sets of copper-plates. I got information about the discovery, and went there to examine them. At first, the pūjāri did not agree to hand over the plates, for, he thought that they were too sacred to be removed from the place, where they were preserved. But, however, when he was persuaded by the villagers of Gurandi, he consented to let me take the rubbings of them, on condition that I should read some lines of the plates before him. I did so and got them from the Pūjāri.

The two sets contain grants made by the Maharajas, Ananta Varmma and Devendra Varmma of the early Ganga line; and both are in Sanskrit. The grants were made in the 'Ganga Vamsa Pravarddhamāna Vijaya Rājya Samvatsaras 204 and 184 respectively.'

Both the sets contain 3 copper-plates each. Each plate of the first set measures about $6'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$. The ring holding the plates is about 2 ems. thick and about $4\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter. Each plate of the second set measures about $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$. The ring holding the plates is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ems. thick and about $5\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter. In both the sets, the first and the third plates are inscribed on the inner side only; and in each of them, the ring is soldered into the lower portion of a circular seal on which is fixed an image of bull, 'Nandi' couchant. Round the Nandi, there are, in the surface of the disc, the figures of conch-shell, chowrie etc, generally seen on the seals of other plates belonging to the E. Ganga kings. The edges of the plates are slightly raised into rims to protect the writing. The inscriptions are in a fair state of preservation.

The alphabet employed belongs to the old 'Kutila' type and the characters are exactly like those used in Graham's plates (discovered at Chicacole, Ganjam Dt.,) of Indra Varmman, Devendra Varmman and Satya Varmman.[2] Another copper-plate grant of the same king, Devendra Varmma, son of Gunarnava, which was made in

1. Though these grants were already published in Ind. Ant., the article is published because the writer has given some new points. (Ed.)

2. See Ind. Ant. Vol. X, pp. 243., Nos. 3, 5 and 6.

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Gangeya-era 183, was discovered at Chicacole and published in Ep. Ind. Vol. iii, pp., 130–134.

I arranged a genealogical table of the early Ganga kings of Kalinga and published it in the article on "The Santa Bomvali copper-plate grant of Nanda Varmma". Hence, there is no need of mentioning the same in this article.

The first inscription records a grant of a village known as 'Tâlatthêra', made by the Maharaja Ananta Varmma, son of Devendra Varmma, in the district of Krôshtuka varttinî, in the 13th Tithi of the bright fortnight of Mârgasîrsha, on a marriage occasion [Kanyâdâna mudakapûrvvam kṛtvâ] to a donee, named Vishṇu Sômâchârya, who belonged to Pârâśarasa Gôtra, and who came from the village of Śṛngaṭikâgrahâra, in the Kâmarûpa district (Burmmâ?). That same village was granted to some Brahmanâs by the king's brother, Jaya Varmma.

The second inscription records a grant of a village known as 'Haduvaka'. The present name of the village is 'Aḍava,' which is situated one mile from the place where these inscriptions are discovered. The grant was made by Devendra Varmma, son of Gunarnava, in the time of his 'Mantra Dîkshâ'. The Village was granted to the well-learned Guru, Patanga Sivâcharya, and to his students.

From the first set (of Anantavarmma), we get the following names of villages and mountains:—

THE NAMES OF VILLAGES:—

(1) Talatthêra.
(2) Hêma Śṛnga.
(3) Tâṭapura.
(4) Vasantapura.
(5) Phumpalli.
(6) Sôma Bâṭaka.
(7) Dhâra Bâṭaka.
(8) Sumangura.
(9) Supuchêru.
(10) Saptaparṇṇa.

THE NAMES OF MOUNTAINS:—

(1) Dêvaparvvata.
(2) Kônga parvvata.
(3) Pipṭa parvvati.
(4) Kôrknṭa sikhara.

The place is very important and interesting for the following reasons:—

(1) The natural scenery of the place is very nice; and it is a very attractive place for the situation of a city; for, it is a fort-like place on account of the surrounding high mountains.

(2) Before the temple of Dharmalingesvara, there is a small hillock, known as 'Sunabali' (Golden-dust), which is nothing but a mere dilapidation of some ancient buildings.

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(3) From the field, which surrounds the said temple, we get a lot of old bricks and well polished stones etc.

(4) Near the place, there is a rock known as 'Sîtâpathara' which resembles a big hill (circumferance is about one mile and the height about three hundred feet), in which there are two old jain caves. The ancient name of this huge rock was 'Siddha pathara', where the 'Siddha-purushas' (Jains?) inhabited.

(5) Near the place, there are two villages 'Kathuru' by name. I think this 'Kathuru' is the same as the 'Kothura' mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of the 4th century A. D.

(6) To the back side of the temple, there is a range of mountains, which is connected to the Mahendra mountain of Ganjam District.

(7) There is an ancient ruined road (Râjapatha) which runs between the two parallel rows of mountains.

(8) The place is very near to the Mahendra mountain, which was sacred to the early Ganga kings of Kalinga.

For the above reasons, I think, this is a place, which holds the interesting ruins of a great city of ancient Kalinga country. In conclusion, I am merely drawing the attention of the historians of Madras and Orissa, for the detailed examination of the place. I hope, this will be the place for the future historians, to identify as the capital of ancient Kalinga.

TEXT[1]

(1) The Dharmalingeswara C. P. Grant of Anantavarma.

First plate, Second side.

1. Om svasti vijaya vatah, kaliṁga nagarâ-nmahêndâchalâ śikhara pratishthitasya—
2. bhagavatô gôkarṇa svâminah praṇâmâ-dvigalita kalikalamkah śrîmadga—
3. ṇgâ kulatilakô nija nistriṁsô-pârjjita kaliṁgâdhirâjya pravitatacha—
4. turudadhi taraṁgamâlâ mêkhalâ-vanitalâmala yasâsṛ (a) nêkâ—
5. hava samkshôbha janita jaya śabda pratâpâvanata samasta sâmanta cha—
6. kra chûdâmani prabhâ maṇjarî raṁjita charaṇô mâtâ pitṛ pâdânudhyâtah para—

1. From the original plates.

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7. ma mâhêsvara śrî mahârâja dêvêndravārmmâ sûnu = rmmahârâja śrîmā—
8. nanantavarmmâ kôshṭṛka varttanyam tâlatthêrê sarvva samavêta ṁkutuṁvina sa—

Second plate, First side.

9. mâjñâpayati viditamastu bhavatâ yathâyam grâmôsmad-bhṛâtṛâ śrî Jayavarmma—
10. ṇa mâtâpitrô = râtmanaścha puṇyâbhi vriddhayê bhyatthitêna yaya vêda vêdânga pâragê—
11. bhya kâmarûpa vishayê sṛngaṭikâgrahâra vâstavêbhya pârâsarasa gôttrêbhô—
12. vishṇu sôma chaya padêbhyô vivâha samayê kanyâdâna mudaka pū
13. rvvam kṛtyâ chandrârkka pratishṭitham sarvva karabhar ân = muktvâ datta = stadêvam budhvā —
14. yathôchita bhâga bhôgamupanay antah sukham vasatêti...sudhu sîmâliṇgâ—
15. ni kramêṇa sthitâni iśânyâm dêvaparvatah sikharah tatpûrvêṇa giri vâṭava—
16. narâji pparusha ( ) yaya ppachêru madhyêna talatthêra hêmasṛṇga tâṭapura

Second plate, Second side.

17. tṛkûtê suruli vâlmika parvvatyâm giriv-aṭavah dhâtu karanja vasanta pura tṛ—
18. kûtê chinchâ vanarâji panchângula vibhîta kônga parvatê pûrvvâvatâ rê giri—
19. vaṭah salla pattharî kôśâmvrah chinchâvatê pûrvvâlih parvata sikharê phumpuli
20. tṛkûtê-purvâdika dakshiṇêna = chinchâ paṁkti sôma vâtaka tṛ—(ku)
21. tê râgraṇah chinchâ pankti dhârâ vâṭaka tṛkûtê chinchâ vanarâji râja—
22. mârgga chinchâ vâlmîkah kavâta sandhi vâlmîkah punah kavâṭa-sandhi tôravâlmi—
23. kah nikhâtôpalah nimva vâlmîkah dakshiṇâdika, paśchimêna: kapâṭasaṇdhih ku—
24. ṭunga paṁkti vakira vanarâji taṭâklih sôma bibhîta sômakapittha gartâ chimchâ—

Third plate, First side.

25. sumangura tṛkûta chinchâ vanarâji salmalî pipta parvati sikharah su—
26. puchêruh saptaparṇa tṛkûtê chinchā dakshiṇâ dika, paśchimêna kavâṭa sandhih

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27. puchêrusaptaparṇa tṛkûtê chinchâ paśchimâdika, uttarêṇa: veṇu banarâ—

28. ji môdaki râdhanah kôrkkaṇta śikharê tâṭa pura tṛkûtah sôma dṛmah—

29. tatah parvata sikharêṇa saiva dêva parvvat a sikh-r-a-iti sû—

30. ttra cha vyâsa gîtâh: svadattâmparadattâmvâ yatnâdraksha yudhishtthi—

31. ram (ra) mahîmahîmatâm, śrêshtha dânâchhrêyônupâlanam, mityêva mâdi, prava

32. rddha mâna vijaya râjya samvatsara śatadvayê chaturutta rê 204 mârgasirsha su—

33. kla paksha trayôdasyâm datta midam śâsana, mutkîrṇam naṭimachisûnukshasali likhina

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TEXT [1]

(2) The Dharmalingeswara C. P. Grant of Devendravarma.

First plate, Second side.

1. Om svasti sakala vasumati tala tilakâyamâna = ssarvvarttu sukharama ṇîyâ = dvijayavatah kalinganagara—

2. vâsakâ = nmahêndrâ-chalâmala śikharapratishthitasya sacharâ-chara gurô = ssakala bhuvana nirmmâṇaika sûṭradhârasya—

3. bhagavatô gôkarṇa svâmina = ścharaṇa kamala yugala praṇâmâd = vigali takalikâla kalaṁkô Gangamala ku—

4. la tilakônija nistriṁśa dhârô pârjita = ssakala kalingâdhirâjya pravitata chatu-rudadhi taranga mê—

5. khalâ-vanitalâmala yaśàh anêkâhava saṁkshôbha janita jaya-sabda (h) pratâpâ-vanata samasta sâmanta chakra chû—

6. dâmaṇi prabhâ maṇjarî puṇja raṇjita charaṇah parama mâhêsvarô mâtâ pitṛ pâdânudhyâtô nayavinaya sauryô—

Second plate, First side.

7. dârya satya tyâgâ = saṁpadâmâdhârabhûtah śrî Guṇârṇava-sûnu = rmmahârâjah śrî Devêndravarmmâ Pushya giri—

8. paṁkhâli vishayê Haḍûvakagrâmê sarvva samavêtân kuṭuṁvinah samâ jnâpayati [:] viditamastu bhavatâm yatha = smâ—

9. bhi = rayam grâma = ssarvva karaih parihṛttyâ-chaṇdrârka pra-tishtham mâtâpitrô = ratṁanśchâ puṇyâbhi vṛddhayê vêda—

1. From the original plates.

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10. vêdângêtihâsa purâṇa nyâya vidyâ svasiddhântâdhigatâya bhagavat-Patanga Sivâchâryâya guravê di—

11. kshôttara kâlê gurupûjâyai datta=stênâpi pratigrahya yêgêsvara-bhaṭṭârakayârddham sva sishya pra-si—

12. shyaibhyô = pyarddham = mityêva-ṁbiditva yathôchita bhâga-bhôga mupanayanta sukham prativasat-êti, grâmasya sîmâli—

Second plate, Second side.

13. ngâni bhavanti [:] pûrvasyândiśi gunahâri gartâ (garta), dakshiṇasyam diśi: sîmântê saiva gartâ, paśchimêṇa: kadaṁva—

14. vṛkshah tata śchinchâ vṛkshan nimva tata sarjja vṛkshah taṭâkâlyâm timîra vṛkshah trte-spiśâchâli kâraka vṛkshah

15. taṭâkâlih paschima sîmântê tatâkal-yuttarê bhalâṭaka vṛkshah tatah jambû vṛkshah chullavêṇâ—

16. uttara sîmântê : chullavêṇâ, pûrvât śâlmalî vṛkshah tatô dvtîyâpi śâlmalî vṛkshah kôśâ—

17. mbrah saptaparna bṛhatchhîlâ tatôvâlmîka sahita jambû bitavah chinchâ jambû tata taṭâkâlya madhuka—

18. vṛkshah tata pûrvêṇa : saiva guṇahâri garttêti bhâvishyataśca râgnâh pragnâpayati, dharmakramê—

Third plate, First side.

19. me vikṛmmai (mai)-rivâpya mahiṁbhava-dbhi-râyam dâna dharmônya pâlanîyô vyasagîtâschâ tra slôka bhavanti: bahubhi = rvva

20. sudhâ dattâ bahubhi śchânupâlitâ yasyayasya yadâ bhûmi = stasya tasyatadâphalam...sva dattâm paradattâ-ṁvâ ya—

21. tnâd-raksha yudhishthira mahînmahî matâm srêshtha dânâśch-chreyônupâlanam...shshthiṁvarsha sahasrâṇi sva—

22. rggê môdati bhûmidah âkshêpṭâ chanumantâcha tânyêvanarakê vasê-dityapaurva Naṭavaṁsêna mâṭṛ cha—

23. ndrasya sûnunâ likhitam pallava chandrêṇa śâsanam svaṁuchcha [khâ] gnayâ mahâmahattara savaranandiśarmmêṇa prattakshya miti prva—

24. rddha mâna vijayarâjya saṁvatsara śatê chaturâsittê *184* utkîrṇam Chandi Chhandra bhôgîka tanayêna Sarvva Chandrêṇêti

25. .....(mapudi)??

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THE PAMULAVAKA COPPER PLATE GRANT OF VIJAYADITYA VII *

By R. SUBBA RAO, M. A., L. T.,

This is the second of the two copper plate inscriptions found recently at Pāmulavāka in Vizag District. The history of its discovery was already given (Vide page 242 of this Journal)

This is the bigger and the more recent of the two sets of plates. This set consists of five plates. Each plate measures 10 × 5 inches. The first and the last plates contain letters on one side only, the outer sides being left entirelyblank to serve as covers to the inscription so as to preserve the writing in tact. The three middle plates contain writing on both sides. The rims of all the plates are raised so as to protect the writing from being erased or rubbed off. The letters are big, bold and clear. There is a hole to the left, 1½ inches from the left edge, through which passes the ring, the two ends of which will be soldered into a circular seal. Unfortunately, as stated before, the ring and the seal are lost. However, two copper-plates of this very same King were discovered at Ryāli, a village 17 miles off Rajahmundry in 1925 and they were, I understand, edited for Epigraphia Indica by my friend, Mr. C. Narayana Rao M.A., L.T. I happened to read the inscriptions then and I gave a review of the same in the Society's Journal Vol. I part III, page 168. The seals of those plates contained the legend "Srī Tribhuvanāmkuśa" and above it, the images of a boar, sun, moon, two chāmaras, a conch and a drum were inscribed and below it, an elephant goad and a lotus flower. All these E. Chalukyan Royal Emblems, I think, were inscribed on the missing seal of this plate also. Please vide image of seal printed on the front covers of Vol. I Parts I and II of this Society's Journal. The total weight of the 5 plates is 210 Tolas.

Alphabet and Language:—

The Alphabet or Lipi of these plates closely resembles that of the Ryāli plates of this very king (unpublished) and that of the Nandampudi plates of his elder step-brother Rājā Rāja Narēndra published in Telugu Academy Journal Vol. I, Part I. Also, it resembles the original lipi of the Andhra Mahā Bhāratam which was written by Nannaya Bhat, the court-poet of Rāja Rāja I. It is old Andhra lipi, with an admixture of certain Canarese characters, of the latter half of the eleventh century A. D.

The whole inscription is in Sanskrit prose and poetry.

* This paper was read before the Seventh Annual General Body Meeting of the society held on 7-4-1928.

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Subject matter of the plates:—

The inscription gives a genealogy which is partly mythical, partly legendary and partly historical.

(1) The mythical account begins with "Purushôttamasya mahatô Narâyaṇasya", thus connecting the dynasty with the lineage of Narâyaṇa or Vishṇu; hence, the symbol 'Boar' on the E. Chalukyan seals. The mention of "Sômô vamśa" in L. 3 shows that the dynasty belonged to the Lunar Race. As far as the name of Yayāti, the genealogy resembles that given in the later E. Ganga plates of Kalinga.

(2) The legendary account begins with the name of Udayāna in L. 22. Including Udayāna, 59 Emperors sat on the throne at Ayôdhyā in unbroken succession. Then, a member of that Vamśa or Dynasty, called Vijayāditya went to the south, from a desire of conquest and attacked Trilôchana-Pallava but lost his own life. Then, his pregnant wife, Mahādêvi, reached Muḍivêmu-Agrahāra along with her priest and officers and receiving support, like a daugher, from an inhabitant of the place, called Vishṇubhaṭṭa Somayāji gave birth to a son called Vishṇu-Vardhana (named probably after Vishṇu Bhaṭṭa Somayāji, her foster-father).

That child received the initiation ceremony (Samskāra) as befitting his descent from the two sided Gôtra (Dvipaksha Gotra) viz., Mānavya and Hārīta. And, daily growing in age, he learnt the story of the past, repaired to Chalukya Giri (cf. Mahêndragiri of the E. Gangas), worshipped Nandadevi (Gauri) and fulfilled the desires of Kumāra, Nārāyana and Mātru Gaṇa (the seven mothers of man-kind) and by the mercy of the Gods, obtained the Sovereign Emblems, viz., Svetāta Patra (white umbrella), Śankha (conchshell), Pañcha mahā śabda (The five great sounds), Pālikêtana (The row of flags), Pratiḍhakka (double drum), Varāhalañchhana (the crest of boar) Piṁcha (Peacock feathers), Kuntha (spear), Simhāsana (throne), Makara Tôraṇa, Kanakadaṇḍi (gold sceptre), Gamgāyamunādi Sāmrajya chihna (the Ganga, Yamuna and other Sovereign insignia) and conquered the Kadamba, Ganga and other kings and ruled over Dakshiṇāpatha, lying between Śetû and Narmada and containing 7½ lakhs of villages. The son of that *Vishṇuvardhana* and his wife Mahadêvi who was born in the Pallava lineage was *Vijayāditya*. His son was *Pulikesin I.*

(3) The historical account begins with *Pulikesin I* who is however really the son of *Raṇarāga* and grand-son of *Jayasimha I*, according to the western Chalukyan inscriptions. His (Pulikesin's) son was *Kirtivarma*. His son, the brother of *Satyāsraya Vallabhêndra*, was *Kubja Vishṇu Vardhana* who ruled over Vêmgi Dêsa for 18 years. Then follows the whole genealogy of the E. Chalukyan kings down to the donor, with the regnal periods of the several kings. This grant mentions the 7 days rule of Indra Rāja,

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the younger son of Kubja Vishnu Vardhana, and the 27 years of anarchy in Vêmgi Desa after Danarṇava's rule.

The importance of this inscription lies in the lines 59 to 65. It is stated that Saktivarma's younger brother ruled for 7 years and that his name was Mummadi Bhima or Bhima III. I find from Raja Raja's Nandampudi plates that his father Vimaladitya had the title of Bhima. Vimaladitya was the younger brother of Saktivarma. So, the younger brother of Saktivarma who ruled for 7 years (according to this plate) and who had the title Bhima III should be Vimaladitya. The Nandampudi and Korumelli platês of Raja Raja I and the Chittur and Chellur plates of Kulôttunga give each a period of 7 years' rule to Vimaladitya. Since the date of accession of Raja Raja, as given in most plates, is 1022 A. D., we have to suppose that Vimaladitya ruled from 1015 A.D. to 1022 A.D. But the Raṇastapudi plates of Vimaladitya state that he was crowned in May 1011 A. D. There is a stone inscription of this king, dated 29th regnal year of Chola Raja Kesari Varma, in a temple at Tiruvaiyur near Tanjore, which corresponds to 1014 A. D. (Vide Ep. Rep. No. 215 of 1891). So, it is possible that this king who married Kundava, the daughter of the Chola king, Raja Raja I sometime about 999 A. D. remained in the south till 1015, when he was reinstated on the throne of Vengi. Hence, the latter inscriptions have given a period of 7 years only to his reign, i. e., from 1015–1022 A. D., omitting the previous period which he spent in the south.

Lines 60–65 state that Mummidi Bhima's (Vimaladitya's) son, Raja Raja I ruled for 12 years and then, having conquered him, Vimaladitya's son, Vijayaditya (born to another queen Mêḍava Mahā Dêvi alias Māḷava–Mahādêvi) got the throne and that his coronation took place in Saka 952 (1030 A. D.) for the Vêngi Sāmrājyam.

This is a new point. Raja Raja's plates as well as his son's (Kullotunga's) plates state that he was crowned in 1022 A. D. and ruled for 41 years i.e., till 1063. Vijayaditya's own plates (Ryali plates, two sets which are not yet published. Vide Page 168. pt 3. Vol. I of this Society's Journal) give a different story. There, he is said to have succeededto the Vengi throne on the death of his elder step-brother, Rajā Rajā Narêndra. But, he allowed his son Saktivarma II to rule and after the premature death of that son after one year's rule, he took the reins of government into his hands, being pressed by the people to do so and out of regard for Dharma. Both the grants were made in the 12th regnal year of Vijayaditya, i. e., in 1075 A. D. But, in the present plate, all this is omitted and a new story is given. Raja Raja's rule for 12 years, his defeat at the hands of his own younger step-brother, Vijayaditya, Vijayaditya's coronation to Vengi throne in Saka 952 (1030 A. D.) all these are new materials which should be taken with great caution. As stated already, there are strong evidences to the contrary. The internal evidence is also not satisfactory. It

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would appear that Vijayaditya was crowned in Saka 952 (1030 A. D.), while Raja Raja who began to rule from 1022 A. D. ended it after 12 years i. e., in 1034 A. D. what happened in the period between 1030 A. D. and 1034 A. D. is not described. Was there civil strife between the two brothers for the throne? It would appear that Vijayaditya was governing Nolambavadi as a vassal of the W. Ch. King Someswara I (Ahavamalla) during 1064–1066 A. D. (Vide An. Report on S. I. Ep. for 1924–25 p. 75). He had the titles "Sarvalôkāsraya Vishnuvardhana and Vêngimaṇḍalêswara". He appears to be the vassal of W. Chalukyans 'even for some time prior to 1046'. (Vide p. 219, Vol. I of J.A.H.R.S.) This shows that he left Vengi during his brother's rule. Vijayaditya's rule even after Raja Raja's death in 1063 A. D. was not an easy affair. Vimaladitya and Raja Raja I and Kullotunga were related to the Chola kings of the south and naturally Vijayaditya who was not of Chola lineage was treated with dislike. Attempts were also made to deprive him of his hold over Vengi, especially after Raja Raja's death. The Visag copperplate of Anantavarma Chodaganga dated Saka Era 1040 (Ind. Ant. Vol. 18) as well as the Korni copperplate of the same king dated Saka 1034 (J. A. H. R. S. Vol. I Part 3) state thus:–"Raja Raja (of Kalinga) reigned for 8 years (1070–1077 A.D.) He first became the husband of the goddess of victory in the festival of battle with the Dramilas (Cholas) and next married Rajasundari, the daugter of the Chola King. When Vijayaditya grew old like the setting sun and left Vengi which was in the west, and when he was about to sink in the ocean of troubles caused by the Cholas, Raja Raja, the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the western region itself."

From the above account, it is clear that the E. Ganga king of Kalinga, Raja Raja, by name, helped to reinstate Vijayaditya of Vengi when he was attacked by the Cholas. Anantavarma of Kalinga also states in his inscriptions that he restored the waning lord of Vengi in the western region. Evidently, this help given by the Eastern Ganga Kings refers to a period subsequent to 1063 A. D. when, Vira Rajendra, and Kullotunga, who succeeded to the Chola throne in 1063 and 1070 A. D., respectively probably tried to wrest Vengi off Vijaya ditya's hands.

The Donor, Sri Sarva Lôkāsrya Srī Vishṇu Vardhana Mahārājô Rājādhi Rāja Srî Vijayāditya Dêva, made the grant of *Kompôlômgu village* along with *12 other villages* in his second regnal year, in the presence of all his ministers and assembled village heads and cultivators to a certain Bhima Bhupa for the help given by him.

The writer was Gaukācharya and the executor was Katakā Dhīśa, the same person who executed the grant of Raja Raja's Nandampudi grant.

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From the plates, we get the following genealogy :—

Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu)
|
Svayaṁbhū (Brahma)
|
Atri
|
Sôma (Moon), (Founder of a dynasty.)
|
Budha
|
Purūrava Chakravarti
|
Āyush
|
Nahusha
|
Yayāti Chakravarti, (Founder of a Race.)
|
Prāchīśa
|
Sainyayāti
|
Hayapati
|
Sārvabhauma
|
Jayasêna
|
Mahābhauma
|
Aiśānaka
|
Krôdhānana
|
Dêvaki
|
Richuka
|
Ṛikshaka
|
Matinara (Performer of sacrifices and Lord of R. Saraswati.)
|
Kārtyāyana
|
Nīla
|
Dushyanta..... His son set up sacrificial posts (Yūpa) on the banks of Gangā and Yamunā rivers and performed great rites like Aśvamêdhā and got the name of, *Bharata*
|
Bhūmanyu
|

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Suhôtra
|
Hâsti
|
Virôchana
|
Ajamila
|
Saṁvaraṇa
|
Tapana
|
Sudhanva
|
Parikshita
|
Bhîmaśêna
|
Pradîpana
|
Śantanu
|
Vichitra Vîrya
|
Pāndu Raja
|

Pañcha Pāndavās, of whom '*Arjuna*' armed with Gāṇḍiva, conquered Indra, burnt Khāndava forest, obtained the weapon of Pāśupata from Siva, the enemy of Andhaka, killed Kālikêya and others and ascended half the throne of Indra and cut down the forest of Kuru race. Arjuna
|
Abhimanyu
|
Parikshit
|
Janamêjaya
|
Kshêmuka
|
Naravāhana
|
Śatānîka
|
Udayāna (Commencing with him, 59 kings ruled over Ayôdhya).

Then, Vijayāditya, a king of the line, went to the Dekkan but lost his life while attacking Trilôchana—Pallava.
|
His son, Vishnuvardhana—(ruled over the Dekkan, having defeated Kadambas, Gangas etc.)
|
His son, Vijayāditya
|

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His son, Pulikêsin (I) (First historical king named)

His son, Kirtivarman

Satyāsraya Vallabhendra Pulikesin (II)

1. Kubja Vishṇuvardhana (I) Ruled over Vengi for 18 yrs.

2. Jaya Simha (I) 33 years.

3. Indra Raja 7 days.

His son, 4. Vishnuvardhana (II) 9 yrs.

His son, 5. Mangi Yuvaraja 25 yrs.

6. Jaya Simha (II) 13 yrs.

8. Vishṇu (III) 37 yrs.

7. Kokkili ½ yr.

His son, 9. Vijayaditya (I) Bhattaraka 18 yrs.

His son, 10. Vishnu (IV) 36 yrs.

His son, 11. Vijayāditya (II) Narendra Mruga Raj 48 yrs.

His son, 12. Kali Vishnuvardhana (V) 1½ yrs.

13. Gunaga Vijayāditya (III) 44 yrs.

Vikramaditya

(Yuddhamalla)

14. Bhima (I) 30 yrs.

17. Tādapa 1 mth.

19. Yuddhamalla (II) 7 yrs.

18. Vikramaditya (II) 11 mths.

15. Kollabhi Ganda Vijayaditya (IV) 6 mths.

16 Ammaraja

20. Bhima (II) 12 yrs.

Vijayaditya (V)

22. Danarnava 3 yrs.

21. Amma Raja (II) —Vijayaditya (VI) 25 yrs.

(Then followed 27 years of Anarchy)

Danarnava's son, 23. Saktivarma, 12 yrs.

24. Mummadi Bhima, (Vimaladitya) 7 yrs.

25. Raja Raja (I) 12 yrs.

26. Vijayaditya (VII) (Annointed for Vengi Rajyam in S.952)

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TEXT *

First Plate, Seccnd side.

1. Om! ** [1]Srī dhāmnah Purushôttamasya Mahatô Nārāyaṇasya Prabhôrnnābhī paṁkaruhātba
2. bhūva jagatassra shṭā Svayambhū statah | Jajñêmānasa sūnurA-tri riti yastasmān munê rAtri
3. tasSômô Vamśakarassudham [2]surudita Srīkaṇṭha chūḍā maṇih | [3]tasmā dāsī tsudhāṁ [4]sūbhu
4. dhô budhanuta statah jatah [5] Purūravā nāmacha | Kravarti sa-vikramah | tasmādAyu rAyushô
5. Nahushah | Nahushā dyaYātischakravarti Vamśakarta [6] tatah Prāchīśah Prachī
6. śātSyinyayati Saina Yātê Hāyapatih | HayapatêsSāvva bhaumah Sārvabhau
7. mājJayasênah Jayasanā n Mahābhaumah Mahabhaumād Aisānakah | Aisāna
8. kakKrôdhānanah Krôdhānanād Dêvakih | Dêvakê | Richukah Richukād Rakshakah | RikshakānMa
9. tinarah [7] Satrayāgayājī Saraswatī nadīnāthah | tatah Kārtyāyanah Kārtyā
10. YanānNīlah NīlāDushyantah tatsutah | [8]Āryā | GamGôyumunātirêya [9]

Second Plate, First Side.

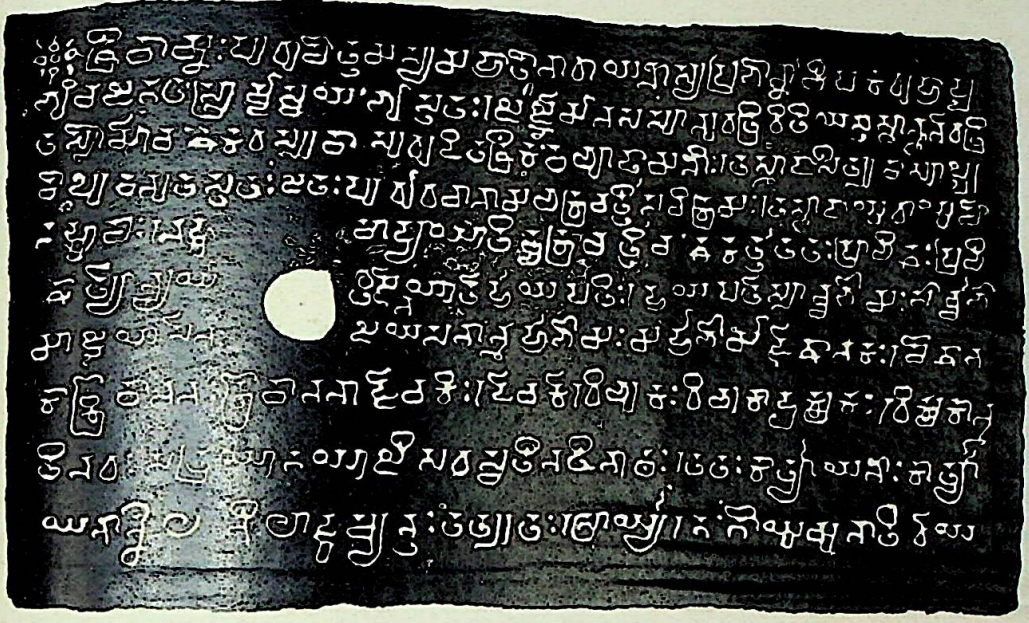
11. davichchiṁnnam nikhāya [10] Yupānkramaśah kṛtvātadāsvamêdānnama,mahākarmma Bharata i
12. ti yôlabhatah tatô Bharatā d Bhūmanyuh Bhūmanyê s Suhêtrah SSuhôtrā dhdHastī Hasti
13. nô Virrôchanah Virochanā [11]d Ajamilah Ajamīlāt Samvaraṇah Saṁvaraṇasya tapanasu
14. tāyās Tapanatyāscha Sudhanvā Sudhanvanah Parikshit Parikshitô Bhimasênah
15. Bhīmasenāt Pradīpanah Pradīpanā śchaṁtanuh [12] Santanôv Vichitra vīryyah Vichitra
16. Vīryāt Pāṇdu rājah | Āryā [13] | putrāstasyachaDharmmaja BhīmArjuna Nakula
17. Sahadêvāh pañchêndriyavat pañchasyuv Vishaya grāhiṇastatra | Vṛttam [14] | yênādahiviji

*. From the original plates. **. Represented by an ornate symbol.

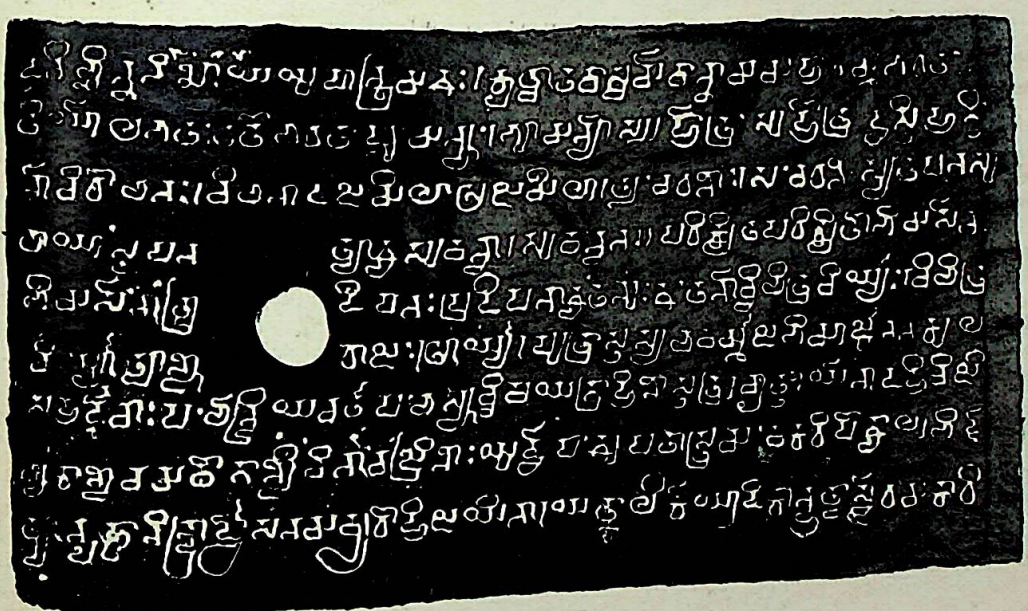
1. Sârdûla Vikrîdita. 2. Read śuruditah. 3. Anushṭub ślôka.
4. Read śôbbudhô 5. „ Jâtah. 6. Read Kartâ.
7. „ Varah. 8. Aryâgîti.
9. „ Gaṁgâyamunâtîrêya. 10. Read Nidhâya. 11. „ Virôchanâ.
12. „ Chchantanuh. 13. Aryâgîti. 14. śardûla.

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First plate, Second side.

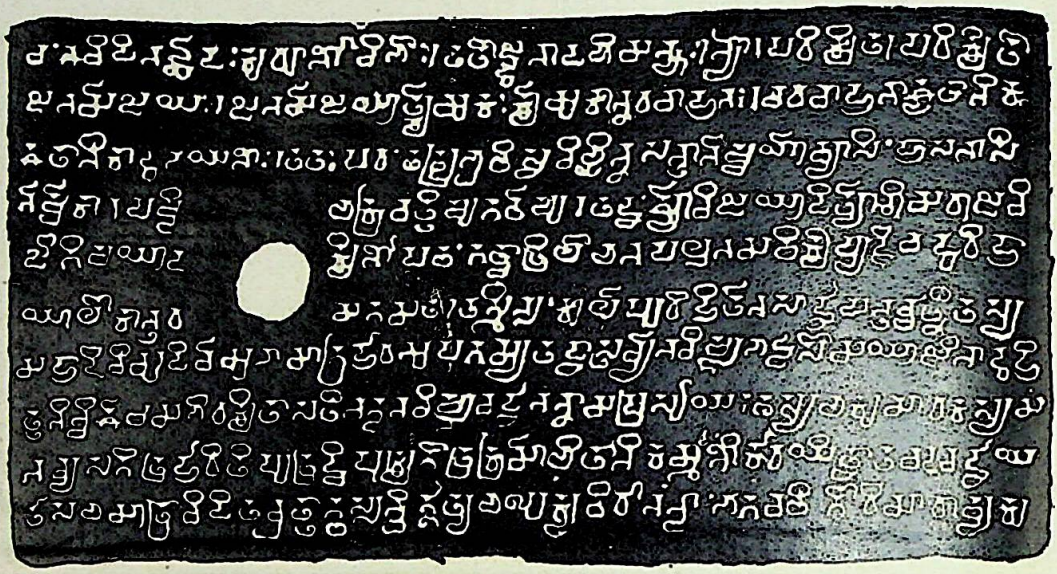


Second plate, First side.

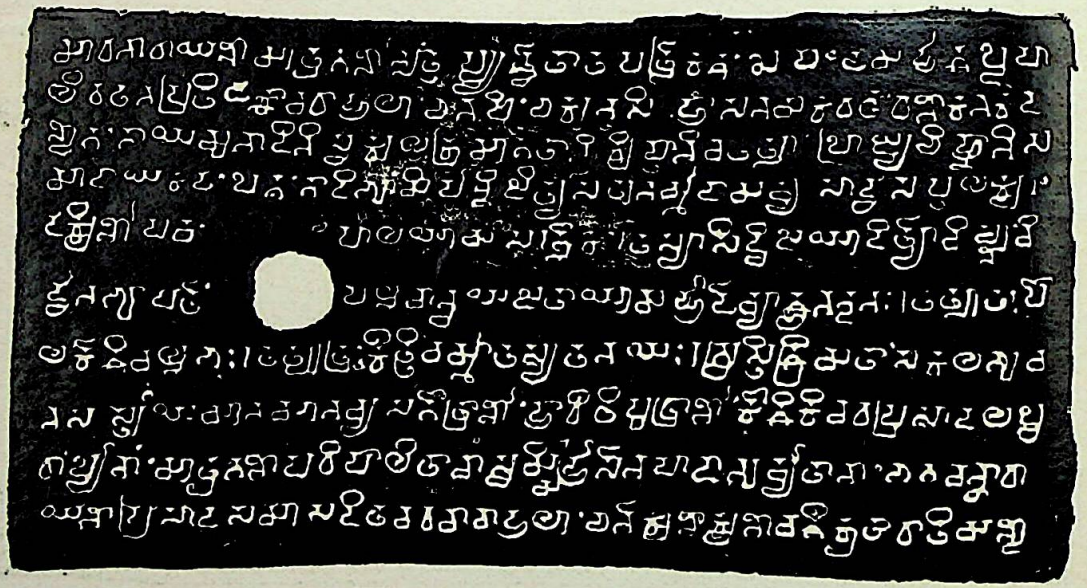


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Second plate, Second side.



Third plate, First side.



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18. tya kāṇḍava[15] matho gaṇḍīvinā Vajriṇah yuddhê pāśupatāstra mandaka ripôschālābhidai

19. tyānbahū nindrā rdhdhāsana madyarôhijayinā yatkālikêyādi kānhatvā svairamakāri

Second Plate, Second Side.

20. vaṁśavipina sçhêdah kurūṇaṁvibhôh tatôrjjunādAbhimanyuh Nyôh[16] Parikshit Parikshitô

21. Janamêjayah Janamêjayātkshêmukah Kshêmukānnaravāhanah Naravāhanā[17] schatānīkah

22. Śatānīkād *Udayanah* tatah paraṁta tpra bhṛti Svavichchhinna Santānêṣv *Ayôdhyā* Siṁhāsanāsi

23. nêṣvekānnashashti chakravattishu gatêshu tadvamsyê **Vijayaditya** nāmarāja vi

24. jigīshayā Dakṣiṇa patham gatvā **Trilochana Pallava** madikshipya daivadurīha

25. yā lôkāntaramagamat tasminsaṁkule purôhitêna Sārdhdhamantarvvatnī tasya

26. **Mahadevi Mudivemunamagrahara** mupagamya Tadvāstavyêna **Vishnubhatta Somayajinā** duhi

27. tta[18] nivviśêsha[19] mabhirakshitāsatī nandana **Vishnuvardhdhana** nnāma prasūya tasyacha kumārakasya Ma[20]

28. navyasa Gôtra Hārītiputra Dvipaksha Gôtra kramôchitāni karmmaṇikārayitvātama vardhdhaya

29. tsachamātrāvidita vṛttānta ssannirggatya Chalukyagirau Nandaṁ Bhagavatīm Gôrīmāradya[21] Ku

Third Plate, First Side.

30. māraNarāyana Mātṛganā nsaṁttarppya Śvêtātapatraika Śaṁkha Paṁchamahā Śabda Pā

31. li katana[22] Pratiḍakka[23] Varāhalaṁchana Piṁcha Kunta Simhāsana Makara Tôraṇa Kanakada

32. ṇḍa Gaṁgā Yamunā dīni svakula kramāgatā nikshiptāniva tatsāṁbrājya[24] chihnāni sa

33. mādāya Kadaṁba Gaṁgādi Bhūmipān nijitya[25] Śêtu Narmadā madhyaṁ sārdha Saptalakshaṁ

15. Read Khāṇḍava. 16. Read 'Abhimannyôh'. 17. Read naravâhanâchchha.
18. „ duhitṛu. 19. „ Nirvviśêsha. 20. „ mâ.
21. „ Gaurîmârâdhya. 22. „ Kêtana.
23. „ pratiḍhakka. 24. „ Sâmrâjya. 25. „ nirjitya.

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34. Dakshiṇā patham pālayāmāsa | [26] Slôkam | Tasyāsīd—**Vijayaditye Vishnuvi**

35. **rdhdhana**[27] **bhupateh** Pallavānvaya jatāyā[28] mahīdêvyāscha nandanah | [29] Tatsutah **Po**

36. **lakesi**[30] **vallabhah** | Tatputrah **Kittivarmma**[31] | Tasya tanayah svasti srīmatam sakalabhuva

37. na samstūyamāna Mānavyasa gôtrāṇām Hārīti putrāṇām Kauśikī varaprasāda labda

38. rājyānām Mātrugaṇaparipālitānām Svami[32] Mahāsêna pādānudhyātānām Bhagavan Nārā

39. yaṇa prasāda samāsadita[33] Varavarāhalamchchhanê kshaṇa kshaṇa vaśīkrutārāti maṇḍa

Third Plate, Second Side.

40. lānāmaśva mêdhāvabṛtha snāna pavitrī kṛ[34]ta vapushām **Chalukyanam** Kulamalamka

41. [35]shṇô **SSatyasraya Vallabhendrasya** bhrātā **Kubja Vishnu Varddhano** shṭā daśa Varshāṇi Vêṁgīdêśama

42. pālayat | tadātmajô **Jayasimgha**[36] **Vallabhah** trayastrimśatam tadanu**jendra rajassa**

43. pta dināni | tattsutô **Vishnu Varddhano** vava[37] | tatsūr[38] **MMamgiyuvarajah** pamcha viśatim[39] tatputrô

44. **Jayasimgha**[40] **Vallabhah** strayôdaśa | tadavarajah **Kakkili**[41] shshanmāsān tasya jyêshṭô

45. bhrato **Vishnuvarddhana** stamuchchātya saptatrimśatam tatputrô **Vijayaditya Bhatta**

46. **rako** shṭādaśa | tadanujo[42] **Vishnu Varddhana** shshatrim[43] śatam | tatsūnur V**Vijiyaditya Narendra-Mrugaraja**

47. schāshṭa chatvārimśatam | tatsutah **Kalivishnu Varddhano** —rddhyaddha varsham | tatsutô **Gunaga Vijayaditya**[44] schatu

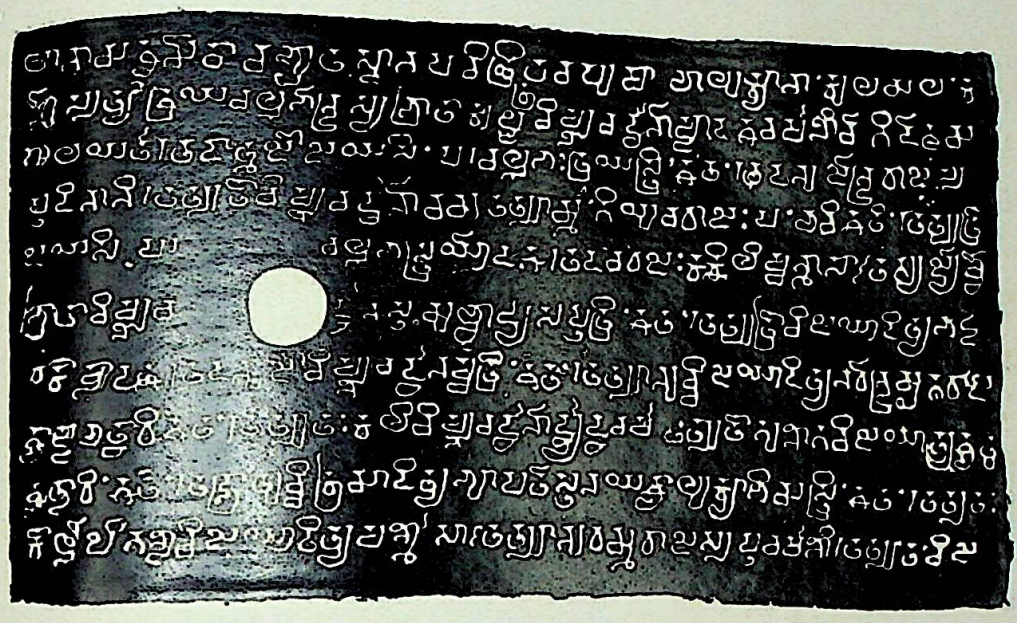
48. schatvārimśatam | tadbhrātur v**Vikramaditya** bhūpatê stanayas **Chalukya**[45] **Bhima** strimśatam | tatsatah[46]

49. **Kollebhiganda Vijayaditya** shaṇmāsān tatsūnur **Ammaraja** ssapta varshāṇi | tatsutam **vija**

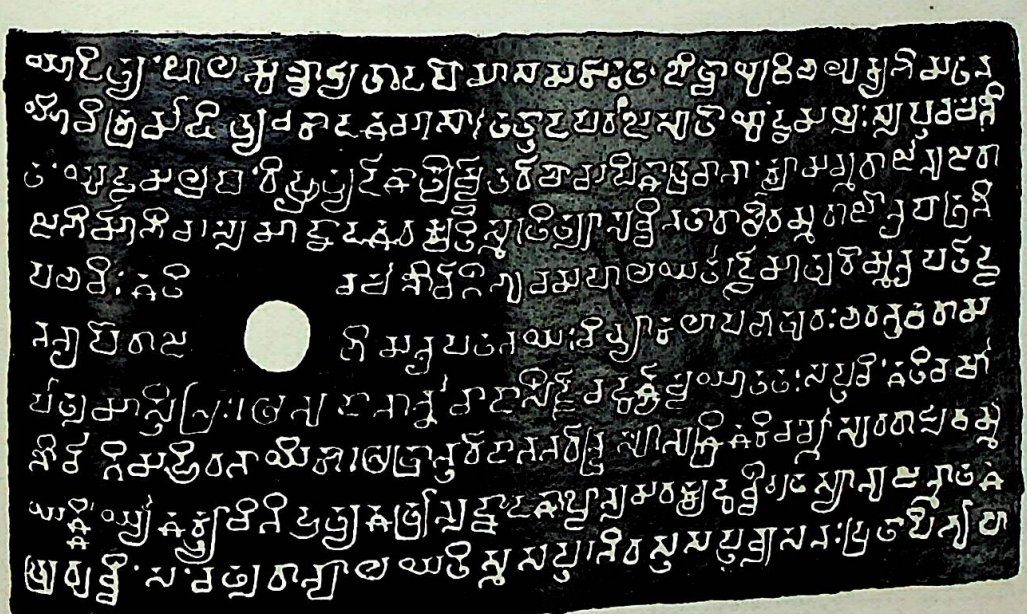
26. Anushṭub. 27. Read Varddhana. 28. Read Jâtâyâ.
29. Prose portion begins. 30. Read Pulikêśi. 31. Read Kîrtivarma.
32. Read Svâmi. 33. ,, Samâsâdita. 34. The letter 'kṛ' is written below the line.
35. ,, 'rishṇô'. 36. Read Simha.
37. ,, nava. 38. ,, tatsûnurmmamgi. 39. ,, vimśatam.
40. ,, Jayasimha. 41. ,, Kokkili. 42. ,, tat—tanûjô.
43. ,, shshaṭtrim. 44. ,, Vijayâditya
45. ,, Châlukya Bhîma, 46. ,, tatsutah.

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Third plate, Second side.

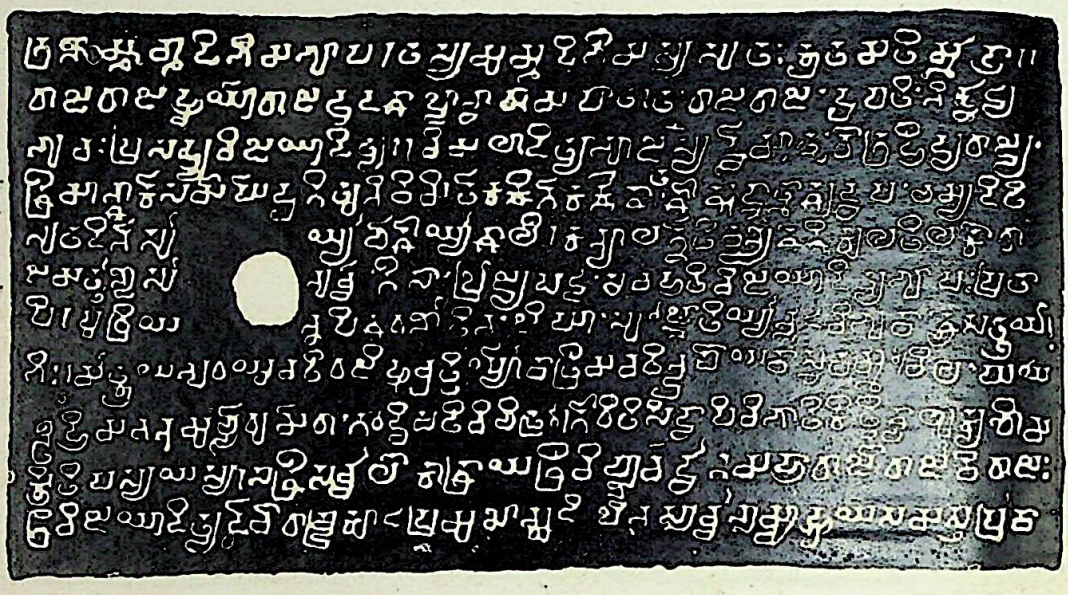


Fourth plate, First side

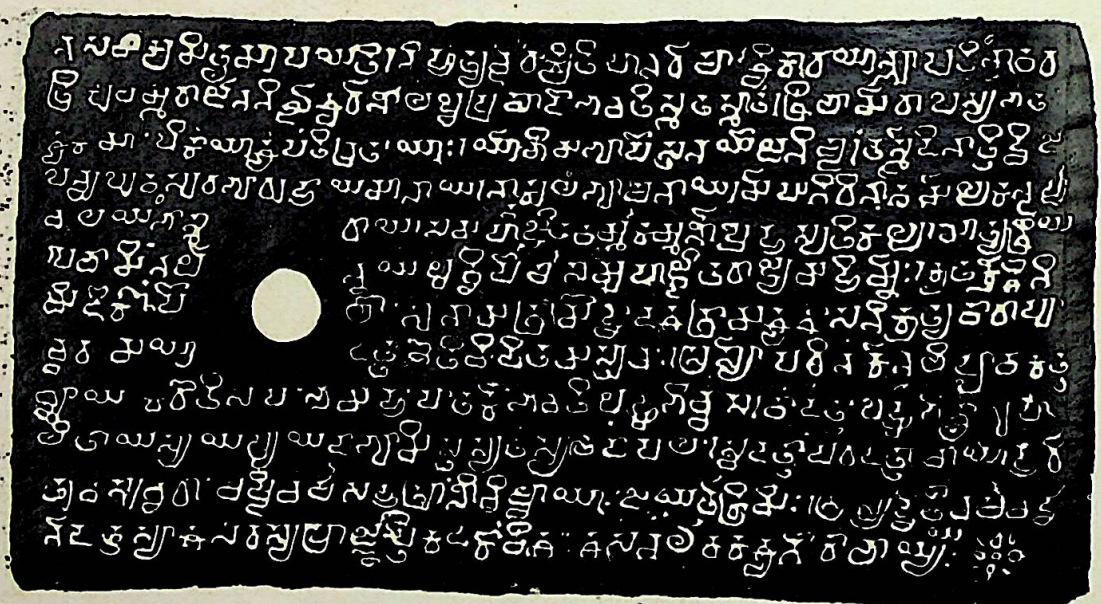


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Fourth plate, Second side.



Fifth plate, First side.



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Fourth plate, First side.

50. **yadityam** bālamuchchāṭya **tadapo** māsamêkaṁ | taṁ jitvā yudhi **Chalukya Bhimatamna**[47]

51. yô **Vikramaditya** êkādaśamāsān tat**Tadaparaja** sutô **Yuddhamallah** sapta varsham[48]

52. taṁyuddhamallapaṁ rihṛtya dêśātpishṭvêtarêshamapi Śātravānaṁ kshvāmanma[49]rājānujarā

53. ja **Bhimo** bhīmassamā dvā daśa rakshatisma titsūnu[50] vvinatārātir **Ammarajo** urpāgraṇī

54. paṁchaviṁśati varshaṇi vêgī bhuvamapālayat dvaimāturômma nṛpatê **rdda**

55. **na nrupo** rāja bhima nṛpatanayah vidyākalāpa[51] bhaturah charantada rāma

56. pātsamā stisrah | anudānarnnavādā sīddaiva duschêshṭayā tatah sapta viṁśati varshā

57. ṇi vêṁgīmahīranayikā atrāntarê **Dananarendra** sūnu **ssri**[52] **saki varmma** surarāṭsadharmma

58. yaśśauryya śaktyā vinihatya śatrūnsadvādaśābdānsamaraksha durvīm tasyānu janmā[53] taśa

59. ṭrrurvvīṁ saṁvatsarānpālayatisma sapta nirasta sapta vyasanah pratāpī bhūpā

Fourth plate, Second side.

60. graṇī rm**Mummadi Bhima bhupa**[54] tasya mummadi Bhīmasya sutah Kṛtamatirmmahā

61. **Raja Rajahvayo** Rājād[55]dvadaśā bdā[56] ndhārāmapāt taṁrāja rājaṁ [57] dṛpatiṁ nirdhāṭya

62. bhuvah prasahya **Vijayadityah vimaladitya**[58]**nuja** [59] ta sya dvaimāturo[60] grahīdyarājyaṁ

63. *Śrīmānśākê samaughê dṛgishunidhimitê* Karkige Karkīśaṁ Sau Śuddhātmā śuddha paṁchamyāditi

64. suta dinêrsūryyābhē śauryya śāli | Kanyālagnêti dhanya śaśikula tilakô rā

65. jamartaṇḍa sūnurv Veṁgī[61]Sāmbrājya paṭṭam smavahati **vijayaditya Bhupah** pratā

66. pī | putrīyannapi[62] śaraṇāttinaṁ jighaṁsur jñātiryyānbhaṭa vibhudhamścha satkriyā

47. Read Bhîmatana. 48. Read varshâṇi. 49. Read Kshmâmamma.
50. ,, tat-sûnu. 51. ,, chaturah. 52. ,, śaktivarma.
53. ,, talasa. 54. ,, bhûpah. 56. ,, ndharâ.
57. ,, nrpatiṁ. 58. ,, tanûja. 59. ,, 'sya'. By mistake the letter 'ta' omitted in "tanûja" is inscribed below the line here.
60. Read Grahîdrâjyaṁ. 61. Read Sâmmrâjya. 62. ,, śaraṇârdhînaṁ.

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67. bhih | mātkrayanparayuvatī rajihma Vṛttiry yôdhā trīmavatin-
drupô yadhā svadharmmam vilaṁghaya
68. ntīhimavanta muchchhairu mêraṁgam dvishati vichitram Gaurī-
tisiddhāpi vibhāti KīrtisChālukya[63] Bhīma
69. kshitipasya yasya | [64] sa**Sri Sarvvalokasraya Sri vishnu
varddhana Maharajo Rajadhi Raja**h
70. **Sri vijayadityadevo** rashtrakūṭa pramukhan kuṭiṁ bhinassarvvān
[65]samāhūya samasta pradhā

Fifth Plate, First Side.

71. na samakshamittha [66]māpayati | nihatyavairikshitipā | [67] narê-
shān svīkārayānbhūpatinādhara[68]
72. trīṁ [69]kuChammarājjêna nijêsvarêṇa labdaprasādô bhavatisma
tasmāt | **Sri Chamerajasya** bharata
73. scha Kāmāṁbikāyāscha pativratāyāh Yô **Bhimabhupo**stanayô
janishṭa | tasmai[70] dīnātti dvija
74. bandhu budha surabhūruhāyamānāya | nāga[71] kulabhūshanāya |
mêghagirināṭha mêlpakandarppa
75. malayabhāskarāya | [72] samapājjita dharmmakammaṇê bṛhaspati
kalpāmātyā[73] śrīya
76. pa chamēna bannaya budhi paursha samupārjita rājya mahiṁnêṁ
kṛtaklêsi ni
77. mittê **Kompolomgu nama gramodvadasa gramascha** śāsanī-
kṛtya dhārāpū
78. rvakaṁ mayādatta iti | viditamastuvah | asyôparinakêna chid-
badhā kartta
79. Vyāyah karôtisa | paṁcha mahāpātakô bhavati | [74] Bahubhirvva-
sudhadattā bahubhischānupā
80. litā | Yasya yasya yadhābhūmistasya tasya tadāphalaṁ | Sva-
dattāṁvā yôharê
81. tu vasundharaṁ shashtivarsha sahasrāṇi Vishṭāyām jāyatê
krimih | **Asya dvitiyavarsha Varddha**
82. nê dattasyā śasanasya **Ajnapti Katakadhisah** śasana lêkakascha
Gaukacharyah *

63. The letter 'rā' was first written and then changed into 'Bhī'.
64. Prose portion begins.
65. 'Samvâ' was first written and then corrected into 'Samâ.'
66. Read mâjñâpayati. 67. Read naśêshân. 68. Read dharitrîṁ.
69. Read śri Chamma. 70. Read dînârthi. 71 'ga' is written below the line. 72. Read Samupârjita., 73. Read śrêya.
74. This and the following Anushṭubh verse are the usual benedictory and imprecatory Vyâsagîtâs found at the end of grants. * An ornate symbol.

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BRIEF ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

1. Lines 1 to 22:—Give the *Puranic Geneology* which commences with *Nārayaṇa* or *Vishṇu* and stops at *Udayana*.

2. Lines 22 to 23:—Give the *Legendary account* which states that from *Udayana*, 59 kings sat on the throne of *Ayôdhya*.

3. Lines 23 to 25:—State that a king of the line, *Vijayāditya* went to the Dekkan and having attacked *Trilôchana-Pallava* lost his life.

4. Lines 25 to 29:—State that his pregnant wife then escaped with her priest etc., to *Muḍivēmu Agrahāra* and being cherished as a daughter by *Vishṇubhaṭṭa Sômayāji* of the place, gave birth to a son called *Vishṇu Vardhana* who, as befitted his descent from the two-sided Gotra, was initiated into the rites of Mānavya and Hārīta Gotras.

5. Lines 29 to 34:—State that *Vishnu Vardhana* having heard the past history, repaired to Chalukyagiri, worshipped Nandam Bhagavati and other Gods and by their favour, obtained the Insignia of Sovereignty belonging to his dynasty, conquered the Kadamba, Ganga and other kings and ruled over the whole of South India, lying between Śetu in the South and R. Narmada in the north.

6. Lines 34 to 36:—State that to Vishnuvardhana and Mahādevi of Pallava line, was born *Vijayāditya*. His son was *Pulikesin*.

7. Lines 36 to 60:—Give the geneology and chronology Vide (P.283.)

8. Lines 61 to 62:—State that Raja Raja I ruled for 12 years only and that, having defeated him, Vijayāditya seized the land.

9. Lines 63 to 65:—State that Vijayādityabhūpa assumed the sovereignty of Veṁgi, his Coronation having taken place in Saka 952 (A.D. 1030) on Sunday, Kārtika Suddha paṁchami (fifth tithi in Nov.), in Kanyālagna.

10. Lines 66 to 70:—Describe the good qualities of Vijayāditya. He treated the refugees as his sons, relatives and servants with discipline, the wise with care and regard, other females as mothers, etc. He had the titles "Chalukya Bhima, Sarvalôkasraya, Vishnu-Vardhana Maharaja and Rājadhiraja Sri Vijayāditya".

11. Lines 70 to 71:—State that the royal command was addressed to the assembled Reddi chiefs (Rashtrakuta Pramukhas) and Cultivators (Kutumbinas) in the presence of all the ministers.

12. Lines 71 to 76:—State the good qualities of, and the services rendered by, Chammaraja and his son Bhima Bhupa to the cause of Vijayāditya. Bhima Bhupa's good qualities are particularly praised.

13. Lines 77 to 79:—State that, owing to the hard services rendered by him, (Bhima Bhupa) the village of Kompôlôngu along with its twelve hamlets was granted to him, free from all obstacles.

14. Lines 79 to 81:—Give the two usual Vyasa Gitas.

15. Lines 81 to 82:—State that, in the second regnal year, the grant was made. The executor was Katakādhīsa and writer was Gaukācharya.

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"SIR R. VENKATARATNAM" ANDHRA UNIVERSITY LECTURES*

Delivered at Rajahmundry by Dr. Kalidas Nag M.A., (Cal.) DLitt (Paris)

1. Hindu Temple Architecture in Indo-China.

In introducing the learned lecturer Dr. Nag, the Joint Secretary of the Society, Mr. R. Subbarao, M. A., requested the Principal of the Government Arts College, Mr. W. B. Brierly Esq., to take the chair for the University lectures. The chairman then called upon the learned lecturer to deliver his lecture which is as follows:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I express gratification at the privilege to have this chance for presenting before you the documents of that chapter of our history which unfortunately was systematically neglected in the academic circles. I propose to present Indian History from the point of view of documents which I had the privilege of deciphering—documents which would speak for themselves and which would convey quite a different significance of the term "India." I will show that India was not limited within her boundaries, the Himalayas and the Ocean, but her cultural activities extended far beyond. Speaking of the cultural migration of Indians by the land route, I will present documentary evidence which clearly shows how Saivism, Vaishnavism, and Buddhism penetrated into the far Central-Asian regions, in the early centuries of the prechristian era. Instances are found of spiritual fusion within the temples. Innumerable records are found which preach about the philosophy of love, fraternity, charity, universal brotherhood, and identification of ego, emerging from India, so far back as 500 years before Christ.

Ancient Persia, Afghanistan, North Kashmir, the Gobi, China, Korea and Japan owed to India much of their spiritual culture and enlightenment. Even Brahmins migrated into China, settled there, studied the language of the people and translated Indian works into the Chinese language with perfect ease. Those documents are unearthed and preserved by the Chinese and Japanese archæologists. All these documents are found in China, Central Asia and Japan.

* A series of three lectures was delivered under the auspices of the Andhra University on the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of Nov. 1927 in the Veeresalingam High School Hall. The society, at the request of the University authorities, convened the meetings and made all necessary arrangements. The fourth lecture, published after this series, was delivered under the auspices of this society. As all the lectures are found to be very interesting, detailed abstracts of the same are published.

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Though these documents touch only the outer fringe of India's cultural activities, they are an undeniable proof how "Greater India" was built up. The Chinese even studied Sānkhya, one of the earliest philosophical systems of India, to understand Buddhism thoroughly. Suddharma, whose name is forgotten in India, was born of a Brahmin father and a central Asian mother and he translated several Indian books into the Chinese. These are marvellous writings which have been corroborated, and these clearly prove how Indian culture spread to far off lands in those ancient times.

Next, as regards the migration of Indian culture along the sea-routes, there are documentary evidences preserved in Indian temples in the Island of Bali, Indo-China, Polenasia etc. The whole story of Ramayana is depicted on the temple walls. Indian Architecture is evident on many structures. Sanskrit and Dravidian names, such as Sāmantha Bhatta, Channapataka, Suvarna-Bhumi, Champa, Kambhoja, Gangadarsanam etc., are an indisputable evidence of India's influence and migration to Indo-China and Eastern Archipelago. The ornaments and images in temples also corroborate the same. The mythological legends of Indo-China seem to be of Indian origin. The inscriptions found in far off Siam prove the same. Indians, personating as merchants and missionaries went to foreign places and enunciated there the mysteries of Indian art and Indian philosophy. All these evidences prove that our ancestors were not barbarians but were highly civilised and helped far off places with civilisation. Though the Sastras declare prohibition of sea-going, there seem to be no such restrictions then and people were seafaring and adventurous. The preposterous and ludicrous conclusion of "the dark age" of our country is a veritable fabrication. India's great colonial civilisation and cultural Empire is the most effective contradiction of that doctrine.

The lecturer then showed the following magic lantern slides, illustrative of the influence of Indian Art and Culture, Philosophy and Mythology in Indo-China:—

1. Map of Indo-China; 2. Champa; 3. Buddha (2nd C. A. D.); 4. Buddha of Champa—A standing statue; 5. Monkmers like, the Mundas, are a primitive people of Indo-China; 6. Avalôkiteswara; 7. Snake heads (Bodhisattva); 8. Linga and Saivism near Champa lake; 9. Siva; 10. Red Brick-Sculpture like S. I. Temple; 11. Pyramidical temple of Meso; 12. A Vishnu temple of 11th C. A. D. 13. A lake; 14. A three storeyed Vishnu temple; 15. A square column and halls, A. S. I. Window, Gothic roof, Pillars like a Chaitya; 16. A Combojian goddess wearing Indian jewels; 17. Lake with king and his dancers, King going to war, on Elephant with Soldiers; 18. Stories of Epic Warfare, Kurukshetra; 19. Buddha, Marble state on Snake; 20. Hari Hara, Churning of Ocean, Snake, Devas and

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Asuras, Creation; 21. Vishnu and Garuda; 22. (Sian) Sita carried by Ravana, Jatayu quarreling; 23. Yesovarma who built a city; 24. Vaishnava temple with Ramayana pictures; 25. A temple with four towers and a central tower having Siva, with four faces; 26. A temple 2 miles × 80 feet, containing Epic Stories Built by King Suryavarma; 27. (Stone) Lion Sitting; 28. Ganga and Makara, A human figure in makara's mouth, A stone figure of a God with crown, Facial features are all of Champa origin; 29. Ganesha standing with sweets (Wearing Dhoti); 30. Mayura and Kumaraswamy; 31. A map of Kambhoja; 32. Epic writings; 33. Temple with Tank; 34. Lokanath and Lokeswara with jewels and four attendents.

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2. Hindu Art and Culture in the East Indies.

With your permission, I would try to give you a very brief outline of the history of Indian colonization. The subject is very vast and the colonization of Indo-China, which I had the privilege to discuss before you last evening, is simply one of colonial zones and there were several such zones in the Eastern waters and the proper study of those zones of cultural and commercial colonization of India would be quite profound and interesting. You should be charitable with a humble lecturer like myself with one throat, discussing a topic to which justice could not be done even by many throated individuals. You find legends of Tharmāsu, whose name is connected with the sending of missionaries to Burma, known as Suvarṇabhumi. From a thorough examination of the particular geographical term, Suvarṇabhumi, we see it is not simply Burma, but the whole of Malay Peninsula. There is another expression Suvarṇadīvi, the golden island. They give us an idea of the great commercial and cultural migration of India along the Eastern shore. Sreekshêtram and Sreevijayam—the great Naval Empire I touched upon—indicate not merely the Indian exploitation from a political sense, but the greatest incorporation of the genius of the Hindu race. "Sree", the word for beauty and wealth and "Lakshmi" are synonymous. "Sree" represents this marvellous Lakshmi—a great symbol to me, as a historian of ancient India. History of Greater India is the history of the wonderful Indian spirit of service to impose her civilization and culture on the respective cultural zones of Indo-Asia.

I brought before your notice the geographical term "Indo-China" suggesting the diffusion of Indian culture. So, also, you find in ancient times, Afghanistan named as Indo-Minor. Across the desert you find that marvellous continent, Seri India and Sero-Indo-China and India collaborating. In Indo-Asia, the island zone we find Indian culture and Indian religious ideas predominatly. The whole culture

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that you get here is the result of the interaction of the Aryan and the Dravidian going back to B. C. Hindustan and Sindustan are variations of the same.

I am now passing on to the Monkmer family of the Malaya Polanesian Group. These illiterate brothers contributed as much and probably more, to the progress of civilisation. Our elder brothers have given us legacies of design and art. All these facts are to be taken into consideration, in order to appreciate the development of human civilization. The contributions of the primitive races are marvellous and we have to acknowledge them with gratitude.

Intimate connection existed between Madagascar in South Africa and Eastern Islands i. e., Island India, because India was the dominating factor in the evolution of the race inhabitating this particular zone. From the reports got from the merchants coming that side, we find mention of things coming from Eastern seas. As early as 2nd century A. D. Java is known as Yāvadwipam and in the 3rd century A. D. we hear of Champa. These are all landmarks in the path of the great adventurous cultural missionaries from India. The observations of Valmiki in the Ramayana regarding the mines of gold and silver in Yavadwīpa are not to be misunderstood. There is a good deal of history under that poetic fancy and fabrication. I am quite sure that when excavations are made in Sumatra, it will produce wonderful results. There is a series of inscriptions written in the Sanskrit language. These inscriptions have been identified to be in Vengi alphabet. Professor Kern of the University of Leydan studied the remains which have been found in the islands of Bali, Borneo, and other places and came to the conclusion that these islands received Indian culture. The curious inscription in Koota river is written in Sanskrit. It deals about the rituals. These rituals are celebrated on the far-off coast of Borneo. The term Divākara Rajaguru of those areas indicate that they adopted Hinduism of the different denominations. They reared up marvellous monuments of architecture and sculpture and primitive art af painting. The Island of Madura contains evidences of Indian civilization.

Bali island received Indian influences. I had the privilege to visit this island and to see beautiful monuments of Indian art and religion and innumerable scenes on painted cloth as we find in the Andhra country. The Ramayana is in one of the relics found in the Island of Celebes. There is a continuous history of Java till the 15th century, when the Moslems conquered them. Then, a large number of Kshatriyas considered it beneath their diginity to live under Moslems. Yo find, therefore, migration of Hindus from Java into Bali. Bali assimilated many different arts of Indian culture. Bali remained as the island muesum of India in the heart of the Pacific. The Brahmins there still wear their sacred threads, and perform their Sandhya. I had

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the privilege to enter Pandita Jalanthaka's cottage which looked so much like the Indian cottage. Balinese scholars never learnt any European language. These pundits are performing their rituals. In this instinct of conservatism, we have the relics of past history suitable for a vagabond historian and discoverer. They have forgotten Indian language. Subsidiary language is also forgotten. But the names of Indian texts, as Manusutras etc., are kept in tact. They are written in the Balinese language. Let us hope that the University which is starting with a new hope would incorporate a new chapter in Indian history. This enfranchisement is sure to come and I hope scholars knowing South Indian epigraphy would be sent over there to colloborate with the Dutch scholars, to disentangle and explain adequately those inscriptions. The investigation is to be conducted with the spirit of humanity, without any snobbishness to achieve the best results.

Then, the lecturer showed the following slides which evoked much interest amongst the audience:—

1. Pandava temples in C. Java; 2. Temple of Chandi Bhima, Arjuna, and Yudhisthira; 3. Indo-Javanese temples; 4. Chandi Bhima temple like S. I. temple (Kanchi); 5. Siva, Mahishā Sura Mardani, Jewels of Java; 6. Lalitha Visthara, Jataka stories of Buddha, Lives of Buddhist Saints all depicted on a Stupa surrounded by several Stupas compare (Koti Lingams of Sankaram); 7. Barabads A series of Circular Stupas and halls surrounded by gardens (Sailendra Kings' work); 7. Lamps of Architecture, Makara Torana and Kirthi Muka Temple of Javanese Buddha; 9. Reliefs of Barabades Buddha Purana, Gods requesting, Buddha to incarnate, on either side of Buddha; 10. Buddha's 'parents and servant's compare Gāndhāra reliefs Lalitha Visthara; 11. Buddha in tower; 12. A big Buddha, sitting, Abhayamudhra; 13. Avaloka têshvara, Buddha jewelled, lotus throne, drapery, crown which contains a small Buddha figure; 14. two temples of Ādhi Buddha, Avalokathêshvara, and Manja Sri 15. Bronze Statue, compare Nalanda statue, Pala statue etc; 16. Maitreya sitting on a throne; 17. Pragjna Parimitha, Queen—Mother of Buddha; 18. Buddha standing, four armed figure Lakshmi; 19. Nataraja with 3 heads and 6 arms; 20 Siva Temple in Prambanam or Brahmanam; 21. Brahma, Vishnu, Siva; 23. Ramayana Scenes; 23. A 13th C. Java art temple in which Ramayana and Vishnu figures are found; 24, Fall of Sailendras; 25. Madhupa Kingdom, arose—Cholas under Rajendra conquerred Malay, Sumatra, Java, Empire of Vijaya fell. 26. Har iHara, Vignêswara, Kumbakarna, Elephant disturbing his sleep; 27. Music instruments, Drum, Flute, Veena and Chitar, Dancing Party in Sculpture; 27. Shadow plays (Ramayan and Bharata) Krishna, Bhima; 28. Ramābhishêkam Sculptures; 29. Ravana carrying Seeta, Jatayu killed; 30. Rama and Lakshmana entering

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treaty with Sugriva, Vali Sugriva Yuddham, Rama's help; 2. Sethu Bandhanam, Sqirrel helping, Lanka Dahanam, Anjaneya and Seeta; 32. Anjaneya and Rama, Bharata Heroes dance; 33. Thrimūrti Vishnu, Garuda, Snakes compare Ellora Rock temple Sculptures.

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3. Hindu Rituals and Ceremonies in the Bali isles.

Mr. President, Ladies and my friends of the Andhra Desa:—

"I take this opportunity, on the eve of my departure to, thank the authorities of the Andhra University for kindly inviting me to deliver this course of lectures and, also thank the student community and the public of Andhra Desa for demonstrating their enthusiasm which has given me courage and strength to say the things that I have been saying. I want to convey my deep sense of gratitude to all of you.

"The topic which I am taking up, as I told you last evening is the continuation of the migration of Indian culture into Indo-Asia. I discussed it with reference to different islands where we find relics of Indian civilisation. I mentioned Barneo, Madupa, and incidentally, Sumutra and Java, but mainly, we must note the wonderful survival of Hindu culture, myths, legends, rituals and cermonies in the island of Bali. I shall show you certain things which would make you forgive me for the infliction of archaeology with which I bored you. I speak of the artistic life of one great island of Indo-Asia, Java, where we find connected history, century after century, from the beginning of the Christian era down to the 16th century. I will tell you the relations of Java and its relations with the mother country, India. As I told you, Java appears already in the great epic Ramayana composed by Valmiki. The first mention of the cultural colony of Java has to a certain extent contributed to the name of Javanese language as Kori language.

"If I can imagine our vessels going from India, sailing towards the Eastern waters, what would have been the design on the flag that was unfurled on that Vessel? There was neither the bayonet nor the machine gun but there was that simple symbol of Peace "Maithri" and the figure "Sree." That is the theory. I can call it almost an accepted theory which helps us to understand a good deal of the line taken in this chapter of Indo-Javanese cultural history. Here, we do not find Indians conquering and subduing other people. Ships came from Bengal, Kalinga, and Nagapatam, for oceanic commerce.

The earliest inscriptions of Java were in South Indian Language. Purnavarma is compared in his qualities to Vishnu, the conserver of this universe. The kings of those days aspired not to

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the destructive qualities but to the constructive genius, constructive statesmanship and constructive culture.

Java provides matter for 12 lectures. There are many branches of Art developed in that wonderfully gifted people. We have noticed the primitives preparing the path of that cultural consummation. From the 4th century A. D., we find an uninterrupted line of Javanese kings. By culture, by religion and by art, they are Hindus. The word "Hindu" is used in its largest sense. With the narrow conception of history, we have come to define 'Hindu' as "Brahmanical." Hindu is a word full of profound significance established on the indelible foundation of geography. This name is derived from the great river "Sindhu" as shown by the inscriptions of the great Emperor Darius, Master of Asia right down to Sindhu Valley which has given those wonderful treasures pushing the Chronology to 3rd "Millennium" B. C. We find the word "Sindhu" in Vedas. The civilization of India is characterised as "Hindu" culture including Brahmanism, Buddhism, etc., This term "Hindu", I use, in the large connotation.

Great monarchs like Kurmavarma and Sreeviziam conquered Java. They give the epic Bharakuda, wonderful handiwork of Shavite sovereigns. North Central Java gives beautiful sculptures showing Vaishnavism, Shaivism, and Buddhism, flourishing, side by side, in Java, which contribute their own to the Structure of civilisation. People continued their Vaishnavism and Saivism, though the Emperor adopted Budhism. There was no persecution.

In the Pranchanam temple, we find Hindu Pantheon, Bhagavati, Siva, Vishnu etc. Slokas are to be found on the stones. There are marvellous Ramayana scenes. Java suffers from earthquakes and most temples have tumbled down. Javanese people have a different sort of Ramayana, because they put the broken things in the wrong places. The other side of the temple has tubmled down and we cannot make it out. The temple of AnkorVat gives many evidences of Indian origin. Do not consider the Javanse as mere borrowers from you. Just as we find political dynasties asserting themselves, so in art also, we find the indigenous Javanese technic asserting itself and the Indian element becoming lesser. This is the marvellous indication of the progressive Swaraj granted by our ancestors. They are no longer in the leading strings of their teachers from India. They built their temples. They projected on their walls the Wonderful Ramayana Scenes.They adopted also Krishnayana. Our Universities and learned bodies should wake up a little and continue the research.

Javanese have their indigenous plays.. They have histrionic art with special emphasis to dancing.

From the time of the 13th contury, Chinese influence on Java was apparant. We get Mongolian physiognomy and facial features.

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With Islamic invasion, this civilisation collapsed which synchronised with the collapse of your Andhra-Vizianagaram Empire.

During these four or five hundred years, we find Javanese people progressing. They are Islamic in their faith. We find everywhere mosques; but, in their domestic habits, in their dress, in their art, in their recreations, there is still continuing the ancient Hindu tradition. I went to the Temple of Panathara, the most celebrated one and I found Indian art preponderating there. I visited the palace of the Sultan, where Gotar—the finest music, Sword-play dancing, and other parties are maintained by Muhammadan sultans. There was no Purdah, no Gosha. Inside this palace there is a marvellous figure of Beauty, 'Sree'. It is the master piece of Javanese art. It is a continuity of the bygone ages. This fragment of history is preserved in the Sultan's house. But, the glorious period of our art is still a sealed book to us in India. I am thankful to these brothers because they, in spite of many changes, maintain the Indian traditions; and the feeling of Hindu-Moslem unity is not simply a matter of journalistic propagandism but an actuality. Great lessons I have learnt from them. Then the lecturer showed the following slides:—

1. East Indies, Takkola in Malay Peninsula; 2. Sailêndras of Sumatra conquerred Java in 8th C; 3. Polynesian race, Dayaks of Borneo with spears; 4. Yupa Inscription found in Borneo; 5. Two Dayak women and three modern women engaged in Silk Industry; 6. Madura Stone and wood carvings; 7. Grantha Inscriptions of Mantri Narottama of 7 C. A.D; 8. Cloth Painting in Bali with S. I. Inscs. at bottom; 9. Siva; 10. Swarga; 11. Malay map of Polinesia; 12. Bharata Yuddha; 13. Lake of Bateur; 14. N. Coast of Bali, port Singi Raja; 15. Two women of Bali; 16. Bhuddist Monastery; 17. Three rock cut temples in Bali (central); 18. Sempidi cave, near market place, turned into Temple; 19. Temple wall with Hindu figures, made by village artists, with Balinese jewels (Clay figure); Vishnu riding a Garuda with two attendents on either side, on a lion head; 21. 29 Bronze figures resembling S. Indian type; 22. Batavia metal Sanka, Chakra; 23. An upstair thatched hut; 24. A tower temple; 25. Building of a temple in S. Bali, resembling a tent; 26. A lamp tower, wooden temples owing to volcano; 27. A Vishnu temple with Garuda; 28. Bandiar Hindu temple; 29. A gate way; 30. A torana of Soebak temple in N. Bali; 31. A stone temple with Indian art and Polynesian art; 32. Kinnarulu, tree of life, a lion; 33. A big Nandi with an Inscription; 34. A Brahmin in prayer with Rudraksha; 35. Poses of Prayers, fingers clasping in different ways, Nails long; 36. A Saiva Pandit sitting and offering worship; 37. Sacred water of oblation taken in a Srāddha ceremony; 38. Raja Gurus and Brahmanas; 39. Coffin on Garuda, Vishnuloka; 40. Java musical tools, Saranga, Mrudanga etc; 41. A Dancing girl and A Bali Purohit with Rudraksha.

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4. Research Work in Andhra Desa.

Under the auspices of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Mr. Kalidas Nag, M. A., delivered the following lecture on "Research Work in Andhra Desa," at 8 a. m., on 5-11-1927. M. R. Ry. J. Ramayya Pantulu Garu, B. A., B. L., the President of the society presided.

Mr. President, Ladies and my friends of the Andhra Desa,

"The subject which you have given me for discussion is a subject which properly belongs to you. History is not simply the arrangement of chronological skeleton. The western research workers are building up history from a study of the inscriptions, legends, myths and sculpture. It is something quite natural to them. Ours is a country which forgot its Chandragupta and Asoka. So, there is a fundamental difference between the historic reconstruction of European countries and the historic reconstruction of the Asiatic countries. We must remember that we shall never be able to build up the history of India by a study of Chronological Data. China and Persia had a continuous series of kings reaching from the beginning of history. But in other countries this chronology is not the criterion of their culture. They preferred to write their history in the scale of eternity. Our Sastras and the Puranas are crowded with the names of Siva, Prajapathi, Brahma, etc. Entering into the psychology of our scholars of old, we find that they wanted to defy time. They dedicated their works to God. From the time of Rig Veda—the oldest book—down to the Puranas, there is a continuity and comprehensiveness. We have got to assert that our history is a big history. Indian history is considered to be a failure because there are gaps. Chronological kings are not the criterion of Indian history. The terms Purāṇa-śravana indicate that the people whether cultured or uncultured, are entitled to know their history. Manuscripts are being discovered in the corners of Kerala. Indian history is yet to be reconstructed and colloborated by gathering specimens of architecture, art, manuscripts, and inscriptions. These would contribute, block by block, to that wonderful reconstruction of Andhra history. We find Andhras in earliest times coming from the North-west, and mixing with the southerners. There was intellectual and spiritual intercourse between the two. Andhras occupied the marvellous stratagic position of the meeting place of the north and the south.

In the 3rd century B. C. the position of the Andhras as you find in the inscriptions is wonderful. In the time of Asoka, Kalinga meant Andhradesa. Jainism whose fundamental significance is Ahimsa, non-violence and sanctity of life and Budhism whose significance is Maithri, existed side by side in Kalinga.

The story of Asoka annihilating so many people in Kalinga made him think of the great crime he committed. Immediately he

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proceeded to inscribe his crime in deathless characters. That was the effect of the political experiment of conquest.

A century after Asoka, the Andhra country became the centre of great Buddistic Art. We find the flower of Buddistic art in Amaravati, Jaggayapet, etc. These certainly take you to the very early period. A few miles from Bezwada, there are wonderful monuments on either side of the river Krishna. These places of piligrimage contain great history.

Cultural art is developed in our indigenous crafts, carpentry, goldsmithy, woodcraft, etc. These carpenter historians are entitled to our gratitude. We must save their handicraft. Their motives and symbols go back to far off antiquity.

The rituals and ceremonies observed by our women have got their Buddhistic colouring. Buddhism was not expelled but assimilated.

The influence of Jainism is another source to be investigated. It had easy access to Kalinga and Andhra.

The legend of Budhagosha is a source of investigation. He was a Brahmin from northern India and passed through Andhra. While he was there, he was converted to Buddhism and he carried Buddhism to Ceylon. Ceylonese people took Scholars from Andhra country. There was intimate connection between Ceylon and Andhra.

The Andhra history is simply the history of India.

Andhras were poineers to go to Burma. There are a series of chronicles to indicate the connection between Burma and Kalinga. Talang chronicles took the source fram Kalinga. Andhras played a great part in the building of Greater India.

The President, in proposing a vote of thanks to the learned lecturer, stated that there are two ways into which Historical Research divided itself viz. chronological and cultural. Cultural history is the real history while chronological history is the skeleton. The path of chronology is very narrow. The path of culture is very wide. Unless the intellect and the imagination are disciplined, no connected history could be written.

With a vote of thanks to the president and to the learned lecturer, the meeting came to a close.

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REVIEWS.

Mazumdar's memorable work on Orissa

By B. SINGH DEO ESQ., B. A.

"The book 'Orissa in the making' by Prof. Bijaychandra Mazumdar of Calcutta published in October 1925 by the Calcutta University, incidentally, however, makes an attempt to give a connected history of Kalinga so far as it is available. But the whole narrative is so full of preposterous hypotheses based on sad misconceptions and preconcieved notions that it is almost impossible to rely on its conclusions in any historical discourse on the subject. It does moreover reveal that historians like Mr. Mazumdar can easily make out grounds for their own misconceptions to hand them down as historical facts and truths."

Such are the certificates granted by the learned Scholars in the estimation of Mr. Mazumdar's work on the holy land of Orissa. Mr. R. D. Banerjee goes further and calls it a 'Rajaprasasti' like Harshacharita of Bana. Whatever it may be, in this paper I like to give some instances of his 'preposterous hypotheses', 'sad misconceptions' and 'preconceived notions' which cannot but startle and puzzle a historian engaged in Research work.

In "Orissa in the Making" Mr. B. C. Mazumdar asserts that the sea-board tracts of Orissa formed a part of Trikalinga country while the high lands lying to the west of the districts of Puri, Cuttack and Balasore formed the Odra and the Utkala country separately in ancient times. This assertion is wholly untenable, for Pandit Binayaka Misra in his article on the Area of Orissa in Hiuen Tsang's time published in the Journal. B. & O. R. Society, March 27, proves beyond doubt that the Utkala country extended from Midnapur in the north up to the Ganjam in the south and from the Bay of Bengal in the east up to Sambalpur in the west. Another article on the Trikalinga country written by the same scholar and published in the J.B.O.R.S. June 1927, solves the problem regarding the situation of the Trikalinga country. On Epigraphical evidences it is stated in it that the three countries, Utkala, Kangoda and Kalinga formed together the Trikalinga country. Pandit Binayaka Misra reasonably identified the ancient Kangoda country with the district of Ganjam while in the opinion of the author of "Orissa in the making" the district of Puri is to be identified with the ancient Kangoda country. It may, therefore be said that 'Orissa in the Making' is replete with errors.

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It is stated in the article on the Utkala and Odra tribes published in the Calcutta Review March 27, that Utkalas and Odras are one and the same tribe and they are to be identified with Odachasas of Orissa. This statement is based on the facts mentioned in the epigraphic records. But Mr. Mazumdar identifies the Utkalas with Bhunyas, because the mention of Utkala Bassa Bhunyas is found in the Majhim-Nikaya. The "Bhunyas of the Utkala country" this expression clearly indicates that the Utkalas and the Bhunyas are two different tribes.

Col. Girine has said in his work entitled Researches on Ptolemy's Geography that the Utkalas and Sabaras migrated together from Orissa and settled in Burma. But Mr. Mazumdar intentionally gives an illusory interpretation of Col. Girine's statement that the people of old Kalinga despised the people of Utkala as barbarous. The people of Kalinga had established an empire in Burma—a hilly tract of land lying to the west of Mudu-Kalinga in farther India, was given the name Ukkal or rather Utkala to signify the rude character of that land." (Vide Orissa in the Making pp. 17–18). Col. Girine has never made such statement. The author of Orissa in the Making has attempted to put the Oriya nation in a degraded position.

"The description of the victorious campaign of Raghu in the 4th canto of Raghu Vamsā by Kalidas, makes it almost certain that even in the 5th century A.D., the Utkalas continued to be as rude as before, and had no organised Government of their own, since the soldiers of Raghu had no need to conquer the country of the Utkalas," (P. 22) "I have already shown in the days of the poet Kalidas—Orissa did not come into existence as a country." (pp. 42–43).

From the above statement of the author it is evident that the fact recorded in the Tibetan chronicle in connection with the conversion of the King of Orissa into Budhism in the second century A.D., carries no weight. But if there was no organised Government in Orissa in the fifth century A.D., how could the art and architecture develop in Orissa in the fifth century A.D.? The author should have studied the art and architecture of Orissa before he commenced to write the history of Orissa. Again the author has not taken into his consideration the Patikela Copper plate record of the fifth century (edited by Mr. R. D. Banerji in Epigraphica Indica) which reflects the civilization of Orissa in the fifth century A.D. Mr. Mazumdar tells us that neither Magadhi speech nor Magadhi script was in use in Orissa during the seventh century A.D. But Hiuen Tsang says 'the people of Ucha love learning and apply themselves to it without intermission.' The people of Non-Aryan tongue can never love learning. Again a good number of inscriptions found in Orissa make it certain that Magadhi speech and Magadhi script were in use in

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Orissa before the seventh century A. D. The author has not consulted these inscriptions.

It is a matter of great surprise that the author without studying the copper plate records of Kara dynasty of Orissa published by various scholars in various Journals, has desperately attempted to deal with the history of Orissa.

It is also evident that a good number of copper plates of Sulki family discovered in Orissa have not been taken into the notice of the author. These records reveal important historical facts.

In the opinion of the author the old civilization of Orissa was washed away and the new civilization was introduced by the Kosala Guptas or in other words by the Rajas of Sonpur. This is nothing but mere eulogy. Had Mr. Mazumdar noticed the plate of Subhankara Deo (edited by R. D. Banerji) of the eighth century A. D., he would not have said that the old civilization of Orissa was destroyed. That the fact recorded in the Japanese Tripitaka that Baudhabatansaka Sutra was presented to the Chinese Emperor by Subhankara Kesari the King of Orissa during the eighth century A. D., is coroborrated by this plate.

The author has said that the Bengali Kayasthas were appointed in the service of Kosala Guptas and they brought the Magadhi speech and Magadhi script, then prevalent in Bengal, into use in Orissa. The titles such as Ghosh and Datta (p. 185) found in the records of the Gupta dynasty of Orissa has led the author to this supposition. The author should bear in mind that in ancient time the people having the surnames Datta and Ghosh were prevalent in every part of the Northern India. In the Natya sastra it is mentioned that a person having Datta title should be taken as a tradesman. We also notice in the copper plate records of western India that some tribes of some copper plate records had the Ghosh title. The author being an anthopologist makes wonderful research. If on the similarity of the title, two different peoples are supposed to have originally been one and the same people, then the Raj Family of Sonpur may be supposed to have originally belonged to Non-Aryan tribe because the title Singh, used by the Raj Family of Sonpur, are in use among the Kandhas, Bhunyas and Ladhas.

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Prachina Hindudesa Rajyamga Charitra

(*By* KONA VENKATARAYA SARMA.)

This is a Telugu work of 110 pages priced at 12 As, and it describes the governance of Ancient India. It has eight chapters dealing with Village Administration. Work of Government, Ministers, Condition of Army, Civilisation, Finance, King and Assemblies. The author studied vast literature on the subject and wrote a very useful book. From the Vedic times to the Mauryan times, the village organisation and in particular, the powers and duties of the "Grāmaṇi" and the "Praja" have been given in detail from the original sources. The title of the second chapter 'the Work of Government' is rather misleading. He has described the public works undertaken by Kings such as the construction of towns, forts, temples, caves, tanks, roads, navy etc. The author has also given an account of the work of Vizianagar and Mughal rulers which he could have omitted in this work dealing with Ancient India. In the chapter on "Ministers", the author has devoted much attention to the work of ministers in the prechristian times and his omission to deal with the post-christian period is unfortunate, especially when there is plenty of material available now. The chapters on "Army" and "Civilisation" are really interesting, and the author deserves praise.

For the chapters dealing with "Prabhutvādāyam", Rāju and Śasana Sabhalu, the paper used is inferior and the work deals only with prechristian period. It is not known why he omitted to describe the "Uttaramallur" Inscription and the interesting light it throws on the working of the Ancient Village Administration. But, on the whole, the work shows a studious attention to details and the author is to be congratulated on the same.

R. S. R.

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W. B. Brierly (26-28)	8 0	T. Suryaprasada Rao	6 2
S. Narasimha Rao	3 2	T. Sivasankara Sastri	3 2
Ch. Govindarajulu	3 2	N. Ranga Reddi	3 2
R. Venkata Sivudu	3 2	S. V. Sambasiva Rao	3 2
P. Raghavendra Rao	3 2	B. Ramalingam	4 0
R. Surya Rao	3 2	P. Gnanaprakasam	2 0
Y. Ramamurti	3 2	P. Bhadrayya	2 0
M. Venkatarangiah	3 2	S. Nagabhushanam	1 0
G. Sitaramayya	3 2	B. Hume Sastri	6 0
A. Bapiraju	3 2	S. Venkatramaniah	2 0
P. Satyanarayana Rao	3 2	C. L. Narayana Sastri	3 0

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	Rs.		Rs.
N. Rangaswami	3 2	S. Purushottam	3 0
L. Subba Rao	3 2	T. V. Narayana	3 0
K. Rajaratnam	3 2	K. Lakshman Rao	3 2
U. Jaganadhaswami	3 2	Bh. Kameswara Sastri	4 0
T. Bhujanga Rao	3 2	Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao	6 2
D. Appa Rao	3 2	Mir Akram Ali	4 0
K. Iswar Dutt	3 2	K. Seetarama Rao	2 0
I. Kanakachalam	3 2	M. K. Srinevasa Raghava-chari	1 0
V. Rangachari	3 2	A. Venkatachalam	3 2
D. Venkataramiah	3 2	P. Somasundaram	3 2
P. Venkatachalam	3 2	R. Seshagiri Rao (26–28)	6 2
C. Krishnaswami Rao	3 2	S. N. Raja Guru	3 2
P. Jaganadhaswami (26–28)	6 2	P. Suri Sastri (26–28)	6 0
Hirananda Sastri	2 2	D. Sriram Sastri	3 2
K. Ramakrishnayya	3 2	Rajarajeswara Nisanka Bahadur	5 0
Ch. Venkata Rao	2 0	B. Ramakrishna Sastri	3 0
P. Veeranna	3 2	T. Suryanarayana	3 0
C. Bhimasena Rao	3 2		
N. Rangachari	3 2		
W. B. Ramalingam	3 2		
M. Narsimham	3 2		293 12
Ch. Veerabhadra Rao	4 0		

(2) List of Subscribers who paid their Subscriptions during the quarter ending with 31–3–28.

	Rs.
Principal, Presidency College, Calcutta	6 0
Registrar, The Andhra University	6 0
Curator, Provincial Museum	6 0
President, Carnatic Historical Association, Dharwar ...	6 0
Librarian, Imperial Library, Calcutta	6 2
Superintendent, Secretariat Library, Madras	6 0
Superintendent of Archaeology, Gwalior State	6 0
Royal Asiatic Society, London	9 4
	51 6

(3) Donations received during the quarter ending with 31–3–28.

Maharaja Sri Ramachendra Dev Bahadur Varu, Maharaja of Jeypore.	Rs. 300
Grand Total Rs.	645 2

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NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Proceedings of the Seventh Annual General Body Meeting of the Society.

The meeting was held in the Society's Hall, Kaky Upstairs, Innespeta, at 7 A.M., on Saturday, 7th April 1928.

M. R. Ry. Jayanty Ramayya Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L., the President of the Society, presided on the occasion. Before the proceedings commenced, the President was "At Home" to all the members.

The following members were present.

Messrs.	Messrs.
1. J. Ramayya Pantulu, B.A., B.L.	14. Mir Akram Ali, B.A., B.L.
2. N. Kameswararao, B.A., B.L.	15. V. Jagannadha Rao, M.A. L.T.
3. C. Atmaram, B.A., B.L.	16. M. K. Sreenivasa Raghavachari, M.A., L.T.
4. S. Kameswararao, M.A., L.T.	
5. Mrs. Y. V. Ranganayakamma, B.A., L.T.	17. B. Sambasivarao.
6. Miss R. Krishnabai, B.A., L.T.	18. D. Venkatrao, M.A., L.T.
7. M. Nissanka Bahadur.	19. B. V. Krishnarao, B.A., B.L.
8. T. Suryanarayanamurthi.	20. A. Sankararao, B.A., L.T.
9. K. Suryanarayana.	21. M. Subbarao.
10. P. Gnanaprakasam.	22. M. Subbarayudu, B.A. L.T.
11. O. Subbarao B.A., B.L.	23. R. Subbarao, B.A., B.L.
12. R. Subbarao, M.A., L.T.	24. V. Purnayya Pantulu, B.A., B.L.
13. A. Hanumanta Sastri, M.A.	25. S. Bhimasankararao, B.A.
	26. N. Krishnarao.

The president in opening the proceedings of the meeting called upon the Joint Secretaries to read the Annual report. The Joint Secretary, Mr. R. Subbarao, M.A., L.T., then read the following Seventh Annual report. (Printed elsewhere) After it was adopted, the Treasurer, Mr. N. Kameswararao, B.A., B.L., presented the accounts which were approved. The report of the Library Committee presented by Mr. N. Kameswararao, the Librarian, was next read and passed. (Vide the financial accounts and library report printed elsewhere).

The following resolution was then passed.

(1) "Resolved that the Maharaja of Jeypore, Sree Raja Ramachandradeo Bahadur Varu, be elected as Patron of the Society."

The following amendments to rules were then moved and adopted:—

Mr. C. Atmaram B.A.B.L. moved that there shall be "a General Secretary and a Joint Secretary" instead of "two Joint Secretaries" and that the Joint Secretary should work under the General Secretary. Mr. R. Subbarao B.A., B.L., moved an amendment that the existing rule should be retained and that the powers of the Joint Secretaries be

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defined. Mr. S. Bhimasankararao B.A. moved the amendment that there should be "A Secretary" instead of "two Joint Secretaries". This latter amendment, being accepted by Mr. C. Atmaram, the original proposition as amended was finally carried, Mr. Subbarao's amendment falling to the grouud. Next, it was resolved that the wording of the other rules should be altered according to the above resolution.

Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A.,L.T., then moved the following amendments to the rules which were accepted.

(a) (Rule 4) Insert "5. Hony. Correspondents" after "4. Hony. Vice-Presidents" and number; Omit "and" before Treasurer and add "and Librarian" after it.
(b) (Rule 11) Omit the words "and thence-forward on or before 31st March of each year".
(c) (Rule 14, clause 2) Add the words "and Reading-Room" after "Library".
(d) (Rule 16) Substitute the words "first week of April" for "month of March".
(e) (Rule 27) Subsitute the word "election" for "1st April".
(f) (Rule 29) Omit 1 and renumber. Omit the word "private" in No. 3.
(g) (Rule 30) Substitute the words "first week of April" for the words "month of March".

The following Office-Bearers were next elected for the new year 1928–1929 :—

Messrs.

1. J. Ramayya Pantulu, B.A.,B.L., President.
2. S. Bhimasankararao, B.A., Vice-president.
3. R. Subbarao, M.A.,L.T., Secretary.
4. N. Kameswararao, B.A.,B.L., Treasurer.
5. A. Sankararao, B.A.,L.T., Librarian.
6. C. Atmaram, B.A.,B.L.
7. C. Veerabhadrarao.
8. B. V. Krishnarao, B.A.,B.L.
9. N. K. Venkatesam, M.A., L.T.

} Council Members.

With this, the business of the society was over. The President in reviewing the work of the Society during the year 1927–28, stated as follows:—The Society has done very good work during the year. We are brought into contact with several Research Journals, learned Societies, and Scholars and that provided encouragement for the workers to do still better work. The Society owed its present flourishing condition to the enthusiasm of a few friends who have worked hard to improve it. It is very creditable that this city should have such a society in Andhra Desa. I thank the members of the Society for again electing me as the President. I have devoted my whole life for

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research work. There are more than 2000/- inscriptions found in the Telugu country only, which have to be edited by me with the help of this Society and I undertook the work more as the President of this Society. May I suggest that members of the Society should follow up the research work begun already and tackle problems like the relations between the Nagas and the Andhras and other allied subjects.

In the evening, a public meeting was held in the Hindu Samaj Hall at 5 P. M., with the President of the Society in the chair. It was largely attended both by the members of the society and the public. The following papers which will be published in the Society's Journal were read:—

1. The debt of Dravidian Languages to Prakrit
   By Mr. C. Atmaram, B.A., B.L.
2. Muhamadans and Telugu Literature
   By Mr. A. Sankara Rao, B.A., L.T.
3. Evolution of Brahmanical Heirarchy
   By Mr. S. Bhima Sankara Rao, B.A.
4. A new Copper Plate Grant of Anapôtu.
   By Mr. T. Suryanarayanamurty.
5. Two new C. P. Grants of Eastern Chalukyan Kings.
   By Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T.

With a vote of thanks to the chair, the meeting came to a close.

The Seventh Annual Report of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry for the year 1927-1928.

The Joint Secretary of the Society, Mr. R. Subba Rao M.A.L.T. read the following report:—

The Council of the Society have great pleasure in presenting the following report of the Society's work during the year 1927-28.

At the last Annual Meeting held on 17-4-1927, Office bearers as well as Hon. Presidents and Vice-Presidents for the new year were elected. It was also resolved that steps should be taken by the Council to open a Reading Room and Library for the benefit of the members.

During the year, the Rajah Saheb of Kallikota and Attagada, the Rajah Saheb of Chikati and the Maharajah Saheb of Jeypore were graciously pleased to give their consent to be the Patrons of the Society and so, the Council of the Society elected them as Patrons. Also, Rao Bahadur Sir B. N. Sarma, K.C.S.I. and Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu Garu, B.A., were elected as Hon. Presidents of the Society.

Further, the Society resolved to elect Hon. Correspondents and a Librarian and so, Messrs, R. Sreenivasa Raghava Iyengar M. A., Asst. Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras, P. V. Jagadisa Iyer, Asst. Epigraphist, Madras, M. Ramakrishnakavi M. A., and

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K. Gopalakrishnamma M. A. (Both of Rajahmundry) were elected as Hon. Correspondents. M. R. Ry. N. Kameswararao Garu, B. A., B. L,, was elected as Hon. Librarian of the Society.

Members.

The number of ordinary members on 1-4-1928 stands at 197 as compared with 150 on 31-3-1927. This steady increase is really encouraging and shows the great popularity of our Society. The number of resident members rose from 56 to 60. It is however a matter of some regret that there are no Life members in the Society and the Council hopes that in the years to come, several members will unrol themselves as such. The council also requests all members (Resident and Mofussil) to bring into the Society more of their friends as members.

Subscriptions.

Another gratifying feature is the increasing number of subscribers to the Journal. As compared with the number of 19 subscribers (Indian and Foreign) on rolls on 31-3-1927, there are at present 25 subscribers. The Director of Public Instruction has been pleased to subscribe for the Journals which are now supplied to the First Grade Colleges at Madras, Anantapur and Rajahmundry only. It is earnestly hoped that the use of the Research Journal will be extended to other Colleges also under Government control.

Exchanges.

At the time of the last annual meeting, only 35 different learned societies and individuals of this and other countries, were giving their journals and books in exchange of our Society's journal. At present, the list of exchanges has increased from 35 to 55 and this increase shows, in the opinion of the Council, that the work of the Society is widely appreciated.

Journal.

The publication of the journal is being continued regularly by the Society under the Editorship of M. R. Ry. C. Atmaram Garu, B.A., B.L., who is sparing no pains to make it uptodate and useful. During the year, three numbers viz., Vol. I Part 4, Vol. 2 Part I and Part II have been published so far, and Parts 3 and 4 of Vol 2 are now under print and will issue soon. The Journal has elicited favourable opinions at the hands of scholars like Sir Richard Temple, Editor, Indian Antiquary, Dr. S. K. Iyengar M.A., Editor, Journal of Indian History, K. P. Jayaswal Esq., M.A., Editor B. O. R. S. Journal. Its contents have also been noticed in several journals.

Owing to the increased number of members and subscribers and also owing to the generous donations given by the Patrons of the Society, it has now become possible to improve the quality of the journal. Unpublished copper-plate and stone inscriptions are being published at great expense. Also, unpublished Sanskrit Dramas

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bearing on the Ancient History and Civilisation of the country are being printed at additional cost. The council takes this opportunity to place on record its cordial thanks to the members of the Editorial Board who have spared no pains to improve the journal with regard to both the size and quality.

Kalinga Sanchika.

At the time of the last annual meeting, it was settled that the Kalinga day should be celebrated in April 1927 and that the History of Kalinga Desa should be published soon. The Editor of the book, M. R. Ry. R. Subbarao Garu, M. A., L. T., at the request of the council, interviewed the Rajah Saheb of Parlakimidi, at Parlakimidi along with Messrs. Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurty Pantulu B.A., and I. Kanakachallam Pantulu, M.A.,L.T., and settled that the Kalinga conference should be held during the middle of June 1927 Accordingly, the Kalinga day was celebrated at Mukhalingam, Ganjam Dt., on 16th 17th and 18th June, 1927. Several scholars from all parts of the country attended and read original papers relating to the social, religious, literary and historical matters of Kalinga Desa. The details of the conference were printed in Vol. II part I, pages 67–73. The book is now under print and it is hoped that it will be published by the end of summer.

Meetings and other Activities.

During the year 1927–1928, the Society held one General body meeting at the end of the first quarter on 27–8–1927 with M. R. Ry., G. Gangadhara Somayazulu Garu, M. A., B. L., who succeeded Mr. D. S. Reddi B. A. (oxon) as Vice-President of the Society, in the chair, to elect Patrons, Hon. Presidents, Hon. Correspondents and Hon. Librarian and to amend certain rules. The society had also 15 Managing Council meetings which were held for the purpose of admitting new members and new exchanges, and for electing Patrons, passing accounts and transacting all other work of the society.

The society also held four Public Meetings. The first meeting was held on 2–5–1927 to celebrate the Sivaji Tercentenary. Messrs. C. Veerabhadrarao and C. V. Hanumantarao B. A., described the part played by Shivaji in the formation of Maharatta Empire. The second meeting was held on 31–7–1927, when Messrs. C. Veerabhadrarao and R. Subbarao, M. A., L. T.. read original papers on "The Brahmanical Dynasties that ruled over Andhra Desa" and "The Chronology of the Eastern Gāngās" respectively. The third meeting was held on 6–11–1927, when Dr. Kalidas Nag of the Calcutta University gave a very interesting lecture on "The part played by Andhras in the Development of Greater India". The fourth meeting was held on 8–12–1927 when Prof. Radhakrishnan M A., of the Calcutta University delivered a very instructivelecture on "Hindu Culture and Civilisation"

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During the year, the Andhra University authorities requested our Society to organise the first University Lectures known as 'Sir R. Venkataratnam' Lectures which were delivered by Dr. K. Nag, M.A., D.Litt., of Calcutta. Three lectures were delivered in all and the meetings were very successfully arranged by the Society in the Veeresalingam High School Hall. Over 500 ladies and gentlemen, Indian and European including mostly College Students, attended the lectures which were illustrated by Magic Lantern.

Library and Reading room.

During the year, the council purchased a few more books for the library, but for want of funds, it has not yet become possible to have a good research library. This want is very keenly felt by all the members. The council in its meeting held on 7-7-1927 resolved to start a Reading room and Library. Accordingly, a spacious room in the Kaky upstairs, Main road, has been taken for rent and furniture, costing about Rs. 150/- was also purchased. The reading room was opened by Dr. K. Nag on 5-11-1927. A peon on Rs. 10/- per month has been engaged and the opening of the Reading room has enabled the members to make use of the Library books and journals received. The Reading room and Library have also been thrown open to the use of the public, since last January and the council notes with pleasure that the public are attending to make use of the journals and books. The Council places on record its grateful thanks to all those gentlemen who presented books or other materials to the Society. A full list of books, journals, or research materials, purchased or presented, is shown in the Library report.

Research Museum.

During the year, the Joint Secretary Mr. R. Subbarao M.A.L.T. collected several rare Andhra coins, 3 sets of unpublished copper-plates and other materials which may well form the nucleus of the Society's Museum. The council requests all members and sympathisers to be so good as to present to the Society copper-plate or stone inscriptions and coins, manuscripts, and other research materials, so that there may be a well equipped museum at an early date.

Finance.

A detailed statement of the Society's financial position is given by the Treasurer. The accounts have been audited by Mr. A. Sankararao B.A., L.T., to whom our thanks are due. The council requests all those members, who are still in arrears, to pay up their amounts soon, so that the work of the society may not suffer for lack of funds.

Conclusion.

The council places on record, its cordial thanks to the several Donors who helped the Society and to the several Office-bearers, who worked hard to improve the condition of the Society.

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The following is the Treasurer's Statement of Receipts and Expenditure from 1-4-1927 to 31-3-1928.

Receipts.	Rs.	A.	P.	Expenditure.	Rs.	A.	P.
1. Last Year's Balance.	360	14	0	Postage.	165	8	9
				Travelling expenses.	92	11	6
				Printing charges.	968	10	3
2. Subscriptions from members and subscribers to Journal.	781	2	0	KalingadayExpense	70	0	0
				Charges for making blocks.	331	15	6
				Photographs.	53	14	0
				Furniture.	139	4	0
3. Donations.	1085	0	0	Peon's pay.	92	8	3
				Purchase of books.	41	14	6
4. Sale of Journals and Reprints.	14	2	0	Advance returned to Treasurer.	100	0	0
5. Sale of Rajaraja Sanchikas.	74	7	6	Permanent Advance to Secretaries and Editor for postage and sundry expenses.	30	14	0
6. Interest on Savings Bank Account.	0	13	7	Typing charges.	16	0	0
				Stationery.	4	8	3
				Miscellaneous charges.	26	4	6
				S. B. Account.	156	5	7
				Balance on hand.	26	0	0
Total Rs.	2316	7	1	Total Rs.	2316	7	1

N. B:—In the last year's statement of the Treasurer, the number of unbound volumes of Raja Raja Sanchika was given by mistake as 274 instead of 174. So, the total number of volumes (Bound and Unbound) on hand then was 179. The 174 volumes have been bound during the year. 17 copies have been sold, for 3 of which money has yet to be realised and 11 copies are given free, leaving a balance of 151 volumes on hand.

The Society has to realise Rs. 76/- from Resident members and Rs. 118/- from]Non-resident members, as subscription, Rs. 5/- as donation, and Rs. 31-11-6 from foreign subscribers. Besides, the Society has to realise Rs. 810/- towards donations promised on Kalinga Day.

A. Sankarao, B.A.,L.T.,
Auditor.

N. Kameswara Rao, B.A.,B.L.,
Treasurer.

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Report presented by the Library Committee.

The Librarian, Mr. N. Kameswa Rao, B. A., B. L., read the following report:—

As stated in the Sixth Annual Report of the Society dated 17th April 1927, several journals and publications are received in exchange from different societies. The Library consists of a modest collection of books purchased or presented to the Society or received in exchange. We are glad to state that the number of exchanges has risen from 39 to 55, two having been removed from the list, as no publications in exchange have been received from them. A sum of Rs. 41-14-6 only has been invested in the purchase of books, during the year under report. A list of books purchased, presented or received in exchange and a list of journals received in exchange are given separately. There is a small collection of Research materials consisting of three sets of copper plates and one stone inscription, a palmyra leaf Mss., and old Andhra coins presented by members which, may we hope, in the fullness of time, would, with the hearty cooperation of members, grow into a fine Research library and Museum in this part of the country. The question of making all journals, books and other materials easily accessible to members has engaged the earnest attention of the Council and so it has resolved at its meeting held on 7-7-1927 to start a Library and Reading room. At its meeting held on 31-8-1927, Mr. N. Kameswara Rao B. A., B. L., was appointed as the Librarian and a library committee consisting of the Librarian and Messrs. B.V. Krishnarao B.A.B.L. and R, Subbarao, M. A., L. T., was formed to look after the affairs of the library and to frame rules for its working. Accordingly, rules were framed by the said committee and adopted by the Council on 30-10-1927. The Council also resolved on 18-10-27 to take a suitable room in Kaky Krishnamurty's upstairs on the main road at a rent of Rs. 8/- per mensem and locate the Library and Reading Room therein from 1-11-1927 and it is a matter for gratification that the Reading room and Library were opened by Dr. Kalidas Nag of Calcutta University, when he came here to deliver the Andhra University lectures, in the first week of November last. In connection with the Reading room the Society had to spend Rs. 130/- for furniture consisting of an almyrah, two tables, two benches and ten chairs and Rs. 5/- for lights. The Managing council had to increase the pay of the peon from Rs. 8/- to Rs. 10/- per mensem owing to the increased work due to the opening of the Reading room. Thus, the Society has to meet with a non recurring expenditure of about Rs. 140/- and a recurring annual expenditure of about Rs. 130/- for room rent, extra pay for peon and lighting charges. This is exclusive of the amount that will have to be spent for binding the several books and journals and for other

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incidental expenses. This work has been postponed to the next year as a large sum has been spent for buying furniture this year. Some amount will have to be provided also for such items as, calico bound covers for current journals placed on the table, paper weights, table cloth and framing of photos of historical interest lying with us. A time piece, not to speak of a clock, would be a welcome addition to the Reading room and Library.

It is satisfactory to note that during the short period of five months the Reading Room and Library have been in existence, about four hundred non-members on the whole visited the room and read the books and journals. As the Reading room is open to the public, it will attract a still larger number of people if some Dailies, English and Telugu are placed on the table. We hope to do this shortly as some members have kindly promised to give them free to the Reading Room.

We cannot close this report without mentioning the fact that we applied to the Government and the Local Municipal Council and the District Board, East Godavari to give us a library grant so that we may maintain the library and reading room without much strain on our slender resources. We regret to state that so far our efforts have not met with success. We hope to succeed erelong in our efforts to place the Library and the Reading room on a more stable footing with the hearty cooperation and help of the members and the outside public. May we take this opportunity to appeal to our Hon. Presidents also to render aid to the society.

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List of Books and Research materials presented during the year 1927–28.

1. Bulletin Dela Maison Franco-Japanaise.
2. La Politique De Dupleix, by Mons. A. Martineau.
3. Prāchina Hindu Desa Rajyānga Charitra, by Mr. K. V. Sarma.
4. Trois Conferences Sur L'Armenie. [rao.
5. Veerabhadra Rao's History of Andhras 2 Vols., by Mr. V. Appa-
6. Prachīna Haindava Praja Svāmika Prabhutvamu, by Mr. D. L. Narasimham.
7. Andhra Gadya Vañgmaya Charitra Vol. I, by Mr. G. V. Raghava Rao.
8. Andhra Vachana Bharatam, by Mr. N. K. Venkatesam.
9. Zoroaster, His life and Times, by Mr. B. Seshagiri Rao.
10. Disputations on Village Business,
11. Ancient India, } by Mr. J. Ganganna.
12. Koran Sheriff, by Mr. V. Appa Rao.
13. The Buddist Review (31 Journals), by Buddist Society, London.
14. Basava Purāṇam, by Mr. V. Prabhakara Sastry.
15. The Aravidu Dynasty of Vizianagar Vol. I, By Messrs B. G. Paul & Co.
16. A brief Account of Nagari Pracharini Sabha's activity.
17. Catalogue of Gautami Library.
18. Do. of Madras Govt. Publications.
19. Do. of Society, Pondichery.
20. Do. of Oriental Manuscripts.
21. Ugadi Sanchika Annual for 1927.
22. Suryarāya Andhra Nighantu (Sample copy). [rao.
23. Some more Andhra Coins and Mughol Coins, by Mr. R. Subba-
24. Two sets of Copper plate Inscs., by Mr. V. Neeladri Raju.
25. One Copper Plate Inscription, by Mr. K. Sambamurty Sastry.

Books Purchased during the year 1927–1928.

1. Mahabharata Adiparva, Fas. I.
2. A few Journals of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

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(1) Total List of Subscribers to the Journal for 1927–28

1. Librarian, Secretariat Library, Fort St. George.
2. Do. University Library, Madras.
3. Do. University Library, Decca.
4. Do. Imperial Library, Calcutta.
5. Registrar, Andhra University, Bezwada.
6. Director of Information, Secretariat, Bombay.
7. Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.
8. President, Carnatic Historical Association, Darwar.
9. Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, Calcutta.
10. Do. Gwalior State.
11. Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, London.
12. Principal, Arts College, Rajahmundry.
13. Do. Presidency College, Madras.
14. Do. C. D. College, Anantapur.
15. Do. Presidency College, Calcutta.
16. Do. Mayo College, Ajmere.
17. Do. Sanskrit College, Benares.
18. Do. A. E. L. M. College, Guntur.
19. Do. Noble College, Masulipatam.
20. Do. P. R. College, Cocanada.
21. Commissioner, Ajmere-Merwara, Ajmere.
22. Rev. Prof. C. Theodore Banze, Philadelphia U. S. A.
23. Arthur Probsthain, 41 Great Russel St., London W. 1.
24. Do. Do.

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(2) Total List of Members in the Society during 1927–28.

Serial No.	Name of Member.	Designation.	Date of Election.	Address.
1	Achuta Rao T., M.A.,L.T.	Teacher	14– 2–26	Head Master, Govt. Tg. School Rajmundry
2	Anantagiri Rao M., B.A.,B.L.	Dt. Munsiff	25– 9–27	District Munsiff, Madura.
3	Akram Ali Mir, B.A.,B.L.	Vakil	30–11–27	Vakil, District Court, Rajahmundry.
4	Anantarama Iyer P. H., M.A.	Teacher	27–10–26	Lecturer, P. R. College, Coconada.
5	Appa Rao D., Bar-at-Law.	Dy. Registrar	2–12–26	Luz, Mylapore, Madras.
6	Appa Rao Vaddadi, B.A.,B.L.	Vakil	9– 5–26	Vakil, District Court, Rajahmundry.
7	Appa Rao Vissa, M.A.,L.T.	Teacher	14– 2–26	Prof. of Physics, Presy. College, Madras.
8	Appa Rao Koka, B.A.,B.L.	Vakil	17– 5–27	High Court Vakil, Berhampore.
9	Atmaram C., B.A.,B.L.	Do.	14– 2–26	Vakil, District Court, Rajahmundry.
10	Bapiraju Adivi, B.A.	Journalist	9– 5–26	Ast. Editor 'Triveni', Egmore, Madras.
11	Rev. W. T. Benze.	Missionary	13–11–27	Riverdale, Rajahmundry.
12	Bhadrayya L. V., B.A.	Pleader		Pleader, Ellore.
13	Bhadrayya P., M.A.,L.T.	Teacher	27– 1–27	Lecturer in Hist., Arts College, Rajmundry
14	Bhagavatam Gupta T., B.A.,B.L.	Dy. Collector	27–10–26	Dy. Collector, Madras.
15	Bhandarkar D. R.	Professor	10–12–26	35, Bally Gunge Circular Road, Calcutta.
16	Bhimasankara Rao S., B.A.	Pleader	14– 2–26	Pleader, Rajahmundry.
17	Bhimasena Rao C., B.A.,L.T.	Teacher	23– 2–27	Lecturer, P. R. College, Coconada.
18	Bhujanga Rao T., M.A.,B.L.	Sub Judge	6– 1–27	Principal Sub Judge, Masulipatam.
19	Brahmanandamurti Ch., B.A.,B.L.	Vakil	31– 3–27	Vakil, District Court, Rajahmundry.
20	Brierley W. B.	Principal	10–12–26	Principal, Arts College, Rajahmundry.
21	Dhanaraju T., B.A.,B.L.	Vakil	31– 3–27	Vakil. District Court, Do.
22	Dharma Rao G., M.A.	Teacher	23– 2–27	Eng. Lecturer, Kallikota Coll. Berhampore.
23	Dubrieul G. J.	Professor	31 3–27	Pondicherry.

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24	Eswara Dutt K.	Auditor	9- 5-26	Chatrapur.
25	Gangadhara Somayazulu G., M.A.,B.L.		6- 1-27	Retired District Judge, Rajahmundry.
26	Ganganna J., B.A.,L.T.	Teacher		Head Master, V. H. Sch., Rajahmundry.
27	Gangaraju Gandrapu.	Inamdar	10-12-26	Polavaram.
28	Gangooly T.		23- 1-28	35, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
29	Gauripati Rao I., B.A.,L.T.	Teacher	9- 5-26	Head Master, High School, Tuni.
30	Gnanaprakasam P.		30-11-27	Mission Reading Room, Rajahmundry.
31	Gopala Krishnayya V.	Inamdar	18-10-27	Satenapalle, Guntur District.
32	Gopalam P. V. S.	Pleader	1- 4-28	Amalapuram.
33	Govindarajulu Ch., B.A.		18-10-27	Revenue Inespector, Nellore District.
34	Graeffe Rev. J. E.	Missionary	13-11-27	Luthergiri, Rajahmundry.
35	Hanumanta Rao S., M.A	Teacher	9- 5-26	Professor, Osmania College, Hyderabad.
36	Hanumanta Rao C. V., B.A.	Do.	Do.	Teacher, Hindu H. School, Masulipatam.
37	Hanumath Sastri A., M.A.	Do.	13-11-27	Guntur.
38	Harischandra Padhe B.C.E.	Engineer	7- 7-27	Assistant Engineer, Chicacole.
39	Herras Henry S. J., M.A.	Teacher	10-12-26	Professor, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
40	Hume Sastri Burra, B.A.,B.L.	Vakil	7- 7-27	Chairman, Municipal Council, Vizagpatam.
41	Jaganadha Rao N., B.A.	Pleader	21- 7-25	Narasarowpeta.
42	Jaganadha Rao V., M.A.	Teacher	30-11-24	Lecturer in History, Arts College, Rjy.
43	Jaganadhaswami G., M.A..L.T.	Do.		Head Master, P. R. College, Coconada.
44	Jaganadhaswami P., M.A.,L.T.,	Do.	17- 5-27	Lecturer, Raja's College, Parlakimedi.
45	Jagapati Varma V.	Inamdar	27-10-26	Proprietor 'Andhra Rashtram', Rajmundry.
46	Joganna U., B.A.,M.L.	Vakil	Do.	Vakil, Coconada.
47	Jogiah Pantulu V. V., M.L.A.	Do.	17- 5-27	Member Legislative Assembly, Berhampore
48	Kameswara Rao D. Ch.	Inamdar	5- 9-26	Rajahmundry.
49	Kameswara Rao N., B.A.,B.L.	Vakil	9- 5-26	High Court Vakil, Rajahmundry.
50	Kameswara Rao S., B.A.,B.L.	Do.	10-12-26	Do. Do.
51	Kameswara Rao S., M.A.,L.T.	Teacher	27- 1-25	Lecturer, Trainlng College, Rajahmundry.

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Serial No.	Name of member.	Designation.	Date of Election.	Address.
52	Kameswara Sastri Bh.	Pandit	14–11–25	Aryapuram, Rajahmundry.
53	Kanakachelam I, M.A.,L.T.	Teacher		Head Master, Raja's College, Parlakimedi.
54	Kesavaramamurti K., B.A.	Merchant		Coconada.
55	Krishnamachari M., M.A.,M.L.	Dt. Munsif.	27– 1–26	District Munsiff, Chingelput.
56	Kali Das Nag., Dr. M.A.	Professor		University Professor, Calcutta.
57	Krishna Rao Nalam.	Merchant		Rajahmundry.
58	Miss Krishna Bai R. S., B.A.,L.T.	Teacher		Govt. Girls' H. School, Rajahmundry.
59	Krishna Rao Bhonsle R., M.R.,A.S.		27–10–26	Sey. to Commissioner Govt. Exs., Madras.
60	Krishnaswami Rao C., B.A.	Teacher	30–11–24	Seeta Park, Basavangudu, Bangalore City.
61	Kurma Rao Tata, M.A.,L.T.	Do.	6– 1–27	Lecturer, Govt. Trg. School, Chicacole.
62	Lakshman Rao K., B.C.E.	Enginer	30–11–24	Supervisor, D.P.W. Ammapet Tanjore Dt.
63	Lakshmana Reddi G.	Pleader	6– 1–27	President, Taluq Board, Gooty.
64	Lakshminarayana Sastri B. H.		14– 2–26	Dy. Inspector of Schools, Ramachendrapur.
65	Lakshminarayana Sastri C.	Vakil	12– 3–28	High Court Vakil, Vizagapatam.
66	Linganna P.	Teacher	21– 7–25	Teacher, High School, Chicacole.
67	Mallikarjuna Rao Pandiri	Journalist		Editor 'Subhashi', Rajahmundry.
68	Nagabhushanam S., BA.,L.T.	Teacher	9– 5–26	Teacher, Govt. Tg. College, Rajahmundry.
69	Nageswara Rao B., B.A.,L.T.	Do.	17– 5–27	Teacher, Surangi High School, Ichapur.
70	Narasinga Rao G., B.A.,L.T.	Do.	30– 4–27	Lecturer, Raja's College, Parlakimedi.
71	Narsinga Rao V., B.A.	Do.	1– 4–28	First Assistant, High School, Pithapuram.
72	Narasimham D. L., M.A.,L.T.	Do.		Lecturer, C. D. College, Anantapur.
73	Narasimha Iyengar S., M.A.,L.T.	Do.	27–10–26	Do. Do.
74	Narsimha Rao S., M.A.L.L.B.	Dy. Collector	9– 5–25	Dy. Collector, Atmakur, Nellore Dist.
75	Narasimhulu M.	Inamdar	10–12–26	Arasavilli, Via, Chicacole.
76	Narayana Rao C., M.A.L.T.	Teacher		Lecturer, C. D. College, Anantapur.

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77	Neudoerffer A. F. A.	Missionary	14- 2-26	A. E. L. Mission, Rajahmundry.
78	Nilakanta Das, M.A.		25- 9-27	M. L. A., Sachi Gopal.
79	Parameswara Rao Y., B.A.,B.L.	Vakil	31- 3-27	Rajahmundry.
80	Pattabhiramiah T., B.A.,B.L.	Do.	17- 5-27	Govt. Pleader, Berhampore.
81	Peri Sastri S., B.A.,L.T.	Teacher	19- 3-25	Dy. Inspector of Schools, Tanuku.
82	Pitchayya V., B.A.	Pleader	6- 1-27	Pleader Cuddapah.
83	Prakasa Rao, D. V. S., B.A.		27-10-25	Cocanada.
84	Purniah Pantulu Vepa, B.A.,B.L.	Sub Judge	30- 4-27	Sub Judge, Rajahmundry.
85	Purushottam Sonti, M.A.	Teacher		Lecturer, Mah. College, Vizianagaram.
86	Radhakrishnan S., M.A.	Do.		President, Post Graduate Dept., Calcutta.
87	Raghavachari M. N., B.A.	Student		B. Ed. Student, Rajahmundry.
88	Raghava Rao G. V., B.A.	Pleader	30-11-24	Pleader, Yellamanchili Vizag Dt.
89	Raghavendra Rao P., B.A.,L.T.	Teacher	27- 1-25	Dy. Inspector of Schools, Masulipatam.
90	Rajagopalachari P., B.A.,B.L.	Dt. Munsiff	31- 8-27	District Munsiff, Rajahmundry.
91	Rajarajeswara Nisanka Bahadur.	Student		Govt. Arts College, Rajahmundry.
92	Rajaratnam K., B.A.		10-12-26	Dt. Labour Officer, E. Godavari, Cocanada.
93	Ramachendra Rao B., M.A.,L.T.	Teacher	25- 9-27	Head Master, Town High School, Guntur.
94	Ramachendra Rao D., B.A.	Pleader	5- 9-26	Kotakonda, Konduru Post, Kurnool Dt.
95	Ramachendra Rao R. S., M.A.,L.T.	Teacher	9- 5-26	Hd. Master, Samasthanam H. Sl. Bobbili.
96	Ramakrishna Rao T., B.A.,L.T.	Do.	10-12-26	Ast., Bd. H. School, Kothapet, Razole Tq.
97	Ramakrishna Sastri B., B.A.	Pleader	12- 3-28	Pleader, Vizagapatam.
98	Ramakrishnayya K., M.A.	Teacher	30-11-24	Lecturer, Mah. College, Vizianagram.
99	Ramalingam B.,		30-11-27	Rajahmundry.
100	Ramalingam W., B.A.,L.T.		17- 5-27	Chairman, Municipal Council, Berhampur.
101	Ramamurti G., B.A., Rao Saheb.		19- 3-25	Parlakimedi.
102	Ramamurti K.	Supervisor	27-10-26	Municipal Supervisor, Vizag.
103	Ramamurti Y., M.A.,L.T.	Teacher	17- 5-27	Lecturer, Kallikota College, Berhampore.
104	Ramanamurti R. V., M.A.,B.L.	Vakil	17- 5-27	Vakil, Berhampore.

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Serial No.	Name of member.	Designation.	Date of Election.	Address.
105	Rama Rao A., B.A.,B.L.	Vakil	5- 9-26	Govt. Pleader, Rajahmundry.
106	Rama Subba Iyer B. S.,		31- 8-27	Asst. Librarian, Adyar Library, Madras.
107	Ramayya Pantulu J., B.A.,B.L.		19- 3-25	Mukteswaram, Tottaramudi Pt. Amalapur
108	Ramadas G., B.A.	Teacher	30-11-24	Head Master, B. H. S. Jeypore.
109	Rangachari K., M.A.	Do.	Do.	Lecturer, Mah. College, Vizianagram.
110	Rangachari N., M.A.,L.T.	Do.	27- 1-25	Head Master High School, Pithapuram.
111	Rangachari V., M.A.	Do.	Do.	Prof. of History, Prescy. College, Madras.
112	Rangaswami N., M.A.	Do.	10-12-26	Lec. in History, A. V. N. College, Vizag.
113	Rangaswami Swaraswati A., B.A.		30-11-24	Asst. Ep. Triplicane, Madras.
114	Ranganayakamma Y., B.A.,L.T.	Teacher	6- 1-27	Govt. Girls High School, Rajahmundry.
115	Ranga Reddi N., B.A.,B.L.	Vakil	Do.	President, Dt. Bd. Cuddapah, Proddutur.
116	Rao P. S., M.A., I.C.S.		2-12-26	Officer on Special Duty, Drug C. P.
117	Sachidananda Roy, B.A.		9- 5-26	
118	Sambasiva Rao C.	Bar-at-law	7- 7-27	Luz, Mylapore, Madras.
119	Sambasiva Rao D.	Inamdar	9- 5-26	Rajahmundry.
120	Sambasiva Rao M.	Pleader	30- 4-27	Pleader, Rajahmundry.
121	Sambasiva Rao S. V., B.A.,L.T.	Teacher	17- 5-27	Teacher, Mandasa Ganjam.
122	Sankara Rao A., B.A.,L.T.	Do.	30-11-24	Teacher, V. High School, Rajahmundry.
123	Sarma S. V. S. R.		17- 5-27	Hindi Propagandist, Rajpalam, RamnadDt.
124	Satyanarayana Bh., B.A.		10-12-26	Teacher, Hg. School, Ponnuru, Guntur Dt.
125	Satyanarayana B. V. N., B.A.	Inamdar	31- 8-27	Aryapuram, Rajahmundry.
126	Satyanarayana Rajaguru		23- 1-28	Parlakimedi.
127	Satyanarayana Rao P., B.A.,B.L.	Vakil	2-12-26	High Court Vakil, Mylapore, Madras.
128	Seshagiri Rao B., M.A.	Teacher	30- 4-27	Lecturer, Mah. College, Vizianagram.
129	Seshagiri Rao P., B.A.		Do.	Dy. Inspector of Schools, Adoni.

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130	Seshagiri Rao R.		7- 7-27	Agent, Macmillan & Co., Madras.
131	Seshadri P., M.A.		18-10-27	Prof. of Eng. Benares Hindu University.
132	Sitapati G., B.A.,L.T.	Teacher	Nil	Lecturer, Raja's College, Parlakemidi.
133	Seetarama Rao K., M.A.		5- 9-26	Dy. Inspector of Schools, Rajahmundry.
134	Setlur S. S., B.A.,L.L.B.	Advocate	9- 5-26	Advocate, Chief Court, Bangalore City.
135	Sivarama Sarma B.	Journalist	Nil	Aryapuram, Rajahmundry.
136	Sivasankara Sastri T.	Author	9- 5-26	Kothapeta, Guntur.
137	Sitaramaiah G., B.A.,B.L.	Vakil	17- 5-27	Vakil, Berhampore.
138	Somasekhara Sarma M.	Journalist	Nil	Andhra Patrika Office, G. T. Madras.
139	Somasundara Desikar.	Pandit	9- 5-26	Tamil Lexicon Office, Chapauk, Madras.
140	Somasundaram P., B.A.,B.L.	Vakil	2-12-26	High Court Vakil, Mylapore, Madras.
141	Somayajulu C., Rao Sahib.	Do.	6- 1-27	Govt. Pleader, Polavaram.
142	Someswara Rao Karra, B.A.,B.L.	Do.	31- 7-27	High Court Vakil, Amalapur.
143	Someswara Rao K., B.A.	Pleader	31- 3-27	Vakil, District Court, Rajahmundry.
144	Sri Gopinath Deb Mahasayo.	Zamindar	31- 7-27	2nd Prince Tekkali, Ganjam Dt.
145	Sri L. N. Harischandra Jagad Deb.	Do.	31- 8-27	Zamindar of Tekkali, Ganjam Dt.
146	Srinivasa Raghavachari M. K.	Teacher	Do.	Lecturer, Arts College, Rajahmundry.
147	Sriram V., B.A.,L.T.		6- 1-27	Dy. Insp. of Schools, Tekkali, Ganjam Dt.
148	Sriramamurti D., B.A.	Pleader		Vakil, District Court, Rajahmundry.
149	Srirama Sastri D., B.A.,M.L.	Vakil	12- 3-28	Govt. Pleader, Vizagpatam.
150	Subbarao L., B A.,B.L.	Do.	27-10-26	High Court Vakil.
151	Subbarao Manugarra.		13-11-27	Secretary, Electric Supply Co., Rajmundry
152	Subbarao Pantulu N., B.A.,B.L.	Vakil	14- 2-26	High Court Vakil, Rajahmundry.
153	Subbarao R., B.A.,B.L.	Do.	31- 3-27	Do. Do.
154	Subbarao Rallabandi, M.A.,L.T.	Teacher	Nil	Lecturer in His., Arts College, Rajmundry
155	Subbarao V.. B.A.,B.L.	Vakil	5- 9-26	High Court Vakil, Rajahmundry.
156	Subbarayudu M., B.A.,L.T.	Teacher	9- 5-26	Teacher, High School, Tuni.
157	Subrahmanyam K. R., M.A.	Do.	5- 9-26	Lecturer, Mah. College, Vizianagram.

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Serial No.	Name of Member.	Designation.	Date of Election.	Address.
158	Subrahmanyam V., M.A.		6- 1-27	Head Master, B. H. S. Chodavaram.
159	Subrahmanya Sastry S., B.A.,B.L.		9- 5-26	High Court Vakil, Mylapore, Madras.
160	Suri Sastry P., B.A.		12- 3-28	Masulipatam.
161	Suryanarayana Ch., B.A.,B.L.		30- 4-27	High Court Vakil, Rajahmundry.
162	Suryanarayanamurti T.		1- 4-28	Dy. Ins. of Schools, Achanta Range.
163	Suryanarayanarao K.	Inamdar	5- 9-26	Rajahmundry.
164	Suryaprakasarao C., B.A.		10-12-26	
165	Suryaprasadarao T.	Inamdar	2- 6-27	Siddhantam, Ganjam Dt.
166	Suryarao R., B.A.,B.L.		31- 7-28	Commissioner, Rel. En. Bd., Madras.
167	Sundararao M. V.		17- 5-27	Chairman, Municipal Council, Anakapalli.
168	Swami Babu P.	Inamdar	2- 6-27	Narsannapet, Ganjam Dt.
169	Trilochana Patro M.	Do.	7- 7-27	Luchpada, Berhampore.
170	Vajjulu R., B.A.,B.L.	Vakil	31- 7-27	Vakil, Rajahmundry.
171	Veerabasavaraju I.	Inamdar	5- 9-26	Yeletipati Agraharam, Penukonda Post.
172	Veerabhadrarao Ch.	Author	Nil	Kovvur, W. Godavari.
173	Veeranna P., B.A.	Vakil	7- 7-27	Khandriga W. Alamur Pt., E. Godavari.
174	Veeraraghavachari S. E. V.		12- 3-28	President, Tel. Sans. Aca. Vizianagram.
175	Venkatachalam A., B.A.,B.L.	Vakil	2-12-26	High Court Vakil, Mylapore, Madras.
176	Venkatachalam Pantulu C., B.A.,B.L.	Do.	27-10-26	Do. Rajahmundry.
177	Venkatachalam P.	Inamdar	31- 3-27	Bapur Bazaar Street, Berhampore.
178	Venkatakrishnarao B., B.A.,B.L.	Vakil	Nil	Vakil, District Court, Rajahmundry.
179	Venkata Narasimha Sastri S., B.A.	Pleader	9- 5-26	Pleader, Bezwada.
180	Venkatanarayana T., B.A.,B.L.	Sub Judge	12- 3-28	Sub Judge, Vizagapatam.
181	Venkataramiah I.	Inamdar	10-12-26	Bezwada.
182	Venkataramaraju R.	Do.	27-10-26	Malikapuram, Rajole Tq.

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183	Venkataramaniah S.	Student	31- 3-27	Student, Arts College, Rajahmundry.
184	Venkataramiah D.		14-11-25	Dy. Ins. of Sch, Kaikalur, W. Godavari.
185	Venkataramiah N., B.A.,B.L.	Vakil	30- 4-27	High Court Vakil, Rajahmundry.
186	Venkatarao Ch.	Typist	5- 9-26	Rajahmundry.
187	Venkatarao D., M.A.,L.T.		Nil	Lecturer, C. D. College, Anantapur.
188	Venkatasivudu R., M.A.,L.T.		10-12-26	Principal, V. R. College, Nellore.
189	Venkata Rangiah M., M.A.		30-11-24	Dewan, Vizianagram.
190	Venkata Subbarao N.	Inamdar	2-12-26	Indukurpet, Gokavaram.
191	Venkatesan N. K., M.A.,L.T.	Teacher	14- 2-26	Lecturer, Arts College, Rajahmundry.
192	Venkateswarlu V.	Shrotriemdar	2-12-26	Ed., Federated India & Telanga, Madras.
193	Venkatrama Iyer A. V., M. A.		30-11-24	Prof. Presidency College, Madras.
194	Vikramadev Varma Raja	Landlord	10-12-26	Vizagapatam.
195	Werner Rev. O. V.	Missionary	13-11-27	Luthergiri, Rajahmundry.
196	Yegnanarayana Sarma B. Ch.	Inamdar	17- 5-27	Madugula, Vizag Dt.
197	Yoganandarao N. V., B A.,B.L.	Vakil	30- 4-27	High Court Vakil, Rajahmundry.

(3) Total List of Honorary Correspondents

1	Gopalakrishnamma K., M.A.,L.T.,	Lecturer, Arts College, Rajahmundry.
2	Jagadisa Iyer P. V.,	Archaeological Assistant, Triplicane, Madras.
3	Ramakrishna Kavi M., M.A.	Teacher, Govt. H. E. Training School, Rajahmundry.
4	Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar R., M.A.,	Asst. Superintendent, Govt. Museum, Egmore, Madras.

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